Volume 50 Number 3 September 2015

European Journal of EDUCATION

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

Education and Social Transformation

Edited by the European
Institute of Education
and Social Policy
www.eiesp.org

WILEY
Blackwell

ISSN 0141 8211

EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION
research, development and policy

Volume 50 Number 3 September 2015

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12140

Education and Social Transformation

Richard Desjardins

In keeping with the overall design and concept of our special 50th anniversary volume, this issue focuses on the theme of *Education and Social Transformation* — a theme which is strongly inter-linked with the big questions of *What is Learning for?* (theme of issue 1 in volume 50) and *Learning to Be* (theme of issue 2 in volume 50). It is also a theme that was directly inspired by the *Learning to Live Together* pillar in the famous 1996 UNESCO report on lifelong learning, produced by a Commission headed by Jacques Delors, which included among its members our current Chair of this Journal's Editorial Board (Roberto Carneiro).

Educational systems contain both transformative and reproductive elements. The balance and tensions between these have varied extensively over time and continue to vary across countries and the world's regions. Ideally, education would reproduce the 'good' and transform the 'bad', but 'good' and 'bad' are value-based and inherently political in nature. Accordingly, the prevailing form of governance and the nature of power relations, as reflected in the dominant socio-cultural and socio-political institutions in a given context, profoundly condition the balance and tensions between these elements.

To reiterate from my contribution in the last issue (Desjardins, 2015), there is little doubt that education has played a crucial role in transforming societies. In OECD countries, it has played a central role in the modernisation process — where modernisation is defined as moving from 'traditional values' to 'secular-rational values', and from 'survival values' to 'self-expression values', as defined by Inglehart and Welzel (2010). Inglehart and Welzel also point out with evidence from the World Values Survey that 'secular-rational values' which correlate with 'self-expression values' tend to be observed in countries where large portions of the population have studied 'emancipative type' philosophies as well as empirically-based science at universities, and especially in countries which also experienced 'emancipative type' political developments (e.g. social democracy).

It is thus not just education *per se*, but the socio-cultural and socio-political contexts in which education is delivered that matter for the transformation of society in ways that are consistent with notions of social justice. For example, in Western democratic societies, the *emancipation* of individuals as well as of collectives is a key aspect undergirding prevailing notions of *social justice*, both in terms of *conscientisation* (Freire, 2005) and of the extent of freedom that people are capable of reaching so as to identify and pursue what it is that matters to them (Sen, 2009). It is easy to see that education has the potential to foster this kind of emancipation, but as social science has consistently revealed over the last 50 years, this is in no way a straightforward or a 'to be taken for granted' process (e.g. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970).

As I and many others have argued (see Desjardins, 2015), the emergence of neo-liberal, global and post-structural forces has meant that the era of exclusive top-down forms of State social control imposing a single identity and value formation system, which were so crucial for constructing modern European

nation-states as we know them, is now long gone. The State indeed maintains a strong hand in education in most nation-states, but global and market forces are undoubtedly exerting an increasing influence over educational systems. Many now recognise neo-liberalism as one of the dominant forces exerting influence over identity and value formation, often via or in connection with educational processes. As neo-liberals contend, the market, not the State, should set the rules of the game in exerting control, precisely because market forces are more consistent with choice and freedom. While the market is seen by neo-liberals as consistent with greater choice and freedom, others are realising that greater market control also implies a different set of rules of the game imposed from above, which may severely limit the opportunity structure of the economically-disadvantaged in ways that can be perceived as unjust.

Insistence by neo-liberals to minimise the ability of the State to exert control in ways that are not consistent with market-based principles and hence negate the State's role as the primary arbiter of the *social contract* has led to growing income and wealth inequalities (Piketty, 2014). Many argue that this has also led to the growing concentration of power in the hands of the few — the so called *one per cent*. There is a growing number of wealthy donors and philanthropists who are seeking to influence and even control the electoral process and politics. This is not to deny the value and importance of philanthropy, but to recognise that it is not a substitute for the power and moral authority of the State to balance interests of individuals and social groups. In the US, for example, there is rising concern regarding the torrent of money being funneled by wealthy donors into politics, particularly since the U.S. Supreme Court's 2010 Citizens United decision. Together, this toxic mix is arguably undermining the middle class, consensus and not least democratic principles and notions of social justice as discussed above.

Thus the idea that education can simply be taken at face value to be empowering, or serve an enlightening and even transformative function is perhaps too optimistic. Primarily because it neglects the conditioning effects of power relations and the fact that education has important effects on the position of citizens in any prevailing hierarchy of social relations. It also neglects the reproductive forces associated with education, namely those that seek to preserve or even enhance dominant interests. In other words, it neglects how the structure and distribution of different types of capital structure the social world (Bourdieu, 1986).

Meanwhile, post-structural forces continue to reject the State in its attempt to impose from above a single value and identity system embedded in modernisation and normalisation logic (Desjardins, 2015). Instead, they promote diversity, democracy, bottom-up governance, local value systems, emancipation and not least, social justice. Interestingly, these inclinations to reject State power in projecting social control coincide well with neo-liberal interests to atomise the State and promote growing freedom for people to choose how they live. This may help to explain the success of the neo-liberal paradigm (Davies & Bansel, 2007). However, these alignments do not necessarily coincide with the disproportionate accumulation of power and resources in the hands of those who benefit from the neo-liberal project, as evidenced by growing inequalities. While post-structural inclinations can be linked to the rejection of social control by the State, they can also be linked to the rejection of social control by the dominant forces underlying the market (i.e. capital, competition).

As such, living in a global, neo-liberal and post-structural world implies ever evolving complexity, diversity and growing forces beyond the control of any individual or even nation. These forces pose serious challenges to the maintenance of prosperity and cohesion, all the while doing justice to democratic principles. For example, it should not be surprising that living in a global, neo-liberal and post-structural world has brought inward-looking and protectionist ideologies based on nationalism and ethnocentrism (e.g. rising support for far right political parties in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, France, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK, etc . . .). Moving forward in a positive direction will no doubt require the continued development of advanced forms of communication and governance involving the daily renewal of political, social and cultural negotiations. Not least, it will require that these processes are well informed by a continuous documentation of the economic and social conditions of people, as well as critical inquiry and reflection. We hope that educational systems and research can continue to contribute to the latter in positive ways.

An important point is that education is only part of the picture and interacts with other institutions and social policies such as those that affect the family, employment, the environment, etc. Education and education research nonetheless have an important role to play in revealing these linkages and improving governance more generally. In other words, an exclusive focus on factors within educational systems such as teaching and learning interactions and how these are organised is too narrow. We need to also account for the role of wider institutional and public policy frameworks in conditioning learning and other concomitant outcomes associated with well-being.

Consistent with these considerations, we have invited contributions for this issue that reflect on the role and effectiveness of education in responding to or propagating major societal, cultural and political developments in recent history. Of particular interest are the successes and failures of education in transforming existing and perceived injustices, and how education and education research should/could proceed to promote further economic and social progress. The focus is on Europe, but developments across the globe and in other regions are also important, since these too are often relevant to Europe.

In this Issue

Like in Issues 1 and 2 for this special 50th anniversary volume, we have included in addition to longer, more academic articles (*original articles*), four shorter, more personal reflection pieces (*thought pieces*), which are written in a freer style and take whatever angle the author chooses in addressing an important but simple question. For this particular issue, the question was:

> *What role, if any, is there for education systems to play in fostering social transformation for social justice?*

We think that this set of four reflections gathered at the beginning add substantially to the edition by offering the reader different perspectives related to the topic of *education and social transformation*.

The first thought piece is by ***Alan Tuckett*** who reflects on the potential role of adult education in transforming societies. Recognising that adult education sits, overwhelmingly, at the margins of public educational systems with limited budgets and public policy attention, adult educators nevertheless see their role as being

facilitators of social transformation. He discusses several examples of the successful role that adult education has played in fostering social change in recent history.

Mannie Sher and ***Sadie King*** reflect on the 'carrot and stick' approach to educational policy and practice as a barrier to the potential role of education in fostering social transformation. Current prescriptive pedagogies that rely on the child's, teacher's and school's need to succeed, combined with fear of failure to motivate performance, construct individuals as instrumental learners, rather than emancipated learners consistent with the notion of social justice.

In the next thought piece, ***Rodolfo Stavenhagen*** addresses a topic that is all too often neglected, namely Indigenous peoples' rights to education and self-determination. He reflects on the role of education in fostering social transformation and social justice in the context of issues concerning intercultural learning within the framework of multicultural societies.

In the last thought piece, ***Stephen Ball*** reflects on how the current dynamics of market forces has transformed the life of the university and is hindering what should be one of the core missions of higher education institutions.

The first longer article is by ***Carlos Alberto Torres*** who explores the complex and multi-faceted concept of globalisation, which is now recognised as a plural phenomenon. He discusses several forms of globalisation, ranging from transnational top-down forces to bottom-up forces. These multiple faces of globalisation are playing a major role in shaping and re-shaping the role and purposes of education. Several agendas regarding the limits and possibilities of globalisation forces and their impact on our lives are highlighted, including those of *hyper-globalisers*, *skeptics (or anti-globalisers)* and *transformationists*. *Hyper-globalisers* are those who push for models of neo-liberalism and believe that the quicker we move to make our world flatter, the better. At the other end of the spectrum is the agenda of the *skeptics*, who see an unprecedented wave of inequality worldwide as a consequence of globalisation from above. In the middle are the multiple agendas of *transformationists* who are struggling to make sense of the limits and possibilities of the new realities. Some recognise that sovereignty and State power can no longer be conceived in the same way and that this has implications for models of citizenship education and the role of universities. The new context brings into question the sufficiency of national citizenship and other localist tendencies. In particular, it introduces a need to promote a broader view of one's sense of rights and responsibilities within a more expansive spatial vision and understanding of the world. *Global citizenship* is thus seen to include an understanding of global ties and hence the need for a commitment to the collective good beyond one's own borders or local interests. It is meant to complement not substitute traditional notions of national citizenship. According to the author, the competing agendas and tensions between *cosmopolitan* and *localist* varieties of *transformationists* are interacting in both consistent and inconsistent ways with the transformation of the roles and functions of different kinds of national and global universities.

Global citizenship education is also addressed by ***Greg Misiaszek***, but in combination with the concept of *ecopedagogy*. As a form of environmental education, *ecopedagogy* encompasses a critical approach to the teaching and learning of connections between environmental and social problems. It is grounded in the critical and popular education methods of the Brazilian educational scholar Paulo Freire. Tensions exist in the aims of different environment education programmes, as within all forms of education, namely between reproducing or transforming

behaviours and structures that sustain socio-environmental oppressions. In recognising this, an explicit goal of *ecopedagogy* is to promote transformative action by helping to reveal socio-environmental connections that oppress individuals and societies. The analysis suggests some of the policy and practice changes needed for environmental education efforts to be more effective and socially just, and also how local vs global models of citizenship education are both relevant for effective transformative action in this regard.

Mathias Urban approaches the theme of education and social transformation by critically analysing European and international policy approaches and strategies towards young children, their families and communities in a rapidly changing global context. The early childhood research and practice community has welcomed and even contributed to the idea that early childhood education is a good economic investment, primarily because it has increased its visibility and support. But in reality, policies and practices grounded in this logic may not be appropriate or make a difference, especially for those from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. This is predicated on the author's astute observation that policies and practices which aim at 'closing the gap' are grounded in a logic of transformation into a normality that no longer exists. Instead, the new realities of modern societies involve diversity, inequality and fragmentation. Accordingly, new thinking and approaches to early childhood education are needed that are firmly grounded in a logic based on democratic practices, recognition and affirmation.

Nelly Stromquist approaches the theme of education and social transformation by examining the concept of women's empowerment as a foundational element in a theory of social change in which the oppressed must be key actors. Four dimensions of empowerment are discussed, namely the economic, political, knowledge, and psychological, which are not necessarily well fostered via schooling or formal education. The author contends that schools do not always provide friendly or even safe spaces for girls. Instead, she suggests that the successful cases of empowerment through education have occurred in non-formal education programmes which focus on fostering critical reflection on gendered social norms and encourage corrective responses. A key point brought out in the analysis is the distinction between private and public spaces and how this is related to the empowerment process. This is because private space seriously constrains women's availability and possibilities for transformative action. As such, the promotion of agency in the public sphere plays a major role in the development of women's empowerment.

Maurice Crul approaches the theme of education and social transformation by focusing on the extent to which education can be the most important mobility channel for children of immigrants. The empirical and comparative analysis helps to reveal that this depends on the different educational and institutional arrangements in different countries, such as the different ways the transition to the labour market is organised.

In the next article, ***Lauren Resnick*** and ***Faith Schantz*** build a case for transforming learning systems. In particular, they stress the view that we can develop our intelligence through learning. Schooling systems in Western societies have largely been built on the idea that intelligence is a fixed trait that some people 'have' and others do not, which continues to persist not only as an idea among educators and the population, but as a foundational premise that is deeply embedded in current educational practices. The authors support their claim that

intelligence grows through learning with evidence from population trends and powerful examples of school interventions. They then consider how schools might deliberately *create* intelligence on the basis of these examples and discuss the implications not only for how schools are organised, but what their very purpose should be.

In the final article, ***Gábor Halász*** tackles the broad topic of education and social transformation in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), particularly the 11 countries of this region which became members of the EU in 2004 or following this date. In the period before the collapse of Communism and the transition period after its collapse, the purpose of education was strongly connected to the broader goals of transformation, as it also was during the EU accession period. The major difference was the orientation of the transformation and towards what end. The latter period has emphasised a strengthening of the linkages between education and the labour market and in particular the responsiveness of education and training systems to market developments. The article considers the impact of some European mechanisms that have contributed to the strengthening of such linkages, and also the reforms, processes and programmes they have initiated. The author contends that the adoption of the lifelong learning approach of the EU has been a major engine to strengthen the role of education in social and economic development in the CEE region, but more efforts are needed to translate this approach into effective policies and practices.

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12135

Adult Education, Social Transformation and the Pursuit of Social Justice

Alan Tuckett

At first sight, adult education lacks capacity to contribute significantly to social transformation for social justice. Except perhaps in the Nordic countries, adult education sits, overwhelmingly, at the margins of public educational systems with limited budgets, modest levels of professional staffing, and, at best, variable facilities. The 2015 Education For All Global Monitoring Report (GMR) reports that 'adult education in high income countries appears to have mostly served those who completed secondary education rather than adults who lack basic skills' (UNESCO, 2015, p. 109; OECD, 2013). It states that, after 25 years of global targets giving priority to reducing illiteracy, 781 million adults still lack literacy, and, of them, 64% are women, a percentage that has remained unchanged since 1990; and that ethnic and linguistic minorities, disabled adults, rural and indigenous communities benefit little from programmes. It also finds that such literacy gain as there has been in most countries can be explained by cohort change — better-schooled young people displacing less-skilled older adults in the population (UNESCO, 2015). To borrow a memorable phrase of Helena Kennedy, it seems that 'If at first you don't succeed, you don't succeed' (FEFC, 1997).

Yet, despite this evidence, adult educators overwhelmingly see their role as facilitators of social transformation. Recognising that people who enjoyed education early in their lives are more likely to readily come back for more than those who had negative experiences of schooling or none at all, adult educators ask 'who isn't there, and what can be done about it?', and, as a result, develop programmes that target under-represented and marginalised groups and design programmes starting from learners' experiences, backed by effective outreach programmes. They see their role as supporting adults through a process best described by the Welsh European cultural critic and adult educator, Raymond Williams (Williams, 1983). He argued that at times of change people turned to learning in order to understand what was going on, to adapt to it, and most importantly to shape change. It is work that can secure change at the level of individuals, communities, and less often, nations.

Perhaps the most celebrated evidence of a national impact comes from 19th century Denmark, where Grundtvig's influence in developing Folk High Schools based on dialogue and co-operative learning led the country's farmers, faced with bankruptcy, to learn their way out of their difficulties by recognising the strength of working and trading co-operatively (Korsgaard, 2011). The Danish experience influenced the evolution of the 'study circle democracies' across Scandinavia and had the indirect effect of contributing to the creation of some of the least unequal societies in the world (UNDP, 2014; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Action developed in voluntary adult education, made use of by social movements, was then adopted by the State.

It is impossible to read the history of the civil rights movement in the US without recognising the seminal influence of Highlander Folk High School in

forging strategies for non-violent direct action in seminars that involved Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King. The centre, founded by Myles Horton and Don West to parallel the Danish, saw the role of adult education as providing a site for reflection, analysis and strategising for action to secure social justice, and that it needed to be firmly aligned to wider social movements, such as the NAACP or the trade union movement. It was anything but neutral (Horton, 1998).

In 1997, when introducing a fresh commitment to adult education for social change as state policy in England, David Blunkett, the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, recognised explicitly that most efforts for social transformation had initiated not with the State, but from community self-help. He argued:

> We are fortunate in this country to have a great tradition of learning. We have inherited the legacy of the great self-help movements of the Victorian industrial communities. Men and women, frequently living in desperate poverty, were determined to improve themselves and their families. They did so through the creation of libraries, study at workers' institutes, through the pioneering efforts of the early trade unions, at evening classes, through public lectures and correspondence courses. Learning enriched their lives, and they, in turn, enriched the whole of society (Blunkett, 1997, p. 3).

Slowly but surely, that creative self-help and structured adult learning led to the establishment of publicly-funded institutions. However, Blunkett might have gone on to say that state policy interventions were vulnerable to sudden changes of focus and commitment. Certainly, the inspiring programmes for lifelong learning he instigated lasted at most two years after his period of office, as a narrower utilitarian conception of the role of lifelong learning was imposed.

Nor did the fieldwork of Paulo Freire (1970, 1972) whose writing had a major influence on my generation of adult educators. The focus of his work was on literacy, recognising that it is fundamental to autonomous social action and the exercise of full citizenship. His analysis that education is never neutral, that it either domesticates or liberates, that literacy was about reading the world rather than just decoding words, and that the role of teachers is to facilitate a democratic dialogue for learning struck a chord with educators across the world. Of course, the evidence from Brazil under the dictators, where the success of Freire's methods in mobilising wider social action led to the programmes being closed and books burned, was a sober reminder that education by itself is insufficient for securing short term political change. Nevertheless, the influence of Freire's analysis, for example through Action Aid's REFLECT programme, has shaped developments that have reduced the level of marginalisation of millions of learners.

Social change flows, too, from the emergence of ideas and analysis embodied in social movements, and adult education, with its democratic and dialogical forms, can provide a test bed for the exploration of thinking. In Britain, for example, adult education played just such a role in the emergence and development of second-wave feminism, offering safe places for women who were not ready to go to women's movement consciousness-raising groups to put their toes in the water and explore what the ferment of feminist debate meant for them. At the same time, women's studies courses in adult education explored the roles of women in history, art and architecture, politics, business and industry. As the

ideas became more mainstream, they moved into universities and more formal educational structures.

The pursuit of social justice relies not only on progressive change, but on securing rights already gained. In Haiti, following its catastrophic earthquake, and with civil administration collapsed, survivors already facing the loss of family members and of their housing were confronted with developers' plans, backed by donor finance, to take over and rebuild on their land. The voluntary organisation Defenders of the Oppressed developed a rapid adult education training programme for barefoot legal aid workers to defend the land claims of earthquake victims. At best, of course, the outcome was to sustain people's rights to their land — and to be compensated properly for relocation. This might be best seen as adult education and community action to sustain and defend rather than transform lives. Indeed, as Schuller and colleagues argue, sustaining autonomous lives is as important a function of adult learning as transforming them (Schuller *et al.*, 2004).

If civil society is often the source of innovation, government action can make a real difference. The national literacy campaign of Nepal has secured substantial literacy gains for its population through a strategy built on partnership and the recognition of the importance of promotion, as Vishnu Karki observed:

> The mobilization and recruitment of learners through awareness campaigns is crucial for the success of all large scale literacy programs. Most of Nepal's literacy graduates encouraged others to participate in literacy classes (UNESCO, 2015, p. 137).

But as the experience of Nirantar, a feminist literacy NGO working in Uttar Pradesh in India demonstrates, enlightened government action is not often of itself enough. Indian legislation guarantees women the right to education, but for Dalit (untouchable) women in the Lalitpur district, social norms made accessing that right impossible without Nirantar's combination of education and social action. This has without doubt transformed the lives of Dalit women, who have moved from learners to teachers, to district organisers, and have developed programmes from literacy to civic education designed to secure women's representation in political and civic leadership.

As Karki identifies, motivation is of key importance in engaging underrepresented adults. The growth of Adult Learners' Weeks and their spread across the world is grounded in celebrating existing learners in all their variety in order to persuade others to join in and overcome the sense that participation 'is not for the likes of us'. By involving broadcast media, businesses, social partners, and by creating festivals of learning which combine aspects of theatre or circus with advice services and taster courses, they reach beyond conventional educational structures (Bochynek, 2002; Tuckett, 2008). They also generate powerful stories of social change and transformation, albeit at a more modest level. There is evidence aplenty of transformation, as the Adult Learners' Week winner in the UK, 'School of Fish' demonstrates. Anne Wallace is the proprietor of a once struggling fish and chip shop in a shopping precinct in a depressed area of Stockport. She recognised that her firm's survival depended on the regeneration of the precinct, mortgaged her house, opened a community drop-in centre next door to her café, put in computers, offered coffee, and in response to demand offered classes, subsequently drawing on public funding from the UK and from the European Social Fund. The

transformation of the area was dramatic, hundreds learned through the School of Fish, empty boarded properties were re-let and a dying community recovered a sense of energy resulting from users recognising their own agency and the strength of collective action (NIACE, 2012). Learning of that sort leaks: what you learn in one context can be rapidly applied elsewhere.

There is no doubt that through innovative provision, strategies to motivate and engage learners and alliances with government and other social actors, adult education can make a difference. Nevertheless, despite this, overall, its marginalisation is increasing and its budgets reducing in most countries of the world.

Yet, when in September, the United Nations signs up to a suite of development goals aimed at the eradication of poverty for the years 2015 to 2030, there is scarcely one that can be achieved without adults understanding, adapting behaviour and owning the challenges — in short learning. Measures to contain and eradicate HIV/Aids can only succeed if people understand the causes and adapt their behaviour in the light of what they learn. Clean water and sanitation are not just a technical issue, but involve people learning the risks associated with using polluted water. Maternal and early childhood mortality rates involve a combination of medical and public health issues. Gender equality involves learning how rights can be asserted and existing power structures changed. And to address the challenges of climate change and the need to live sustainably we all need to learn how to live differently.

All in all, then, adult learning is a necessary but not sufficient component in social change, and where the formal structures of adult education can engage with external social forces it can play a constructive and dynamic role. Perhaps alongside its task in offering second chances that do transform the lives of individual learners and groups of users, its most important current task is to share in securing the public space for the debate of alternatives to the neo-liberal consensus that increases inequality and reinforce marginalisation. There are few metrics that can capture the importance or the impact of that work, but as Einstein remarked, not everything worth counting can be counted.

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12134

What Role, if any, Can Education Systems Play in Fostering Social Transformation for Social Justice? Prospects, Challenges and Limitations

Mannie Sher & Sadie King

We argue that educational systems can play a role in fostering social transformations for social justice, but until the market economy model that is imposed on contemporary educational systems is critically evaluated, this role will be limited. We claim that current prescriptive pedagogies that rely on the child's, teacher's and school's need to succeed, and conversely, on the fear of failure to motivate performance, construct individuals as instrumental learners, seeking to learn in order to gain tangible rewards for doing so and/or to avoid punishment for failing, are barriers to fostering transformation for social justice.

But before we address the question of the role of education methods in social justice, we must consider the powerful role of current education systems in supporting the *status quo*. In our view, many aspects of the education system perpetuate privilege among the élites. For example, in the UK in 1997, in secondary schools, the level of expenditure in private sector education was five times higher per pupil than in the state sector. In the past 10 years, policies to target extra funding for schools with pupils from more deprived backgrounds have aimed to improve levels of equality. However, a recent report states that 'the next government will inherit a school system in flux and key issues of equity and achievement still unresolved' (Lupton & Thomson, 2015).

Heavily-stratified societies based on historical social class tend to support privately-funded education, thus perpetuating limited social and professional achievement and mobility for children attending state schools. Class-based privilege extends beyond the realm of education to a sense of entitlement to govern, as graduates of private education become the nation's rulers and vote the necessary funds to support private education.

The politics of educational philosophy and methods centre on the merits of prescriptive pedagogies on the one hand, and child-centred or progressive education on the other. The assessment and competitive measures of performance, such as league tables and sanctions for the poorly-performing, loom large. Success and failure are perceived and defined by others such as teachers, parents, fellow pupils and future employers. The more overt the comparisons between levels of achievement and the greater the anxiety about success and failure, the more competitive the situation which is created. One pervasive idea is that such competition is a positive motivation for all who are exposed to it, on the model of the larger market economy. The successful gain rewards and self-esteem from their success. The unsuccessful learn the painful lessons of failure and are thus given an incentive to do something about it. This is the moral economy, modelled on the market, which is now being imposed on the educational system.

Child-centred pedagogies, on the other hand, rely more on the intrinsic satisfaction of the experiences of learning. What is found satisfying, worthwhile or interesting is given value by the perceived approval or shared enjoyment of the

learning experience or its outcomes. The quality of learning depends on the quality of the relationship within which the learning process is embedded and is essentially a dimension of feeling or emotion (Rustin, 2001). Most of our contemporary theories of learning which underpin our educational practice take little account of this, focusing instead on various cognitive dimensions of the learning task. 'Learning-from-experience' (Bion, 1962) is a philosophy of education and development that links direct experience to the learning environment, practical content, social justice and social responsibility (Itin, 1999). We assert that experiential learning engages learners in direct experience and focused reflection that increase knowledge, develop skills, clarify values, and develop people's capacity to contribute to their communities.

Our work is based on experiential education that emphasises 'experience' as central to the educational process and stands against authoritarian and predetermined knowledge approaches of many traditional educational systems which are concerned with delivering knowledge and not enough with understanding learners' experiences. Experiential learning is democratic and focuses on the creation of praxis among learners and widens horizons to include political philosophy and social justice, aesthetics and logic. Its strength lies in achieving freedom of thought for all. Continuity is the idea that experience comes from and leads to other experiences, in essence propelling the learner to learn more. The learning needs of the individual, group and society are met through close interactions within educational systems. Experiential learning values reflective practice which allows for personal introspection on challenges and key learnings and for the observation of personal qualities of self and others. It encourages learners to take responsibility for their learning and is closely linked to critical pedagogy, youth empowerment, feminist-based education and social constructivism.

Arguments between 'child-centred' or progressive pedagogies (Darling, 1994), and prescriptive 'whole-class' pedagogies have one model of the child as an active learner, the other as a more passive one; the former as more dependent on its own problem-solving capacities, the latter on structured and standardised prescriptions of learning tasks (Rustin, 2001). 'Child-centred' models of education give more weight to the intrinsic satisfactions of learning, conceiving this as a natural development impulse in the child. Within a learning-from-experience framework, engaging the child's (or adult's) sense of curiosity and establishing relevance to the learner's own frame of interests have always been seen as critical. Externally-prescribed learning tasks, although they may sometimes be accomplished, will be seen as having potential costs in their failure to nurture the innate wish to learn, or the identification of the self with what is learned.

The development of a comprehensive and 'child-centred' educational theory and practice in the 1960s was in large part a response to the damage and wastage that were perceived to have been the outcome of the highly-stratified and competitive British school system, with its 11+ selection, a single hierarchy of valued academic achievement, and the overt labelling and assessment of children in three 'types of ability': grammar schools for 20% of the children; technical schools (that were never properly developed) and secondary modern schools for the vast majority of children who failed the 11+ exam. This system confined educational opportunity to a minority of about a quarter of the children and selected them by the relatively objective method of a test. It became resented by middle- and working-class families since the exam failed many of their children. The costs of

selecting the most able and of motivating them by comparing their advantages with the fate of the non-selected were to deprive most children of any worthwhile educational opportunity.

The current Academies Programme in the UK is criticised because it takes state education out of local authority control and allows the private sector to flourish, reinforcing class inequalities by granting a'sink'status to other less-funded schools and adopting an authoritarian approach to behaviour management with which children from difficult backgrounds struggle (TUC, 2007). Raising standards of discipline has been a feature of Academies in inner city areas where the school is regarded as an oasis of calm in a desert of urban chaos. Whilst this creates a temporary peaceful learning environment for those with an aptitude to do well, it is hard to see how the majority will be enabled to make sense of themselves, their life world and their future path in this zero sum economy of success or failure. Kulz (2013) shows how the disciplinary ethos of a London Academy with *'an intensely marketised education system does not mitigate, but reformulates, reproduces and re-intrenches inequalities'*.

Comprehensive education is meant to be an inclusive system that respects different kinds of capability and avoids the stigmas of failure and the huge levels of wastage which competitive selection produces. It also addresses the environmental, organisational and cultural factors that contribute to educational inequality. The ideal of comprehensive development is that all children do have worth and that their capabilities should be valued.

Sadly, at the top of our education systems (across Europe) is where we see most clearly the failures to address deeply structural inequalities. For example, participation by socio-economic background produces large gaps, especially in higher status universities. In the UK, this inequity can be explained by poor secondary school attainment rather than by barriers to access at 18–19 years (Chowdry *et al.*, 2010). In fact, the UK higher education system has some of the best equity interventions in the world (e.g. IDEAS (www.equityideas.eu)). These are based on experiential and action learning approaches that create culturally appropriate pathways into higher education via communities with institutional cultural change interventions. We believe that education systems certainly do have an important role to play in fostering social transformation for social justice. Even within the confines of wider structural inequalities, experiential and action learning models are effective in empowering the marginalised by making sense of what is and what can be. The tools and the expertise are within the sector, it is the political will to remove inequality that remains a barrier to social justice.

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12136

Indigenous Peoples' Rights to Education

Rodolfo Stavenhagen

What Role, if any, Is There for Education Systems in Fostering Social Transformation for Social Justice?

In the modern world, education systems are structured around a number of different roles according to particular circumstances: the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next; the learning of skills to prepare new generations to cope with the challenges of the world they live in, especially the labour market; moulding young people to become 'good citizens' and thus construct integrated societies; building new societies for the future. Any number of additional roles or functions can be attached to these general objectives in order to develop particular educational streams and structures.

During my own experience over the years, I have dealt with issues concerning intercultural learning within the framework of what are commonly referred to as multicultural societies, the purpose being precisely to foster social transformation and promote social justice. This approach is also related to issues of human rights, the struggle against discrimination and racism and the practice of democracy and democratic values. It has been for me a moving force in my professional activities, both at home in Mexico and during my public service in international organisations.

My interest in the interrelations between these various concerns arose when, as a young anthropologist, I worked for the Mexican government in a number of indigenous communities that were the object of public development projects. It soon became apparent to me (as it did to some of my colleagues) that the policies applied by the government agencies were not only meant to improve the living conditions of the various indigenous communities in the country (also known as Indians), they also reflected the prevailing political agenda of the so-called 'revolutionary régime' that took power as a result of the Mexican Revolution in 1917 when a new Constitution was drafted. The new élites were impelled by the idea of 'nation building' and 'national integration'. This meant the need to integrate and assimilate the Indians into the national mainstream, and the public education system became one of the principal avenues to achieve this objective. The Mexican political system was described for over half a century as a type of 'revolutionary nationalism', assigning major responsibilities to the State for the development of the national economy, public works and social services. The Indians were to be 'modernised' in order to become full participants in the national society. This approach entailed a number of problematic issues. Ever since Mexico's independence from Spain at the beginning of the 19th century, Indians were legally considered as equal citizens with the rest of the population that consisted mainly of mestizos (mixed stock of Europeans, Indians and Afrodescendants). However, the Indians who at the turn of the 20th century made up half of the Mexican population, living mostly in marginalised rural areas, continued to be at the bottom of the social hierarchy as a poor, exploited and discriminated underclass. Most were monolingual in one of the dozens of native languages and knew not how to read or write (especially the women).

Thus, the 'indigenista' policy of the post-revolutionary Mexican State was considered to be pursuing a particularly nationalistic and progressive objective in its efforts to incorporate the Indians. Mexican ideological nationalism holds the ancient Indian societies of pre-Hispanic times in high regard and many Mexicans are rightly proud of their indigenous ancestry. So an increasing number began to ask themselves why these vibrant cultures should have to disappear, which led to a sometimes bitter debate in the country during the second half of the century over the need to re-evaluate official policy, at around the time that an emerging social and cultural movement of indigenous peoples demanded respect for their identities and traditions, their lands and resources, their languages and their institutions. As a result, first bilingual and then full 'intercultural' schooling were introduced in the education system at the basic level and have moved up the ladder, so that at present a number of intercultural universities are also functioning. The results are not fully satisfactory and much needs to be done in the coming years.

The Mexican experience is not very different from the situation encountered in numerous other countries. As United Nations Special Rapporteur for the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples during the first years of this century, I was able to report on the cultural and education problems of many indigenous peoples and communities. Although the right to education is universally recognised, indigenous peoples still do not exercise it fully. The degree of illiteracy, poor academic achievement and poor school attendance, especially at the middle-school and higher levels, tend to be higher among indigenous peoples than in the rest of the population.

While it has often enabled indigenous children and youth to acquire knowledge and skills that will allow them to move ahead in life and connect with the broader world, formal education has also been a means of forcibly changing and, in some cases, destroying indigenous cultures. This ambiguous nature of education in indigenous communities continues to generate tensions and conflict today. Many indigenous people experience difficulties in gaining access to schools, but even more problematic is the fact that the fundamental goal of education has usually been to assimilate indigenous peoples in the dominant culture ('Western' or 'national', depending on the circumstances), leading to the consequent disappearance or, at best, marginalisation of indigenous cultures within the education system. To a large extent, this is still the prevailing view in some education systems, despite the existence of legislation that sets specific objectives in this area.

Indigenous students at all levels, especially girls, generally score lower than the non-indigenous population. A particularly painful human rights violation was the existence of boarding schools for indigenous students. In many cases, these institutions played an important role in ensuring access to and continued attendance at school while also providing, where necessary, food and health-care services, especially when the population was scattered and communication was difficult. But in many places such institutions were relentless in their efforts to separate whole generations of indigenous students from their cultural roots and, very often, their families, doing irreparable harm to the survival of indigenous cultures and societies. In this connection, UNESCO stresses the need for a linguistically and culturally relevant curriculum in which history, values, languages, oral traditions and spirituality are recognised, respected and promoted.

Indigenous peoples are now calling for a school curriculum that reflects cultural differences, includes indigenous languages and contemplates the use of alternative teaching methods. In most of the countries covered by my reports, indigenous cultures have been reflected in educational texts and materials in an inappropriate and disrespectful way, which has further contributed to discrimination and prejudice against indigenous people in society in general. Teaching must be in children's mother tongue. The promotion and dissemination of indigenous languages are key aspects to be considered in providing culturally-appropriate education. Language becomes an essential tool for transmitting indigenous culture, values and world view. Education must also be placed in the context of local indigenous communities' own culture. However, indigenous education also promotes the opening up of communities to the national society, which means that instruction in the regional or national languages must begin at an early age through a system of bilingual education with an intercultural focus.

While there are many successful examples of intercultural bilingual education, not all countries with indigenous populations have adopted this educational model. Moreover, even when it exists on paper, its implementation, according to several studies, leaves much to be desired, and the results achieved are not always entirely satisfactory. Any effort to strengthen bilingual intercultural education must start with the training of the teachers who are to provide it. This often means overcoming institutional resistance, promoting a change in attitude among ministry officials and education departments and even among teachers' associations and unions within the formal education system.

Given the havoc once wreaked by the imposition of rigid models of educational, linguistic and cultural assimilation in indigenous communities, some indigenous people are trying to recover traditional communal types of non-formal education. To this end, they draw on the wisdom and knowledge of older persons, which are once again appreciated after having been devalued by formal educators. This approach helps to preserve indigenous knowledge systems, enhance cultural pride and identity among young people, strengthen ties to the land and the environment and offer indigenous youth an alternative view of the future. Real intercultural education must also be taught in education systems nationwide, for only then will the human rights of indigenous peoples be fully recognised. To be successful, indigenous education professionals must participate freely in all phases of the planning, design, implementation and evaluation of such reforms. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, proclaimed by the General Assembly in 2007, makes special mention of their right to education.

> 'Article 14. Indigenous Peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning'.

In conclusion, indigenous education, adapted to indigenous peoples' cultures and values, is the best way of ensuring the right to education; it does not mean shutting out the outside world or ignoring the challenges posed by national societies or the global economy, but is viewed by indigenous communities themselves as a necessary tool for the full personal, social and cultural development of aboriginal peoples.[1]

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NOTE

1. The Special Rapporteur's reports to the Human Rights Council may be consulted on the United Nations website. www.un.org

European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12132

Living the Neo-liberal University

Stephen J. Ball

> 'Each of my works is a part of my own biography. For one or other reason I had occasion to feel and live those things' *Truth, power, self: an interview* (Foucault, 1988, p. 11)

I was a child of Beveridge[1], of the British post-War welfare state, of free milk and orange juice, of NHS dentistry. I am now a neo-liberal academic working for a global HE brand, ranked in international comparison sites for performance-related pay. Increasingly, in relation to this shift and the life I lead, I am, as Judith Butler puts it, 'other to myself precisely at the place where I expect to be myself' (Butler, 2004).

The practices of government and technologies of policy that make up and constantly re-make higher education (HE) nationally and globally have transformed the life of the university over the past 25 years. The funding and accountability of and access to HE have been changed in many material and affective ways. Concomitantly, what it means to learn, to teach and research in HE have also changed. The practices and technologies to which I refer include annual reviews, league tables and rankings, impact narratives, CVs, performance-related pay, the granting of degree-awarding powers to commercial providers, off-shore campuses, student fees, expanding overseas recruitment, and Public-Private Partnerships of all sorts.

These are the effects and conduits of contemporary neo-liberalisation. They constitute the big-neo-liberalism, out there' in the economy, and the little-neo-liberalism, 'in here' — in our daily lives and in our heads. The former increasing renders 'truth' into a commodity — within what we now call the knowledge economy and informational capitalism. The latter is realised in a set of local practices which articulates the mundane rhythms of our email traffic, our form-filling, our peer reviewing, and re-modulates the ways in which we relate to one another as neo-liberal subjects, individual, responsible, striving, competitive, enterprising (Ball, 2003; 2005). In the university, we confront daily the mundane force, brute logic and stunning triviality of performative individualism as both 'modest and omniscient' (Rose, 1996, p. 54). Indicators, indexes and measures insinuate themselves both into our sense of what we are and into our practice and decision-making as writers and researchers and teachers (Burrows, 2012). Increasingly, we make decisions about the value and distribution of our time and effort in relation to the measures and symbolic and real rewards that are generated by us and about us. The pace and pattern of our work are constantly changing in relation to the oscillations of measurement and are further related to a pressured and speeded up need to *tell* about our research which is enabled by Websites, blogs, tweets, press releases, etc., but which generates, at that same time, a whole other set of measures which we can quote back to funders and paymasters as numbers of hits, re-tweets, followers, likes, downloads, etc.

Once in the thrall of the index, we are easily reduced by it to a category or quotient — our worth, our humanity and complexity are abridged. We come to

'know' and value others by their outputs rather than by their individuality and humanity. Those who 'under-perform' are subject to moral approbation. It becomes increasingly difficult to think of life outside the constraints of the 'contemporary problematics of information' (p. 106) and the 'infopolitical practices' (Koopman, 2014) that make us up. These produce new and excruciating visibilities within which we, as academics, relate to one another, and in relation to which we must seek our place and our worth and fulfil our needs and desires. We are constantly expected to draw on the skills of presentation and of inflation to write ourselves and fabricate ourselves in ever lengthier and more sophisticated CVs, annual reviews and performance management audits, which give an account of our 'contributions' to research and teaching and administration and the community. This is part of what Kathleen Lynch *et al.* (2012) call 'crafting the elastic self' and the danger is that we become transparent but empty, unrecognisable to ourselves in a life enabled by and lived against measurement. More and more in education and other parts of the public sector, our days are numbered — literally. The techniques of enumeration do not simply report our practice; they inform, construct and drive it. The dry, soul-less grids and techniques of reporting elicit a range of often unhealthy emotions. Our emotions are linked to the economy through our anxieties and desires and our concomitant efforts of self-management and self-improvement. This is part of a larger process of 'ethical retooling' in the public sector, which is replacing client 'need' and professional judgement, the foundations of the welfare state, with commercial forms of accountability-driven and investment-based decision-making, the foundations of neo-liberalism. There is for many of us in education a growing sense of ontological insecurity; both a loss of a sense of meaning in what we do and of what is important in what we do. Are we doing things for the 'right' reasons — and how can we know? Constant change and constant visibility produce concomitant anxieties and insecurities — what Lazarrato calls the 'micro-politics of little fears' (Lazzarato, 2009) p. 120) — neoliberal affects.

All this works to make 'government possible and to make government better' (Rose, 1996, p. 45) through the 'technocratic embedding of routines of neoliberal governance' (Peck & Tickell, 2002) in the everyday life of institutional practices. The enactment of judgement as practices of evaluation and comparison, as truths told about us articulate our 'discursive currency' (Prado, 2006, p. 80), i.e. ways of thinking and talking about ourselves, to ourselves and to others — 'a regime of truth offers the terms that make self-recognition possible' (Butler, 2005, p. 22). However, we are not simply victims here, we are complicit, indeed we are sometimes beneficiaries. At times, as Broadhead and Howard (1998) admit, we participate in all of this, not reluctantly, but 'imaginatively, aggressively, and competitively'. We take responsibility for working harder, faster and better as part of our sense of personal worth and our estimation of the worth of others.

In the neo-liberal university, we must calculate ourselves in another sense. Collective interests are replaced by competitive relations, and it becomes increasingly difficult to mobilise workers around issues of general significance, collective professional values are displaced by commercial values. We cease to be a community of scholars and rather we relate to one another in a complex, overlapping set of competitions, often expressed as rankings 'whereby educational institutions and agents are viewed as isolated and distinct elements' (Clarke, 2012, p. 301) or operationalised as tenders for research tasks required of us by our funders. The

neo-liberal university is thus a particular configuration of the relationship between *truth and power and the self* (and thus ethics), a set of contact points 'between reflexivity and government' (Dean, 2007) p. 211). It is now a site of veridition only in the sense that knowledge has exchange value and research makes a measureable impact on social and academic life.

Within all of this, as an academic subject, I am made unstable, ill at ease, out of place. My home in the ivory tower is being flattened by neo-liberal bulldozers to make way for a fast-fact HE franchise in which all knowledge has its price and which, as Ansgar Allen puts it, 'is distinguished not by its greyness and economic subjugation, but by a gaudy proliferation of colour. It has become the rampant breeding ground of jobbing academics in search of the next "big" idea' (http://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/ansgar-allen/in-praise-of-economically-illiterate-academic). This is a space nonetheless in which I continue and struggle.

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NOTE

1. The *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services*, known commonly as the Beveridge Report, was an influential document in the founding of the welfare state in the UK, published in December 1942. It was chaired by William Beveridge, an economist, who identified five 'Giant Evils' in society: squalor, ignorance, want, idleness, and disease, and went on to propose widespread reform to the system of social welfare in order to address these. I revisited the report in Ball, S. J. (2013) *Education, Justice and Democracy: the struggle over ignorance and opportunity* (London, Centre for Labour and Social Studies).

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12129

Global Citizenship and Global Universities. The Age of Global Interdependence and Cosmopolitanism

Carlos Alberto Torres

Introduction

Global citizenship education interacts with *globalisation* and *neo-liberalism*, key concepts which designate movements that have come to define our era of global interdependence. *Global capitalism*, which reflects the interaction of g*lobalisation* and *neo-liberalism*, now defines the top-down model of global hegemonic dominance, which rests on the power of élites, multi-national corporations, bilateral and multilateral organisms, and the global and regional power of nations, which, in turn, exercise control over people, commodities, territories, capital and resources of all kinds, including the environment (Torres, 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2013; Rhoads & Torres, 2006). The viability of the neo-liberal model of economic development has been questioned, yet the politics of culture associated with neo-liberalism are still in force and have become the new common sense shaping the role of government and, not least, education (Torres, 2011, 2013). This 'common sense' has become an ideology, playing a major role in constructing a hegemonic moral and intellectual leadership in contemporary societies.

This article discusses some of the challenges faced by universities in the context of globalisation, and, by extension, the development and sustenance of global citizenship education for social transformation. I argue that there are different kinds of public and private universities. Specifically, that some are more connected with models of *democratic cosmopolitanism*, while others are more connected with models of *localism*. Both respond differently to the challenges associated with globalisation and to the delineation of boundaries between national and global citizenship. Three themes are central to this analysis, namely: a) how multiple globalisations are impacting global life and academics, b) how networks have become privileged sites for global education collaboration, and c) the implications of globalisation and networks for global citizenship and global universities. A key question undergirding the analysis is: What should be the goals of global citizenship education in a decade marked by the UN Education First Initiative which seeks to further global citizenship and the responsibilities of universities and governments?

A Plurality of Globalisations

Globalisation is a central concept in the analysis in this article — it is complex and multi-faceted (Torres, 2009a, 2009b). For example, it has been defined as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Held, 1991, p. 9). Another view sees it as 'a feature of late capitalism, or the condition of postmodernity, and, more importantly, the emergence of a world system driven in large part by a global capitalist economy' (Luke & Luke 2000, p. 287). Others see it as the transformation of time and space in which

complex interactions and exchange, once impossible, have become everyday activities (Urry, 1998). And still others see it as an assault on traditional notions of society and nation-state, whereby the very nature of citizenship and social change are dramatically altered (Castells, 1996, 1997; Touraine, 1968,). The meaning of *globalisation* thus takes on different forms and we really should talk about globalisations (Torres, 2009a; 2009b).

Several forms of *globalisation* can be conceived as follows. First, there is '*globalisation from above*'. This is framed by an ideology of neo-liberalism and calls for an opening of borders, the creation of multiple regional markets, the proliferation of fast-paced economic and financial exchanges, and governing systems other than nation-states — particularly international trade agreements enforced by the World Trade Organization.

A second form can be described as '*globalisation from below*' or *anti-globalisation*. It manifests itself in individuals, institutions, and social movements that are actively opposed to what is perceived as corporate globalisation. For these individuals and groups, their motto is 'no globalisation without representation'.

Another form pertains to rights rather than to markets — the *globalisation of human rights*. With the growing ideology of human rights taking hold in the international system and in international law, many traditional practices that are endemic to the fabric of particular societies or cultures (from religious to esoteric practices) are now being called into question, challenged, forbidden, or even outlawed. The advancement of cosmopolitan democracies and plural democratic multicultural global citizenship is the theme of this version of globalisation (Rhoads & Szelényi, 2011).

Globalisation can also be characterised as a trademark of our contemporary world: *hybridity*. There are multiple forms of hybridity crossing the globe. For example, hip-hop cultures that were born in the Bronx now have Japanese, Indian, or Chinese practitioners and cultural modalities. What all of them have in common is that they show some form of opposition to the establishments and new ways for youth cultures to express themselves. Another prominent form of hybridity is related to inter-marriages that create categories that are not easily classified within traditional taxonomies of race and/or ethnicity in demographic surveys.

A fifth manifestation of globalisation is the intersection of two processes defined by the concepts of the 'information society' and the 'knowledge society'. The idea of the information society rests on the ability of digital cultures to beam information to all corners of the globe almost instantaneously, affecting the equation of time and space like never before and it is intimately linked to the idea of a network society made possible by developments in digital cultures technologies (UNESCO, 2005). This form of globalisation is impacting global (cultural and material) productions in ways that seem like science fiction. Its twin, the knowledge society, itself an outcome of robotisation and digital cultures, dramatically impacts the way we conceive the factors of production, which were traditionally considered land, capital, labour and technology. Now, we must add knowledge.

A by-product of the former is well articulated by Castells (1996) who defined the threshold of the 21st century as the 'network society'. Never before have social networks been as widely discussed as they are today when living in the 'network society' seems to be a prevailing motto. For instance, among the various concepts

that Giddens creates to explain contemporary social phenomena in his book *Beyond Left and Right* (1994), it is worth noting 'social reflexivity' which refers to knowledge disseminated outside the realm of experts, or what Giddens calls 'expert systems', through information and communication networks that have been established through the development of new computational technologies and the Internet. Hence, due to these new forms of telecommunication, new forms of information and expertise have been gaining prominence on the Internet, going beyond the borders of the world of experts (i.e. scientists and researchers or journalists). These networks alter a number of traditional dimensions of human life such as the distinction between private and public domains of social action. There is also the importance of the politics of bloggers who, seated in their living rooms, inundate the globe with messages of many kinds. Questions about academic authority and moral character become central elements in discussing the credibility of messages, methods, research, data, analyses and narratives that pullulate on the Internet.

A seventh manifestation of globalisation extends beyond markets, and, to some extent, is against human rights. It is the *globalisation of the international war against terrorism*. It was prompted in large part by the events of September 11th which were interpreted as the globalisation of the terrorist threat and by the reaction of the US to the event. This form of globalisation is represented by the anti-terrorist response, which resulted in two coalition wars led by the US against Muslim régimes in Afghanistan and Iraq under the auspices of the Global War Against Terror. Islamophobia is also a theme of this globalisation. Terrorism and the terrorist threat were made synonymous with Islam and Muslims and became a global norm. Yet, the overall theme of this process was not only its military flavour, but also its emphasis on security and control of borders, people, capital, and commodities — i.e. the reverse of open markets and high-paced commodity exchanges. Security as a precondition of freedom is a key theme of this form of globalisation.

Finally, an eighth form which relates again to terrorism can be conceived, namely the globalisation of terrorism which is well represented by the Al Qaida network, with terrorist actions of many kinds. Examples include Boko Haram's kidnapping of 300 girls from a Christian school in Nigeria, forcing them to convert to Islam and to marry fighters. Another example is the growing consolidation of ISIS in the Middle East with thousands of youths from the West moving to Iraq and Syria to fight for what they believe is their sacred cause of social change, leading to the establishment of a new Caliphate in the Levant and Middle East. The motto of terrorism is probably best defined in the following terms: Only chaos will bring about freedom.

The implications of some of these forms of globalisations for education are worth emphasising. Without doubt, the dominant form of neo-liberal globalisation has affected 'competition-based reforms', transforming educational policy in K-12 and higher education. These reforms are characterised by efforts to create measurable performance standards through extensive standardised testing (the new standards and accountability movement), the introduction of new teaching and learning methods leading to the expectation of better performance at low cost (e.g. universalisation of textbooks), and improvements in the selection and training of teachers. Competition-based reforms in higher education tend to adopt a vocational orientation and to reflect the point of view that colleges and universities exist

largely to serve the economic well-being of a society. Privatization is a major reform effort linked to neo-liberal globalisation and perhaps the most dominant.

Comparative educational analysis is playing a larger role in the globalisation of education worldwide. A telling example is the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) that is highly influential in many countries and regions of the world beyond the members of OECD. It constitutes a landmark in the de-contextualised definition of quality of education and is an example of how a focus on education based on cognitive scores runs counter to the empirical evidence of how to define the quality of education.

There is no question that the multiple faces of globalisation and globalisation agendas described above are playing a major role in defining the role and purposes of education today, and more so when one confronts the dialectics of the global and the local (Arnove, Torres, & Franz, 2013) — a topic we will now turn to.

Global vs Local Agendas: Hyper-Globalisers, Skeptics and Transformationists

There are at least three agendas concerning the limits and possibilities of globalisations and their impact on our lives. There is the agenda of *hyper-globalisers* who believe that globalisation encompasses all regions of the world and all aspects of human and planetary life and is the solution to poverty, inequality and all other social ills. In this vein, Friedman (2005) implied that the quicker we moved to make our world flatter, the better. This is certainly the dominant view in the mass media and is well represented in international organisations such as the World Bank, the Import-Export Bank, the IMF, the World Trade Organization, some sectors of the United Nations, many Western and non-Western governments and many OECD reports. At the opposite end is the agenda of the *skeptics*, who could, in their most extreme form, become *anti-globalisers*. Somewhere in the middle, and always struggling to make sense of the limits and possibilities of the new realities, are the agendas of different varieties of those one may call *transformationists*. They are very fragmented, with different interests and emphases.

Several reasons prompt the *hyper-globalisers*, and particularly those connected with corporations, neo-liberal governments and even higher education institutions to argue that globalisation is a powerful tool to reduce inequalities within and across nations. In considering the relationship between globalisation and inequality, Bardhan, Bowles and Wallerstein (2006) stated the following:

> The freer flow of information, goods, and capital from the richer to poorer nations should raise productivity and increase the demands for labor in the labor-abundant and technologically lagging nations, inducing tendencies toward convergence of wage rates for equivalent labor throughout the world (. . .) Globalization might also induce more competitive products markets, reducing profit markups — the discrepancy between prices and marginal costs — and thus raising real wages. Finally, competition among nation-states and the ability of citizens to compare institutional performance across nations might also provide greater popular accountability for state and para-statal institutions often dominated by elites (p. 3).

The symmetrical counterpoint to this economistic perspective is built on a critique of globalisation as enhancing rather than reducing the power of élites

worldwide — within and across nations — and affecting—some will even argue obliterating—culture and ways of seeing and living of individuals, families and communities who find themselves deeply affected by the changes in the world system. Of great importance is the way in which these changes are affecting democracies and nation states, particularly the welfare state. Without entering into a debate as to whether or not the multiple processes of globalisation have withered away the nation state, its autonomy and ability to control its own territories and policies, it is clear that the skeptics point to the crises of 2008 as another indicator not only of the maliciousness of global processes, but also of the failure of neo-liberalism as an economic model (Torres, 2009a, 2009b). I argue that the economic debacle resulted from voracious, greedy and irresponsible action of financial capitalism that brought the capitalist world system to the brink of its own dissolution.

A key element for the *skeptics* in condemning globalisation is that it has unleashed an unprecedented wave of inequality worldwide. In *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Piketty (2014, p. 471) argues that 'Today, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, inequalities of wealth that had supposedly disappeared are close to regaining or even surpassing their historical highs. The new global economy has brought with it both immense hopes (such as the eradication of poverty) and equally immense inequalities (some individuals are now as wealthy as entire countries)'. Top income shares have increased substantially in English-speaking countries, India and China, but not in continental Europe or Japan (Atkinson, Piketty & Saez, 2011, p. 3). Newspaper reports of growing inequality in the UK show that the top 10% have incomes that are 12 times higher than the bottom 10%, up from eight times higher in 1985.

For *skeptics*, globalisation has also been deleterious because technological change has generally favoured skilled workers. Similarly, there is a decline of unions, which defend income and wages and therefore serve as a barrier to inequality in addition to defending the fundamentals of democracy (Austen-Smith *et al*, 2008). Because of this, there is a falling minimum wage (one of the key reasons for inequality) and a rise in immigration (legal and undocumented), producing a 'brain drain' from poor nations to rich nations. Furthermore, some point to the rise of single-parent families, which is one of the reasons for family impoverishment as an adverse impact of globalisation. Finally, *skeptics* point to the voraciousness of élites who have taken control with the presence of neo-liberalism in governments and international organisations and have created even greater levels of inequalities. There is no question that *skeptics* have powerful arguments against the impact of globalisation. From this perspective, the nation-state is seen to remain critically necessary for articulating responses to globalisation, but *skeptics* do not necessarily have great expectations for the successful performance of democratic States. Many would argue that democracy has become controlled by a plutocracy. Some see that the declining (some would argue vanishing) middle class, considered the backbone of democratic politics, does not bode well for the future of democracy *per se*.

Transformationists recognise that sovereign relations, state power and territoriality are conflated in such a way that their relationships can no longer be conceived in the same way as when the modern nation–states were being forged (Lauder *et al*., 2006, p. 45). In assessing the tensions between the local and the global, they try to find a balance between the hyper-optimism of globalisers and the halting

pessimism of skeptics. There are many varieties of transformationists, pursuing different agendas via different avenues. On the left, there are the *social democrats* who want to preserve some form of the welfare state — despite the fiscal crises of the State that need to be solved. There are traditional social democratic varieties, mostly in Europe, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and populist social democratic varieties in Latin America and the US. Here, the key element is how the nation-state can control the behaviour of markets and how to move beyond a class-conflict model while assuming that the State should tax the earnings of capital and transfer the revenue to wage earners, as studied for example by Przeworski (2003) and Reich (1988; 1992). On the right, there are the *market liberals* who argue that the State should foster privatisation and de-regulation. However, they do not all go as far as the *hyper-globalisers* in seeking to dismantle the welfare state, totally undermine the nation-state, or thwart state intervention even in sensitive areas of state policies — particularly those connected with the dual role of any capitalist State in promoting capital accumulation and political legitimation. In terms of capital accumulation, the State forges conditions for investment in areas that private capital cannot because it is either too risky or expensive. In terms of political legitimation, the capitalist State plays a major role in the political legitimation of ever increasing unequal democracies. These state functions have specific implications for education, as stated by Carnoy *et al* (2014, p. 362): 'Our main argument is that these states use the expansion of education, including university education, to simultaneously promote capital accumulation, economic growth, and political legitimation with the mass of families who want to enhance their children's employability and social mobility'.

Against both positions emerges a group that can be defined as *authoritarian libertarians.* Their agenda involves a combination of protectionists and ethno-nationalists groups. They have proliferated in Europe in the last two decades, but there are representatives in many continents. Their ultimate goal is to seal national borders, preventing immigrants from entering their territory, control capital influx and capital export, and follow labour protectionism policies that seek to outlaw the outsourcing of jobs overseas. They want to exercise the full power of the nation-state to control various issues within national borders, from crime, to culture, to capital accumulation. They are against free trade and the radical forms of globalisation proposed by the *hyper-globalisers*. The Freedom Party of Austria (German: Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ), the Italian Lega Nord, VMRO from Bulgaria, the Flemish Vlaams Belang, the Czech Republic OK Strana, Geert Wilders' Party of Freedom, and Marine Le Pen's Front National are examples of this orientation.

Economically, in several middle- and low-income countries, for example, local *internationalists*, who are often élites who collude with multi-national corporations to amass capital at the expense of local populations' resources, welfare and identities, are often referred to as *comprador bourgeoisie*.

There is another variety, which I define for the purposes of this article as *New Democrats*, who seeks to mitigate inequality by emphasising differences among categories of class, race/ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, or disabilities, to name just a few. Depending on whether they espouse a strong or weak critical orientation on gender (feminism), race or ethnicity, or any other political orientations, they are immersed in domestic-, regional-, provincial- and/or national-oriented politics and often confront globalisation processes at several levels. New Democrats are very

prominent and are linked to multiculturalist and post-colonial traditions in the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Western Europe, and are present within a diversity of orientations in many other regions of the world, from Latin America to South Sahara Africa to the Asian Pacific region. They may overlap with some social-democratic, populist or socialist (or post-socialist) traditions, but I contend that many do not pay enough attention to the international developments regarding an emerging democratic cosmopolitanism. Most varieties of New Democrats fall at the *localist* end of the spectrum between *cosmopolitanism* and *localism*. They are unabashedly *local* in the defence of their learning communities and political constituencies. Hence, their engagement or confrontation with the many processes of globalisation are usually territorially-, nationally-, or regionally-based. While mostly *localist* rather than *cosmopolitan*, New Democrats actively intervene on the basis of solidarity in the national and international arena when they try to prevent wars or lend a hand to people who experience distressing natural or man-made catastrophes, or struggle to find ways to help the planet by promoting sustainable development.

Cosmopolitan democracy entails 'a model of political organization in which citizens, wherever they are located in the world, have a voice, input, and political representation in international affairs, in parallel with and independent of their own governments' (Archivugi & Held, 1995, p. 13). Falk (1993; 2002) delineated five categories of global citizens: (1) the 'global reformer' and supporter of supranational government, (2) the élite class of globe trotters engaged in global business activities, (3) individuals committed to global economic and ecological sustainability, (4) supporters of regional governance structures as in the example of the EU, and (5) transnational activists involved in grassroots organisations fighting for human rights and democracy. Yet one may classify some of the representatives of democratic cosmopolitanism as a global variety of New Democrats or Transformationists.

The dialectics between cosmopolitans and locals cannot be simply seen as a taxonomy of strict binary classifications. I would argue that among the supporters of cosmopolitan democracy, and, by implication, global citizenship, we find all the varieties represented above, from the hyper-globalisers who push for models of neo-liberalism, to mild forms of skeptics who seek a way out of their own conundra, to some varieties of New Democrats, particularly those who embrace global citizenship education as a form of global solidarity.

Global citizenship is not seen as an alternative to national citizenship, but as a supplement to reinforce the robustness of representative and participatory democracies worldwide, ultimately seeking to guarantee the social democratic pact on the rights of persons, not only the rights of property (Bowles & Gintis, 1986; Torres, 1998). In other words, global citizenship adds value to national citizenship. The construction of national citizenship could be considered unfinished business. Hence, the value added of global citizenship may be another layer of support to transform citizenship making and citizenship education into models based on principles of liberty and equality for all.

Global Citizenship Education

I see global citizenship as being marked by an understanding of global ties and a commitment to the collective good. As a concept, global citizenship education should contribute directly to this. In Rhoads & Torres (2006), Rhoads and I

advanced the idea of 'democratic multicultural citizenship' in which education helps students to develop the abilities to work across social and cultural differences in a quest for solidarity. Such skills are essential to citizenship in a multicultural, global environment. Rhoads and Szelényi (2011) developed this idea by focusing on the responsibilities of universities. Their position is to '. . . advance a view of citizenship in which the geographic reference point for one's sense of rights and responsibilities is broadened, and in some sense, complicated by a more expansive spatial vision and understanding of the world' (p. 160). They go on to argue that '. . . the engagement of individuals as citizens reflects understandings of rights and responsibilities across three basic dimensions of social life: the political (including civic aspects), the economic (including occupational aspects), and the social (including cultural aspects)' (p. 17). In this vein, Soysal (1994, p. 7) advanced a 'post-national' definition of citizenship in which one's rights and responsibilities are rooted not in the nation-state but in one's personhood.

If models of global citizenship education are built to provide global cooperation, which resources must be deployed? Which agendas will predominate? Will governments, NGOs or social movements choose to support the transformationists? Or will they support the hyper-globalisers or the skeptics? Many people want to be in the middle and not in the extremes. If the decision is to support the transformationists, which of the varieties should be key stakeholders? The local New Democrats or the cosmopolitans, including the new orientation towards global citizenship? Could global citizenship education work around all these agendas without contradictions? Empirical research should seek to sort out these categories and questions.

Regional Challenges to Global Citizenship

This section analyses some of the issues and challenges that are relevant for the way global citizenship education in higher education may be perceived, adopted and implemented.

Asia is confronting the fragility and/or absence of democracy in many contexts. Notably, 'shadow education' plays a unique role as an offshoot of highly competitive public educational systems (which often include the need to master English and compete for study in the West). These practices result in contradictory cultural effects for traditional families. Moreover, in terms of educational policies, new dilemmas emerge when trying to create élite global research institutions that are purely technical. For example, this can result in problematic experiments with branches of Western universities. All this accounts for the difficulties of pan-Asian citizenship versus the idea of global citizenship, which may be seen by many as a by-product of Westernisation.

Latin America is confronting the tension between private and public education within democratisation that undermines élite motivations for quality public education; and the need for mass inclusion at the base, yet encouraging enough differentiation for élite research institutions (e.g. Brazil vs. Venezuela). An outcome is the possibilities of a regional citizenship such as Mercosur or ALBA as a step towards global citizenship.

Sub-Saharan Africa is confronting the catastrophic brain-drain problem outside of South Africa, the increasing impact of China, which is now the single largest investor (mostly in resources), and 1 million Chinese who live in enclaves throughout the region. It is also confronting the dilemmas of 'decolonising'

educational systems that were impoverished even in their Eurocentric colonial form and the challenge of creating a relatively autonomous higher education system with a capacity for knowledge production that is neither neo-colonial nor a capitulation to the potential mystification of appeals to Afro-centric indigenous knowledge. However, Sub-Saharan Africa is also confronting the most serious challenge of how to construct global citizenship when tribal differences continue to undermine plural nation-states.

North Africa and the Middle East are confronting the challenge of how to construct a global Islam that can accommodate sufficient pluralism for democratic transitions and tolerance of difference. Clearly, there is a need to confront the failures of the Arab Spring in the context of education beyond religious differences, as well as the enduring tribal and ethnic ones. It is also important to highlight the danger (also evident in Asia) of attempting to de-link science and technology from its 'enlightenment' origins; and the potential distinctive role of high quality, private, secular educational institutions (e.g. Turkey) in a region that, despite its rich cultural heritage, lacks constructive educational models and global perspectives. Finally, the tension in some countries between expatriates and *locals* creates a deep schism in the social fabric and another citizenship deficit.

Europe and North America are confronted with the key problems of citizenship created by undocumented immigrants and the increasing impoverishment of mass forms of post-secondary education, with the US and most European countries subjected to draconian fiscal reform and massive tuition increases led by England. Additionally, large segments of youth cohorts are losing hope of knowing the security of a middle class way-of-life and corresponding retirement, given the declining value of investment in higher education, student debt, lack of qualified jobs, and stratification of degrees. These are clearly processes that erode solidarity and global citizenship formation. The recent episodes around distressful racial relations, police violence, and unfinished citizenship exemplified in the Ferguson, Missouri affair should not be ignored.

Facing these regional realities, there is a challenge presented by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Ban Ki-moon with The Global Education First Initiative (www.unesco.org/new/en/education/global-education-first-initiative-gefi). Launched on 26 September 2012, this five-year initiative constitutes a global advocacy platform at the highest level, claiming, in the Secretary-General's own words, that 'when we put Education First, we can reduce poverty and hunger, end wasted potential — and look forward to stronger and better societies for all'. This is the first time that a UN Secretary-General has launched such an ambitious project on education in the UN system. Is Ban Ki-moon one of the most visible leaders of the Cosmopolitan New Democrats and therefore a transformationist? Because education is among its core focuses, UNESCO is playing a major role in the design and implementation of the initiative which has three pillars: putting every child into school; improving the quality of learning; and fostering global citizenship. While the first and second pillar are quintessential to the work of most schools and institutions connected with the fields of teaching, research and practice, the third is particularly relevant. But can we achieve this global citizenship or global cooperation model in the context of a network society, which emerges as a key feature of the new models of globalisation?

Is Global Citizenship the Logical Outcome of a Network Society

The challenges of global citizenship education should consider both the limits and the possibilities of a networking society. According to Castells (1996), this network can function for good or ill. In the case of the latter, the question of networks of drug trafficking, organised crime, or arms trafficking cannot be ignored. Castells went so far as to develop a construct called 'Informational Capitalism', which considers information technology and telecommunications as new productive forces which impose new laws on the operation of production.

As discussed by Morrow & Torres (2013), the new global economy, with multiple lines of power and decision-making mechanisms that resemble a spider's web, is more fluid and flexible than the static pyramidal organisation of power that characterised the traditional capitalist system. We know that access to information on its own cannot produce a social network for its users. Thus, it is necessary that, beyond access, the users of the network are able to appropriate the information.

Let us consider the position of social networks. First, it is important to remember their traditional classification into primary and secondary networks. *Primary networks*, according to this classification, accrue from spontaneous, involuntary and thus informal linkages. Prominent among these are family networks, networks within neighbourhoods, and so forth. *Secondary networks* result from desires for communication and action that are agreed upon voluntarily by participating members, coming together as formal entities.

Above and beyond this, it is important to remember that the social relationships which constitute such networks do not have common boundaries. Hence, a social network is a combination of connections of people and groups, both voluntary and involuntary, whose boundaries of action are not the same, but which present themselves as a structure that, in certain contexts, works to achieve common objectives. A social network is a type of response to social fragmentation, imposing itself on the one hand as an alternative and on the other as a mediating force between the State and society, or between the public and private spheres. In all social networks, norms of complementarity and reciprocity are formed. Though not always explicit, they are implied through the members' shared contextual interests. Just as in communication (i.e. beyond the speaker, the receiver, the common code, the channels and the secret message, since if the message content was known by all there would be no communication), in the interaction of social networks, different complementing competencies and diverse interests are reified by the action of the other.

These are some of the questions one should pose if one were to take advantage of the Network Society to advance the goals of global citizenship education. The creation and sustainability of networks require resources. How can global citizenship education create a steady flow of resources to support and sustain not only the established networks in each region, but also the new networks that are emerging, such as those that respond to the pleas of youths and youth movements? How does their construction and support through global citizenship education help to disestablish structural hierarchies rather than subsidise élites and reinforce hierarchies? How do these networks become seeds for active transformative global spheres? Universities constitute one of the answers in the construction of global spheres and global citizenship education.

Universities and Public Spheres: Global and Local Imaginaries

Some would argue that universities, as part of the 'public sphere', should contribute to 'open science' and open codes of communication. Brian Pusser *et al.* (2011, p. 2) put it well:

> The public sphere was the interlocking set of institutions, networks and activities sustained in independent civil society, beyond the nation-state and transactions in the market while intersecting with them at many points. It was found in dining establishments, in salons and clubs, in theatres and writers' festivals, and universities–all the places where people met and talked — and in the plethora of civil organizations that focus on changing common opinion or behaviors. The public sphere was sometimes critical of the state, and sometimes provided crucial ideas and support for state projects. Above all it was a forum for critical intelligence and creative discussion about the issues of the day and, alongside family, community, market and nation-state it was one of the mediums in which social solidarity was formed.

Let me turn now to the connection between universities and global citizenship education. Here, I will speak about global universities and national universities respectively. This typology is both descriptive and purposeful. It is descriptive because I focus on the different agendas at play in the context of the dialectic of the global and the local (Arnove, Torres, & Franz, 2013). It is purposeful because it may provide a theoretical marker for empirical studies.

University rankings are conceived as strategic positioning devices which have become normalised in the life of institutions. Traditionally, the field of higher education has been analysed assuming that it has somewhat common standards, roles and functions in the contemporary world. Today, this narrative seems brittle, conflating the analytical with the normative. Because rankings are a model of strategic thinking, there is a natural tendency to blur the multiple distinctions that exist, hence encapsulating large, formal and complex institutions within discrete uniform categories. As a result, the variability among and across departments and schools is not fully captured and understood. It is at this departmental level that excellence thrives in higher education institutions. In the end, much research and policy simply pay lip service to the extraordinary diversity of these institutions worldwide, ignoring the different ways in which they respond to the challenges of the global and the local and the way they survive while defining themselves in the process of social transformation that most are going through.

Finally, my typology is provocative. I want to emphasise the tensions between the emerging context of fewer 'global universities' and the daily practice of a multitude of national universities which cannot be understood in the same analytical and political way as global universities. A university's position in the world system leaves a deep imprint in its ability to capture surplus wealth from the global system beyond its geographical/national borders. Its location and 'brand' enhance its ability to capture or siphon off brains (human resources) both at the level of international undergraduate and graduate students and of distinguished faculty. In turn, those endowments and practices enhance its ability to obtain sizable research funds from Federal, State and municipal governments in the richest societies. Its successful history and practices are rewarded by the production of knowledge and

by being the home of Nobel Prize scientists and writers. In short, its global agenda marks the life of global universities which are transnational by definition, purpose, intent, practice and impact.

At the other end of the spectrum, national universities include a cornucopia of institutions working at different levels (national, regional, local), defined in exactly the opposite way that I have defined global universities.

Global Universities, National Universities and Global Citizenship Education

Universities are at a crossroads of justifying their existence and meaning for knowledge and civilisations perhaps as never before. There is no question that higher education, and particularly universities, have a plurality of functions and roles in society. The specific mission of the university is not only to produce new knowledge in the cultural, economic and social spheres, but also to preserve the knowledge historically accumulated by civilizations, societies, communities and individuals. Higher education institutions differ from elementary and secondary education as well as from adult education and lifelong training, not only in the age groups they serve, but also in their ability to produce original knowledge and preserve a civilization's knowledge. Other key contributions of higher education institutions include the training and education of the labour force to participate in globalised and competitive labour markets. Pure, applied and technological research are pillars that sustain the dynamism of the knowledge economy, with universities playing a central role. Universities also have key responsibilities regarding information technologies, particularly when we are living in a 'virtual society' and when distance education models are creating modes of lifelong learning. They have had an historical responsibility in disseminating knowledge in the larger society. Innovation, i.e. the possibility to create knowledge through interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary or trans-disciplinary efforts, is the central element of universities which are also warehouses of knowledge keeping. Hence, the role of museums, libraries, and depositories where they preserve and make available knowledge and cultural artifacts to a larger public (UNESCO, 2005; Rhoads & Torres, 2006). The role of universities in extension is also paramount today. In fact, it is this role that facilitates their integration in communities worldwide in order to pursue similar goals.

In previous work, I have discussed the implications of neo-liberal globalisation in education and universities (Torres, 2011; 2013). Its impact on universities raises several important questions. Do shifts towards a market-oriented ideology within the wider society suggest similar and inevitable shifts within universities? Do such shifts bring about the inevitable commodification of professional activities, family life, and the environment, or the life of the professoriate? If such responses are unavoidable, does this necessitate a move in the direction of a free-market ideology on a global scale and hence a need for comparative data to assess who is who in higher education? To what extent can the emergence of a global monoculture in higher education be expected once we have established a firm ranking of quality universities on a world scale? While not all these questions can be addressed in a conceptual article like this one, I would like to provide tentative answers which may guide empirical research on the subject.

Neo-liberal globalisation, predicated on the dominance of the market over the State and on deregulatory models of governance, has deeply affected universities in

the context of 'academic capitalism'. The resulting reforms, rationalised as advancing international competitiveness, have affected public universities in four areas: efficiency and accountability, accreditation and universalisation, international competitiveness, and privatisation. There is also growing resistance to globalisation as top-down-imposed reforms reflected in the public debates about schooling reform, curriculum and instruction, teacher training, and school governance. How can we cope with these challenges of globalisation in the universities, and how can we produce models of global citizenship education? I have outlined the argument at the beginning of the article: there are different kinds of public and private universities, some more connected with the models of democratic cosmopolitanism and others with models of national citizenship. Both respond differently to the questions of global citizenship education.

But why *global universities?* There is no question that the world has been globalised to the point that one of the principal apologists of globalisation, the journalist Thomas Friedman, characterised the world as flat. This flatness is the product of transnational business executives who have made the world a level playing field of commerce, with all competitors having the same possibility of success if they adapt to the vagaries of free trade, the inevitability of fast change, the landscape of the digital culture, and the cut throat lives in the street — though this time at a global level and not only in your own neighbourhood (UCLA, 2014).

What are the goals of a global university for the 21st century? Facing the challenges of globalisation, some universities become global research universities. They try to educate students, but also to develop new knowledge to take into account a changing world, a world full of hybridity, competing values, and different histories and geographies, dynamics, social structures and population levels. Yet they operate in a world that is interlinked and interpenetrated, hence they are exposed to epidemics, intensification of trade and circulation of people, shifting climates, consumer tastes, social imaginaries conveyed via mass media, etc. All this is happening while global research universities are built around scientific models that are conducted in English and with metrics of evaluation that are tributaries of the Anglo-Saxon positivistic world, though standard scientific narratives, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, are contested and new narratives are emerging. Thus, the traditional roles and functions of universities are under pressure. There are five key dimensions that need to be incorporated in any analysis of the role and functions of global universities. They are global learning, global research, global reputation building, global engagement and global service. Some global research universities attempt to become scientific and cultural hubs in specific regions of the world, fully supported by regional and national governments. These roles and responsibility contrast with those roles that nationally-oriented universities are supposed to play.

Global learning speaks to the ways in which universities focus their theoretical and political orientation so as to offer knowledge, skills and dexterities to specific individuals, many of them connected with élites or aspiring élites, and join the ranks of the democratic cosmopolitanism or the hyper-globalisers. Professors, researchers, and particularly graduate students in these universities see themselves as working with the depository of knowledge that has been created by humanity and trying to enhance the new frontiers of capital accumulation via models of creativity and ingenuity. Even iconic figures like Mark Zuckerberg, Steven Jobs, Bill Gates and other associates who have developed digital culture products which

have changed the way we live, interact, communicate and produce commodities, were university drop-outs, but they were linked to universities that facilitate these innovations and are ranked today as global research universities.

The pursuit of *global research* is intimately linked to the nature of global research universities. Moreover, because research ranks so highly in global universities, becoming a research university is the trademark of the global university. This reverberates in the quality of its researchers and professors and its contributions to knowledge, technology and productivity worldwide. Global research is a centerpiece of *global reputation building*, which is intimately related to rankings such as *The Times Higher Education World University Rankings*, the *Washington Monthly College Guide, QS World University Rankings*, and the most read in the US, *US News & World* which have all proliferated in the last three decades. Most look at teaching (and how many international students are attracted to campus), international outlook, industry income resulting from innovations in the universities, the type of research and collaborations through publications of scholars in diverse national borders, the citations that their research attracts, research funding and an overall score. Finally, global universities aim to provide *global services* and in doing so seek avenues for *global engagement*. The type of service they aim to offer goes beyond the boundaries of the nations in which they are located, occasionally aided by contributions from major donors who are not even nationals but alumni who want to make symbolic gestures with their philanthropy so that they are remembered and recognised in their alma maters. Many of the great global universities in the world, particularly the private ones, have large endowments. Their type of global engagement relates to institutions of the world system, multinational corporations or national and/or international activities of their own nation-states. The recent rush to create university hubs in the Asia-Pacific and the struggle to acquire international prestige in the region are other indicators of this global engagement.

National learning models seem to qualify at the other extreme of the continuum, or what I have called for lack of a better term the *national universities*. They tend to be located in cities, nations or regions which are not prominent in the global system and to be more teaching-oriented than research-oriented. They lack the physical and technological infrastructure of the global universities. They may even be much younger than traditional global universities, though not always if one thinks of the University of Santo Domingo or the University of Córdoba, Argentina. Yet Cambridge and Oxford come to mind here as well-established centuries-old universities. Many national universities are not comprehensive.

National learning universities rely on part-time professors and have few full-time professors, with only some conducting research. They cannot pay the same salaries as global universities and therefore are continuously subject to brain drain, with their best professors being 'poached' by global universities. Their faculty do not have the same level of qualifications. Many do not have a Ph.D. and are practitioners rather than full-time faculty. They may be liberal professionals who occasionally teach, or work as part-time professors.

National learning universities aim to help their communities and draw their principal political legitimacy from this premise. With few exceptions, they do not tend to have a national presence, let alone a global presence, though, with the disparity in departments and schools, some may have departments that are world powerhouses of knowledge in specific disciplines and are therefore more prominent than some of their global counterparts, or may house scholars who are very

prominent in their disciplines and are therefore known internationally. The strength of national learning universities rests on their location and community connections. Family and community relationships explain why not everybody wants to migrate to further their academic careers. Their work on projects for national development, family commitments, and personal experiences matters a great deal to some scholars. Hence it is not easy for global universities to capture through brain drain, the scholars they want to attract, especially internationally.

Collaboration between industries and national learning universities tends to be very limited, although there are experiences that diverge from the norm. In national universities, the connection between university and industry is occasionally affected by the presence of radical groups who are opposed to this collaboration and/or student movements, social movements, and political parties within the national political system that challenge relationships between the university and the business world, claiming that they undermine university autonomy. Yet they may also challenge, in the name of university autonomy, any fluid relationship with the governments of their nations. They are not well placed in international rankings because rankings usually only pay attention to the top 100 institutions, but they may aspire to play some meaningful role in regional agreements (e.g. MERCOSUR, NAFTA, ASEAN, ALBA).

There are a number of questions that one may pose in attempting to understand the global role of universities. Should universities propose models of global citizenship education that are not only based on geopolitical considerations, diplomatic orientations, scientific or technical considerations, but also on humanitarian reasons? If one were to focus on the question of human empowerment worldwide, one should focus on the role of global citizenship education in addressing the societal dilemmas that education is confronting.

The Quest for Human Empowerment

I have argued that economic inequality is no longer a buzzword about capitalist economics. It is a palpable reality backed by research studies and reported in many books and newspaper articles and can be observed in urban environments worldwide. The financial crisis that rocked the globe in 2008 has made strikingly evident the growing disparity between rich and poor and has adversely affected world democracies.

As an educator, I wonder when we will take crises of capitalism seriously and look to see how education can combat social inequities, a divisive and insidious malady that consistently undermines all possibility of true social cohesion. The equity divide, however, is not just financial, but cuts across educational and cognitive domains.

We are enmeshed in a number of societal dilemmas that are difficult to address. But let me say from the outset, and this is particularly important for concepts of global citizenship, that education is not a direct answer to economic inequality. Yet, the policies and practices of education can and should contribute to solving such problems if existing economic and social policies which aim to diminish or eliminate inequalities in society fail to do their job. Education is not a lever of development, but without education there cannot be any real economic growth.

But what is the state of education today? One central problem is that the prevailing schooling model that we inherited from the industrial society is exhausted, and, with few notable exceptions, no new national or worldwide model

has yet emerged to replace it. A second problem, magnified by the current economic crisis, is that we continue to extend educational opportunity and access to the underserved, which demands that more and more resources be drawn from wealthy individuals, families, and societies. Unfortunately, the growing inequality and lack of solidarity of the world élites who are unwilling to pay their share of expenses via taxes compound the financial educational problem.

Yet the world's system of production and consumption is unable to produce sufficient job opportunities for what has now become a highly-qualified population of workers. For instance, the unemployment rate of youth in Europe is twice as high as that of the overall population, and in some countries like Spain it is even higher. Many of the last generations of college graduates in the US have either not found the jobs they aspired to or have found part-time or full-time jobs below their level of education.

Early school learning, reading, writing, and arithmetic continue to be serious challenges for children and youth from non-schooled cultures such as those of some African nations and other developing countries. This is also true for those who find an alienating curriculum in schools, especially when high-stake testing is in place, as it is in the US. Teachers are under attack in many countries. Their status has dropped, they are badly paid, and they are blamed for the low academic performance of students and schools. Teacher training, whilst recognised as a major factor for the improvement of educational systems, lacks integration of theory and practice. Few of the findings in educational research about teachers are disseminated, let alone implemented, and teaching and learning methodologies continue to be implemented as top-down models in schools, very often lacking basic institutional foundations, particularly in the developing world.

Findings and recommendations of educational research work only when they reach the right person at the right time and through the right platform. Otherwise, tons of pages (and megabytes) are shelved in real and virtual archives with the hope of impacting practice some day. Educational reform and transnational regulation have emerged as the last conundra. There is talk that education is in crisis, which has led many governments to attempt a series of cyclical and episodic reforms. Teachers, many parents, and public opinion alike mistrust political action — and politicians in general — and doubt whether any real or credible process of change can happen in schools. Education has been overlooked as a tool for transformation of economic and social inequities for far too long, though there is clearly in the EU a concern about active citizenship in the context of lifelong learning. Likewise, we may have lost sight of the importance of education for furthering global citizenship.

I wonder if I will see in my own lifetime a revolutionary movement of education as the practice of freedom elsewhere. A movement in which the technocratic tools are subordinate to a democratic political rationale and strategy of an education for human empowerment and liberation. This goal should be at the top of the overreaching goals of global cooperation programmes and global citizenship education. My humble hope is that the research and policy- making ideas of progressive forces about global citizenship may help to change this regrettable state of affairs.

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Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Raymond Morrow, Daniel Schugurensky, Richard Desjardins, Joaquin Noguera, Jason Dorio, Ana Elvira Steinbach Torres, and anonymous reviewers for their comments on previous versions.

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12138

Ecopedagogy and Citizenship in the Age of Globalisation: connections between environmental and global citizenship education to save the planet

Greg William Misiaszek

Introduction

Ecopedagogy is a critical approach to the teaching and learning of connections between environmental and social problems. Although these aspects are often inseparable (Commoner, 1971; Gadotti, 2008a), the connections are nevertheless often avoided or intentionally mistaught. Some scholars argue that this is because of the power relations that are embedded both inside and outside educational systems. Hence, a critical approach is essential because it helps to reveal important aspects that are otherwise difficult to observe (Cox, 1996). Other forms of Environmental Pedagogy (EP) include environmental education (EE) and education for sustainable development (ESD). While these different EPs can be approached critically or non-critically, *ecopedagogy* emphasises the critical approach. It is guided by the critical, popular education methods of the Brazilian educational scholar Paulo Freire. Scholars that follow the critical approach suggest that there is a tension within different types of EPs, as within all education, namely between pedagogies focused on transforming societies and those that (often unintentionally) contribute to reproducing historical socio-environmental oppressions. *Ecopedagogy* emphasises the former transformative aspects as well as the global and holistic inclusion of all individuals and societies and the natural world. Researchers following an *ecopedagogy* approach seek to reveal how reproductive tendencies associated with dominant power relations help to sustain and even intensify socio-environmental oppressions. In this vein, the goal of *ecopedagogy* is to promote transformative action by helping to reveal socio-environmental connections that oppress individuals and societies.

This article suggests some of the policy and practice changes needed for EP to be more effective and socially just, and how local vs global models of citizenship education are both relevant for effective transformative action in this regard. A core argument put forth is that on the one hand, there is a gap in understanding the rights and responsibilities of citizenship without an understanding of the socio-environmental connections that the *ecopedagogy* approach has the potential to offer. On the other, without an understanding of how citizenship connects to environmental rights and responsibilities, transformative action is much less effective. In short, the *ecopedagogy* approach and citizenship education are seen as inseparable. Moreover, with the intensification of globalisation, the notion of citizenship is not singular but plural, encompassing spheres ranging from the local to the global. Environmental issues are increasingly global in scope, with the ever-increasing impact of distant influences on local matters. Hence, *Global Citizenship Education* (GCE) and *ecopedagogy* are seen as essential elements to understand and respect socio-environmental connections in different contexts. *Ecopedagogy* goes hand in hand with GCE's aim to foster understanding of the roots of social problems

within cultures. Both have the same overall transformational goal to end the world's oppressions and I argue that both are needed together to achieve this end.

This article proceeds with an overview of the tenets of *ecopedagogy* and its interdependence with GCE models. Aspects of globalisation are analysed as both positively and negatively altering EP and citizenship education models. Next, the changes needed with EP and citizenship models are discussed to highlight the risk that certain approaches to EP may in fact help to sustain socio-environmental oppressions. Then, implications of a GCE-ecopedagogy implementation are considered within a framework of multiple spheres of citizenships and identities. Finally, a summary is provided of suggested changes to policy and practices needed for an effective ecopedagogy approach.

Ecopedagogy-GCE Constructions: an assumption and some considerations

Before suggesting that a change in how ecopedagogy-GCE is taught is needed within all levels of educational systems, I discuss three important considerations. The assumption is that all environmentally destructive human actions are carried out for some entity's (e.g. individual(s'), group(s'), community(ies')) benefit (e.g. economically, acquiring needed/wanted resource(s)) which often leads many others to be negatively affected. Without such benefit to some, there would be no intentional environmentally damaging action because there would be no reason for this. Education models need to critically question who benefits, who does not, and why socio-environmental disparities exist: this is a major focus of *ecopedagogy*. EPs that selectively resist problem-posing such disparities and/or educational institutions that systematically oppose such teaching contribute to a perpetuation of inaction on these issues because of what is left 'untaught'. Policy and practice (locally, nationally, globally) should support individuals' efforts to counter this in classrooms, as well as at institutional levels.

The first consideration is that defining citizenship education in the context of globalisation processes is important because GCE models can be either empowering and/or disempowering in different societies. Disempowering models help to sustain and intensify current global inequalities. Educators who (often inadvertently or unknowingly) teach Westernisation as a sole endpoint of global citizenship are an example. Due to this contested terrain of citizenship education, GCE and associated research should be continuously analysed through local contextualisation in order to determine the positive and negative impacts of globalisation on different societies. Empowering GCE and ecopedagogy are not one-off solutions or one-off practices, but rather an outline for a foundation to be constructed locally utilising empowering processes of globalisation. Given the ecopedagogy-GCE interdependence, ecopedagogues teach to unveil oppressive global citizenship models that help to sustain social inequalities caused by environmental ill actions.

The second consideration is that the terms 'societies' and 'populations' are to be understood beyond an anthropocentric focus; they are biocentric and include all organisms and non-organic systems (e.g. landscapes). Biocentricity is thus fundamental to ecopedagogical practice and research; it must consider both the human and beyond-human toll from environmental ills caused by human actions. However, in the definition of ecopedagogy presented in the introduction, I chose to focus on humans because they are the only beings who can reflexively determine

their actions using their knowledge, cultural histories, and empathy to transform the world in positive and negative ways (Freire 2005).

Third, the importance of effective EP models is rooted in the need to alter the current path towards the destruction of the Earth. In terms of policy, this refers to the need for drastic global and local changes to educational structures in the form of the holistic inclusion of ecopedagogy in all disciplines and levels of education rather than just an additional course or altering a few classes.

Two Key Elements of Ecopedagogy

The use of theoretical framing

The use of theoretical framing in ecopedagogy is crucial to enable individuals to understand the complexities of diverse societies. I have analysed this aspect in detail in other writings (Misiaszek, 2011, 2012, 2014a). Here, I briefly provide a number of reasons why theoretical framing is necessary for transformative and action-orientated EPs.

Theoretical 'lenses' in ecopedagogy are not centred on purely academic pursuits, but instead can be seen as tools to enable researchers and practitioners to better understand socio-environmental issues from globally diverse perspectives — this is important if there are to be transformative actions (Gadotti, 1996). Coinciding with Giddens' (1999) definition of globalisation, socio-environmental issues are transcending physical distances. Ecopedagogy is therefore only possible if one learns about socio-environmental perspectives and traditions that are different from our own. However, individuals may not already have such understandings because of their positionality. For example, theories of feminism allow for a better understanding of socio-environmental issues from diverse female perspectives, while critical race theories allow the same for 'othered' and often minority populations. In addition, this approach can be important to enable students and teachers to consider solutions outside their normative societal structures (social, economic, and policy), which is often otherwise difficult because of deep normative ideologies that are embedded in those structures.

It is important, however, that theoretical frameworks are democratically constructed within spaces for learning and for research, allowing for an effective interaction between contextualised and decontextualised knowledge. This includes the need for self-reflexivity of the educator(s)/researcher(s)/student(s). Local, bottom-up pedagogical constructions enable deeper socio-environmental understandings. Not least, EPs should be constructed to respect local knowledge and values in order to determine the socio-environmental issues that individuals should focus on and the resources to be used in the process. This does not mean that all students need to delve into esoteric theoretical issues, but that teachers should have the knowledge and ability to infuse theories into the classroom dialogue in order to foster students' understanding of socio-environmental knowledge from different perspectives. This has implications for teacher training and curricular policy, in particular, the development of flexibility, so that ecopedagogues have the space to increase students' abilities to understand and solve socio-environmental problems rather than focus on the amount of didactic environmental knowledge they have 'gained'. Since ecopedagogical teaching is centred on helping learners to address, develop, and expand their curiosities, policy changes should focus on supporting spaces in which flexible critical analysis and decision-making can occur.

The democratisation of learning spaces

As previously stated, learning spaces in an ecopedagogy perspective should be democratic in the sense that both teachers and students work together to develop shared meanings of socio-environmental issues through reflections based on prior knowledge and experiences, as well as by seeking to understand diverse perspectives outside the learning space. This is in opposition to the 'banking' model of education in which students are only lectured to and assessed on their abilities to repeat knowledge that reflects the teacher's thinking (Freire, 2005). In ecopedagogical spaces, students are not treated as blank slates, but their knowledges are respected and dialogue is central. These learning spaces reflect the ideals of democratic citizenship. In this sense, they also represent the ideals of multiculturalism which teach 'a way to identify the importance of multiple identities in education and culture' (Torres, 1998, p. 421).

Freirean pedagogy refers to teaching which focuses on determining how someone wants the world to be, the gaps between this constructed reality and the perceptions of current reality (i.e. *limit situations*), and what is necessary to eliminate these gaps. In ecopedagogy, this type of education is used to lay out current socio-environmental realities and possible realities in order to consider potential changes to existing societal, political, and economic structures and eliminate the gap between them. A fundamental philosophy of Freirean pedagogy is that if humans have constructed the current world, it is possible to change it. In this respect, it is a *pedagogy of hope* as opposed to pedagogies that promote fatalism in which deeper, structural change cannot occur (Freire, 1992, 2005). Ecopedagogues facilitate citizenship and learning through discussions of power relationships and how these affect the constructs of what is 'good' and 'bad' civil engagement. Posing these questions is important not only to understand the causes and effects of socio-environmental issues within the global sphere, but also how the global affects local societies and how the local can affect the global. In practice, ecopedagogues pose uncomfortable questions that are not posed every day, often questioning social systems that are seen as natural and unchangeable. Policy change to EPs requires flexibility within educational structures and teacher training in order to implement such Freirean teaching methods.

There is a tension in ecopedagogy that can be seen as being at odds with critical pedagogy. All EPs aim to increase environmental well-being through education. However, the goal of critical pedagogy is not to tell students what to do and how to do it, but rather to develop critical skills to solve problems. The Appalachian educational scholar Myles Horton has written about how he was not an 'organiser' (who promoted an organisation's mission) but rather an educator who worked in solidarity with students who sought to critically determine their own understandings and actions (Horton *et al.*, 1990). Critical pedagogies aim to end oppressions through deeper holistic understanding of these oppressions; however, this does not mean that education is prescriptive as to what and how to think. There is no guarantee that education will ever directly lead to socio-environmentally beneficial actions. However,deeper understandings of these issues will afford greater possibilities for such beneficial actions. This emphasises the need for EP practice and assessment to focus on critical thinking rather than on didactic environmental information or 'correct' ways of thinking/acting to 'fix' the environment.

Globalisations from Above and from Below

To understand the impact of globalisation on socio-environmental issues and their teachings, deconstructing its processes is essential. As previously mentioned, the numerous definitions of globalisation place different emphases on the processes, agents, and effects, and often tend to give an overall positive or negative outlook on globalisation. Opposing definitions reflect that globalisation is a process that forms a contested terrain which includes complex, multiple dimensional phenomena that can be either empowering or oppressing, depending on the population in question (Kellner, 1998). From this perspective, 'globalisation' is a plural phenomenon denoting its multiple processes and resulting influences. Many critical pedagogues divide globalisations into g*lobalisation from above*, which is oppressive (often synonymous with neo-liberal globalisation), and *globalisation from below*, which empowers the global masses from local communities; however, an absolute division does not exist (Torres, 2009).

Not everything stemming from local traditions and cultural aspects is environmentally 'good' and not everything from a distance (the global) is 'bad'. Determining the socio-environmental benefits of actions for a local society leads to the following question: How do cultural rights intersect with socio-environmental rights? These analysis skills are more and more necessary, as determining global influences becomes increasingly difficult when their impact continues to grow stronger. On the other hand, other processes of globalisation can help to develop understandings by increasing the amount of information to draw from such an analysis. Another way of reading 'from below' is the incorporation of local population(s) in all aspects of socio-environmental decision-making that affects their community.

Global Citizenship Education (GCE)

I will focus here on the following goal of GCE developed by Davies (2006, p. 23): 'a collection of "global citizens" who will act concertedly in particular ways to challenge injustice and promote rights'. There is a wealth of literature of definitions and practices of GCE with this as the praxis goal when GCE is transformational. Shultz (2007) defined the following three approaches to global citizenship and their goal(s):

> *Neo-liberal citizenship*: global understanding for increased economic profit through global expansion
>
> *radical global citizenship*: eliminating global structures that are seen as mostly sustaining the world's inequalities, especially financial ones
>
> *transformationalist global citizenship*: views globalisations as both empowering and disempowering with the goal of social justice at the local level by strengthening empowering processes and eliminating oppressive ones.

The last approach is the most intimately connected with ecopedagogy, together with the second (radical), with both approaches opposing the first (neo-liberal). Both focus on challenging social and environmental injustices.

I argue that GCE and ecopedagogy are inter-dependent. The dependency of GCE upon ecopedagogy is teaching for deeper contextual understandings of the world's diverse cultures for environmental decision-making, realising that local happenings, with increased globalisation, are often decided upon by distant

entities. GCE is dependent on ecopedagogy because of the inherentsocio-environmental connections, which means that determining globally diverse social oppressions is inherently connected to understanding environmental oppressions.

There are possible negative aspects that celebrate the 'emerging cosmopolitan, universalistic intentions' of global citizenship in developing areas of the world; this universality may ignore 'viable citizenship contexts [that] should be directly attached to the promise or problems of democracy, human rights, the rule of laws and social justice' (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010, p. 19). While the authors discuss cases in Africa, the importance of contextual understanding in GCE is essential anywhere. Thus, any GCE-ecopedagogy policy should consist in guiding aspects rather than be a prescriptive structure (e.g. curricula, pedagogies), with an emphasis on bottom-up implementation. In simple terms, global citizenship education should not be an implementation of globalisation *from above*.

Changes Needed in EP and Citizenship Education Models

The ecopedagogues' task is to counter reproductive models of education, including EPs and citizenship education models. A critical questioning of EPs at all levels (formal, non-formal, and informal) does not only concern research, but also educational practice. Non-critical EPs coincide with the social control functions of public education and citizenship models centred on the social reproduction of power and social relations and those who are disadvantaged (e.g. natives, persons of colour, etc.) (Apple, 2004; Giroux, 1980, 2001; Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2007). Many aspects of these citizenship models are constructed to sustain oppressions by ignoring unjust societal structures and promoting the idea that oppressions are self-acquired and self-maintained. This reveals the need for critical theory and the historical deconstruction of citizenship and environmental acts, and the development of curricula, research, and teaching to counter such models. In addition, scholars have argued that many citizenship education models have as a priority to condition students to become socially-tiered economic producers (Apple, 2004, 2006; Torres, 2002). For example, neo-liberal globalisation places an economic focus only on monetary profitability. In contrast, critical GCE-ecopedagogy places a focus on economic inequalities that arise as a consequence. Non-critical EPs help to promote citizens' decision-making and actions to be in allegiance with those who benefit rather than with those who are their fellow citizens. Ecopedagogy counters such framings by seeking to decentre economic profitability as a focus and instead focus on oppressions that arise as a result of economic inequalities. Ecopedagogy and critical GCE are inherently multidisciplinary in nature. Both should have a special focus on local-global economic matters which sustain oppressions.

Questioning 'Development': ecopedagogy-GCE connections with ESD and EE

Many models of education for sustainable development (ESD) place the teaching of environmental issues second to that of economically-measured development. This neo-liberal emphasis, which is increasingly spreading through Westernisation, has made critical environmental educators position themselves within more nature-based, biocentric environmental education (EE) models. There are many polarising arguments between the positive and negative aspects of the two models. However, many scholars, such as the expert Brazilian ecopedagogue Moacir Gadotti (2008b), argue that the essence of both models have more similarities than differences with the ecopedagogy approach.

Historical goals of ESD included connecting society and the environment within education, as compared to EE models that were seen as too isolated from human concerns and prosperity. However, over time, ESD models were hijacked to have only economic and Western goals. Ecopedagogical-based ESD models place emphasis on posing the problem of what are 'development', 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' through global and local lenses. GCE helps to understand globally diverse interpretations of these terms. Again, GCE models need ecopedagogy to understand global socio-environmental connections that affect local societies. Deconstructing and redefining *sustainable development* are at the heart of constructing citizenship education with ecopedagogy as an element. How we understand sustainable development is directly linked to how we define our civil obligations towards the environment in terms of how they affect our self-determined 'fellow citizens'.

Spheres of Citizenship and Ecopedagogy

The ecopedagogy-citizenship education arguments presented in this article stem from research conducted in Brazil, Argentina and the Appalachian region of the US (Misiaszek, 2011). The research is qualitative and comparative and one main focus is on how globalisation has affected EPs. The citizenship-ecopedagogy theme of environmental rights (and responsibilities) has emerged as part of this research (Misiaszek, 2014b), together with the civil, political, and social elements of citizenship as defined by Marshall (1963). Ecopedagogy was linked to citizenship education because of its critical approach and goals of transformation that are in line with the inclusionary and democratic approaches to citizenship (Misiaszek, 2011).

Both ecopedagogy and citizenship education aim to train individuals who can fully participate in and better their societies. However, what does 'better' mean and what is 'their societies?' The global, all-inclusiveness of well-being is the goal of being a 'global citizen'. Global citizenship captures the spheres of citizenship that intersect with socio-environmental rights and responsibilities. In simpler terms, the question becomes, 'Who is your fellow citizen?' Globalisations have restructured who we consider our fellow citizens by establishing connections that reach beyond traditional nation-state framings of citizenship (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Carnoy,2003; Torres, 2013). Just as they have multiple identities, people also have different spheres of citizenship they need to contend with as the world becomes more interconnected and borderless. For example, circumstances increasingly arise in which'. . . a given local condition or entity succeed in traversing borders and extending its reach over the globe and, in doing so, develops the capacity to designate a rival social condition or entity as local' (Jenson & Santos, 2000, p. 11; Stromquist, 2002). The inclusion of citizenship is not singular; it could be framed as inclusive of different degrees of civil connectedness between planetary,[1] global, and nation-state citizenships. Such incorporations are necessary for social-environmental well-being to exist (Gutiérrez & Prado, 1989).

With global citizenship, there are civil responsibilities among societies beyond traditionally-framed spheres of citizenship that extend to the local, global and biocentric perspectives, as well as environmental responsibilities towards future generations. In the past, determining citizenship would coincide with individuals and societies under the same leadership (e.g. nation-states). This is not to deny the existence of oppressive forms of domination such as colonialism, slavery, and war.

The point however, is that the question of leadership and influence on societies is much more complicated in a more globalised world when defining the rights and responsibilities of individuals who have multiple and often conflicting citizenships. Who has environmental rights and responsibilities towards those in distant societies? This is a very poignant question because most environmental problems are global and rarely respect geo-political borders. For example, air and water pollution are rarely divided because a flag has changed.

There has also been a shift from traditional framings of citizenship education focusing on homogeneity for social cohesion to critical GCE's focusing on understanding and respecting heterogeneity. During his keynote speech at the Second UNESCO Forum on Global Citizenship Education (Paris, January 29, 2015), Carlos Alberto Torres argued that there are *global common goods* that are essential for all transformative GCE models. They include: 1) sustainable development education, moving from diagnosis and denunciation to action and policy implementation, 2) global peace, an intangible cultural good of humanity with immaterial value, and 3) the discovery of ways that people who are all equal manage to live together democratically in an ever growing diverse world, seeking to fulfil their individual and cultural interest.

It is important to discuss individual livelihood and spheres of citizenship. In neo-liberalism, individualism and the private sphere are prioritised as 'good' and the public sphere is characterised negatively as non-private (Postma, 2006). Torres (2002) discussed the greater focus on *personhood* being 'moved to an universalistic plane, transcending the boundaries of particular nation-states' through a complex but systematic reasoning that the Nation-State has become less significant in two of its often contradictory roles: 1) providing structures of social cohesion and justice and 2) stimulating the economy. *Absolute individualism* and *personhood* are opposing ideas. Absolute individualism focuses on self-benefit, as opposed to personhood which focuses on an individual's rights and responsibilities within spheres of citizenship. In short, absolute individualism devalues the public sphere which includes the 'public' environment.

Although the private sphere will eventually be negatively affected by environmentally-harmful acts, much of the negative aspects can be isolated by individuals' ability to acquire necessary resources. For example, if a water supply is polluted, those with sufficient economic resources could purchase water or move from the affected area. With the decreasing emphasis on social cohesion within the public sphere, collective socio-environmental rights, together with its education, become greatly devalued. In a sense, the over-prioritising of the private sphere centres livelihood on individuals' money and material accumulation, with little importance given to equity. Deeper understanding of the connectivity between private and public spheres and socio-environmental aspects should be a primary focus of policies and practices related to EPs and citizenship education models.

Policy and Pedagogical Strategies for Ecopedagogy

To conclude, the following summarises the policy and pedagogical features and strategies needed for an effective ecopedagogy approach as discussed in this article. They mostly focus on ecopedagogy but, because of the inherent connections between ecopedagogy and GCE, they also extend to the kinds of strategies needed for effective GCE. It is important that such strategies be constructed with and

through local contextualisations. Hence, these are guidelines rather than specific recommendations for implementation.

Holistic analysis of educational structures and teaching practices

Critical reflexivity through analysis at the system level determines how ecopedagogical learning is supported or hindered within educational structures. System-reflexivity to determine the politics of educational structures of EPs, including the curricula, assessments, resources, and supported pedagogical practices, is essential to determine the influences of their construction and inclusion. As with critical methods, determining what is left out is as important as analysing what is present in current structures. Examples of critical questions include the following:

- Which societies and populations are represented and which ones are not in educational decision-making and practices?
- Are GCE aspects incorporated within ecopedagogical teaching to better understand cultural diversity of socio-environmental understandings?
- Do teaching practices include problem-posing of global influences upon local socio-environmental well-being?

By answering these and similar questions, the analysis should turn to questioning the political influences behind what is emphasised or not in teaching. Paulo Freire wrote that it was impossible for education to be apolitical (1998, 2005); however, critical deconstruction through research of local, national and global influences helps to understand how to reconstruct EPs toward an ecopedagogy approach. Such reconstructions must occur at local and global levels of educational systems. Inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations have more and more influence upon local EPs. In addition to analysing these organisations' local influences, constructing ecopedagogical models within EP models is essential for an empowering influence which must, by the very nature of ecopedagogy, be both *from above* and *from below*.

Holistic inclusion of ecopedagogy

Problem-posing, and dialogical methods of teaching must be carried out in environmental teaching at all levels and in all disciplines. Ecopedagogy and global citizenship should be intertwined in all subjects of a curriculum. This calls for a transformation of not only the content taught, but also of how teaching occurs. Curricula should be restructured to incorporate ecopedagogical teachings in all disciplines. This implies the need for critical pedagogical training and greater socio-environmental understanding of teachers with different expertise.

No doubt, both institutional and disciplinary parochialism act as barriers. Traditional schooling structures are often not conducive to the tenets of critical global citizenship education, ecopedagogy, and their interconnections. Educational structures are often divided into disciplinary vacuums that segment rather than increase the interconnectivities of GCE and ecopedagogy. In reality, schooling should not be separated from society (Dewey, 1963; Freire, 2005); and society is not artificially divided into disciplines. Many critical pedagogues stress that what happens outside the classroom is more important than what happens inside. Transdisciplinary educational methods allow for more holistic understandings of the world, breaking away from linear and singular approaches that delve into

values, ethics, and philosophical perspectives, to name but a few (Jorgenson & Shultz, 2012). Max-Neef (2005, p. 16) stated that without transdisciplinary approaches 'harms to society and to nature [will continue], because of our partial fragmented, and limited visions and assumptions'.

The holistic inclusion of ecopedagogy has a number of implications. For example, educational structures should be flexible to allow for the construction of knowledge by both students and teacher(s) — exploring topics through dialogue that students help to identify. Teaching should remain within curricular aims and guidelines, but be flexible enough to incorporate content agreed upon by both teacher(s) and students. Democratic and dialogical ecopedagogy methods are impossible in educational structures that prescribe fine details without flexibility. Such rigid educational structures de-skill teachers and counter ecopedagogical methods.

Availability and selection of teaching resources should be determined by how they allow teacher(s) and students to explore socio-environmental issues from diverse and conflicting perspectives. This is in opposition to the political determination of resources which promote reproduction. The Internet, for example, provides access to an overwhelming amount of such information. However, this is also a contested terrain which requires actors to acquire *critical Internet literacy (CIL)* in order to be able to determine the politics of accessible information (Kahn & Kellner, 2006). Using CIL is similar to the critical analysis of other types of EP resources, helping to determine socio-environmental knowledges that are ignored and for what reasons. Internet issues include the ways in which particular search engines (e.g. Google, Yahoo, Bing) act as gatekeepers to knowledge.

Holistic inclusion also has implications for assessment. Assessment is a contested terrain, with standardised testing increasingly prioritised due, in large part, to neo-liberal globalisation (Apple, 2006). On the one hand, without the inclusion of environmentalism in testing, environmental teaching is de-prioritised in the curriculum. On the other, such testing prioritises simple didactic knowledges with single 'correct', 'politically neutral' answers. It is essential for testing to access critical, decision-making skills, to be culturally contextual, and to focus on socio-environmental transformation.

Connecting pedagogical practices and research

As discussed, the assumption in ecopedagogy is that if socio-environmental connections are not understood, it is much less likely that environmentally-positive actions will emerge. These understandings should be fostered in classrooms through problem-posing pedagogies. Thus educational research towards this end should be supported.

Theoretical framing

The incorporation of theoretical framing is important to foster understanding of the perspectives of the world's diverse populations, and hence to develop successful models of ecopedagogy and GCE. Theories are not only relevant for scholars, policy-makers, and administrators, but also for students. As discussed, using theories can be helpful to enable better understandings of what students do not experience first-hand. It fosters multi-perspective self-reflexivity, not only for teachers and students, but also for those influencing global EP directions. In conjunction with this, learning spaces should include historical readings of

socio-environmental oppressions, both local and global. Examples would be the historical oppressions developed by colonialisation, masculinities, and white supremacy in current socio-environmental oppressions.

Teacher training

Teacher training should seek to increase teachers' socio-environmental and theoretical knowledge; however, I argue that critical, ecopedagogical teaching practices are more important for education. Ecopedagogical quality is not based on quantitative assessments of students' 'gained' socio-environmental knowledge, but rather on students' critical abilities to formulate and pose better environmental questions and propose possible solutions. Although I focus here on teacher training, the argument also pertains to educational decision-makers at all levels.

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Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge the following funding from the Faculty of Education, Beijing Normal University: the 2014 Fundamental Research Funds for the Comprehensive Construction of the Discipline of Education.

NOTE

1. Planetary Citizenship is based on a unifying vision of a planet and a worldwide society. It manifests itself in different expressions: 'our common humanity', 'unity in diversity', 'our common future' and 'our common homeland'. Planetary citizenship expresses a set of principles, values, attitudes and behaviours that brings a new perception of the Earth as a single community. Frequently associated with the concept of 'sustainable development', it is much broader than simply a relation with the economy. (Gadotti, 2011, p. 20).

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12131

From 'Closing the Gap' to an Ethics of Affirmation. Reconceptualising the Role of Early Childhood Services in Times of Uncertainty

Mathias Urban

The future isn't something hidden in a corner.
The future is something we build in the present.
Paulo Freire

Introduction

Asked about their experiences with early childhood education provision in a recent research project, participants could have talked about obvious aspects of preschool and school life, such as their views on the curriculum and every day activities, on learning and play materials, or perhaps on the relationship between children, families and practitioners. Instead, they chose to bring into the picture some experiences one might not necessarily associate with early childhood education. One father talked about the reality of what, in academic and policy papers, is regularly referred to as 'home learning environment':

> Our children can't be clean and tidy when they go to school; where can I bathe my child . . . there's a flood in my house. How? What if my child gets pneumonia? I didn't have children for them to get sick.

His experience is also a matter of concern for the teacher of his children:

> . . . if there are no conditions at home for doing homework, if seven of them live in a small space. Everything is done there — the cooking, baking, smoking, changing babies, sleeping . . . all seven of them! How can a child learn and be at peace? What else do I have to say? Which factors have an impact on their development? I have mentioned enough — poverty, malnutrition, [and] hunger . . .

It should come as no surprise that the children of this family are finding it difficult, if not impossible, to reach a satisfactory level of educational achievement, considering the exceptional circumstances in which they are growing up. Except that the circumstances are not exceptional at all. The two quotes above were not recorded in a so-called 'developing' country, but in a Member State of the EU. The experiences of this family living in abject poverty are documented in a recently published country report (Croatia) as part of the *Roma Early Childhood Inclusion* project (RECI+) (Šikić-Mićanović *et al.*, 2015), but they are by no means specific to this particular country. As several European and international reports — including precursors to the 2015 RECI+ report (Bennett, 2012) — show, growing up under conditions of poverty and exclusion is a reality for an increasing number of children in Europe (Eurydice, 2009, OECD, 2008). In present day Europe, the experience of growing up marginalised and excluded is no longer confined to the 'margins', neither geographically nor socially. Systematic policies of dismantling social security systems, public services and the welfare state in general in most

Member States of the EU have disproportionately affected children and families. While children and families in some countries appear to be 'hardest hit' by policy responses to the global crisis, e.g. the countries that are the focus of the 2015 *Crisis Monitoring Report* — Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Romania and Spain (Social Justice Ireland, 2015) —, the experience of poverty and exclusion has become a new normality across all of Europe, including the most affluent countries. According to recent data presented by the *Breadline Britain* project (Lansley & Mack, 2015), one in five children in the UK lives in cold and damp homes, one in ten lacks a warm winter coat, and one in 20 grows up suffering from hunger and malnutrition. In the UK, one of the wealthiest countries in the world, policy makers have officially abandoned the target of abolishing child poverty, according to a report published by the Government's own Social Mobility & Child Poverty Commission in 2014. Moreover, among the members of the G7, a club that represents more than 64% of global net wealth, the UK is the only country where wealth and income inequality rose continually between 2000 and 2014 (Credit Suisse, 2014, p. 33).

How does education, and early childhood education in particular, fit into this picture? European policy documents emphasise a 'need to increase participation in early childhood education and care' (Council of the European Union, 2010), and there is now a broad consensus that ECEC is key to achieving ambitious policy goals laid out in the EU 2020 strategic framework:

> high quality ECEC is beneficial for all children, but particularly for those with a socioeconomically disadvantaged, migrant or Roma background, or with special educational needs, including disabilities. By helping to close the achievement gap and supporting cognitive, linguistic, social and emotional development, it can help to break the cycle of disadvantage and disengagement that often lead to early school leaving and to the transmission of poverty from one generation to the next (Council of the European Union, 2011).

'Closing the gap' is the policy task at hand, so the consensus goes, and its consequences reach far beyond the preschool experience of the individual child in the Međimurje County in Croatia or Barking and Dagenham in East London: 'Only by addressing the needs of those at risk of social exclusion can the objectives of the Strategic Framework be properly met'. (Council of the European Union, 2010).

Successful Transformations?

Early childhood has held a prominent place in EU policy agendas for many years: from the 1992 Council recommendations on childcare (Council of the European Communities, 1992) to the 2014 EU Commission proposal for a European Quality framework for Early Childhood Education and Care (Working Group on Early Childhood Education and Care, 2014). These two decades of EU engagement with services for young children have seen a remarkable transformation of the underlying concept and understanding of *what* these services are, *who* they are for, and what *purpose* they serve. At a first level, this transformation is reflected in a change of terminology: the 1992 recommendations urge EU Member States to invest in *childcare*; from 2010, all relevant EU policy documents are concerned with *early childhood education and care*. This is a remarkable transformation at two levels. First, there is the addition of *education* to the remit of social institutions set up to

engage with the youngest children. The two defining aspects — education, care — are now understood as inseparable (European Commission, 2011). Second, the focus seems to have shifted from the individual *child* (that has to be cared for) to a 'critical period in human life' (Woodhead, 1996) or in more general terms: *early childhood*. That early childhood in itself has become a matter of concern, rather than just the provision of childcare services as commodities for working parents, is a significant expansion of the policy agenda that needs to be read against the background of the changing context of European *macro-politics* and the socio-economic motives behind that change. As from the Maastricht Treaty (1992), which marked the transformation of the European Economic Community into the EU, the EU oriented itself towards economic growth and competition in an increasingly globalised context which culminated in the Lisbon Strategy which aimed at making the EU 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy of the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion' (European Council, 2000). A significant increase in women's participation in the labour market was seen as central to the strategy; it was also the driving factor behind the 1992 *childcare* recommendation. The financial crisis (2008) brought an end to the Lisbon Strategy. The macro-political strategy was replaced by the current *Europe 2020. A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth* (European Commission, 2010) which is based on a much bleaker analysis of the situation in which the EU finds itself at the beginning of the 21st century:

> Europe faces a moment of transformation. The crisis has wiped out years of economic and social progress and exposed structural weaknesses in Europe's economy. In the meantime, the world is moving fast and long-term challenges — globalisation, pressure on resources, ageing — intensify. The EU must now take charge o future (European Commission, 2010, p. 3).

I have discussed the 1992 childcare recommendations and subsequent EU policies in more detail elsewhere (Urban, 2012). My argument here is that Europe's dramatically changed self-perception provides the context for the second level of transformation of the purpose of early childhood institutions: the shift from *childcare* to *early childhood education and care*. Beginning at an early age, *education* has been allocated a central role in addressing the fundamental structural problems of the Union. These problems manifest themselves in unsustainable levels of inequality (of opportunity and outcome), poverty and exclusion that threaten the social contract at the core of European society and the viability of the entire project. Just as the Lisbon Strategy employed 'childcare' as a tool for labour market policies, education is now used to address and alleviate the crisis at a macro-political level. The 'need to increase participation in early childhood education and care' is

> . . . particularly acute in the case of those from a disadvantaged background, who statistically tend to perform significantly less well against each of the benchmarks. Only by addressing the needs of those at risk of social exclusion can the objectives of the Strategic Framework be properly met (Council of the European Union, 2010).

Unfortunately, the underlying understanding of early education appears to be rather narrow, reducing early childhood services to their function as pre-school institutions, and focused almost exclusively on ensuring school-readiness and

preventing early school leaving. This change in discourse is supported by research commissioned by the European Commission that provides the 'evidence' for the policy agenda (European Commission, 2013, Dumčius *et al*., 2012). The relationship between research and policy follows a common pattern in commissioned research at EU level: a problematic issue emerges from public discourse or is identified by policy makers; an investigation into the issue (unsustainably high drop-out rates, in this case) is commissioned; researchers conduct a study according to Terms of Reference set by policy makers; the study provides the 'evidence' to underpin and legitimate subsequent policies. As a consequence, the policy-research relationship becomes increasingly self-referential. The cycle is highly problematic for both policy and research, as I have argued elsewhere (Urban, 2012): as much as policy tends to come up with 'more of the same' solutions, research funded in this close relationship risks providing policy makers with answers to questions that stay safely within the consensual paradigm. Thomas Kuhn, in his book *The structure of scientific revolutions*, argues that there is a stage in the life-cycle of academic disciplines when established researchers no longer 'ask or debate what makes a particular problem or solution legitimate' (Kuhn, 1962, p. 46). They stay within the safe boundaries of the widely-accepted paradigm and their discipline has become 'normal science', as Thomas Kuhn calls it. 'Normal science' loses — or worse, abandons — its ability to radically question 'the rules of the game' and the power of those in positions to define what specifies the relevance of 'problems worth 'solving' (Schostak & Schostak, 2008). Early childhood research, I have argued, has become 'normal science' (Urban, 2012). The apparent transformation of what early childhood services are for in EU policy contexts has taken place in this context of 'normalisation', and, within it, continues to reinforce the consensus that education, in a narrow definition of *schoolified* learning, should become the main purpose of early childhood. This educational predominance is harmful in several ways:

The shared belief that *more education* (the 'need to increase participation in early childhood education', as the EU puts it) is the only *solution* to the well-documented educational achievement gap between children from marginalised communities and those from dominant groups in society effectively prevents the critical question of whether the kind of education provided to children might actually be part of the problem. Colette Murray, writing in Murray & Urban (2012), documents a child's first encounter with institutionalised education, recorded by practitioners in a preschool setting in Ireland:

> A Traveller boy came to our service. He was a bit boisterous and the children were talking about how 'bold' he was. We were introduced to the Family Wall Project[1]. Everyone brought in photos and in came the Traveller boy's photos. He had horses in his photos. Wow, was the response of the children. We discovered he was a wealth of information, he knew all the names of different horses. All of a sudden he moved from a negative position to a positive position in the setting. We realised that we had not tapped into his home knowledge. We were not recognising the qualities and the knowledge of this Traveller child (Murray & Urban, 2012, p. 148).

Far from depicting a specifically Irish experience, the vignette above provides an excellent example of the systemic failure of mainstream early childhood education to recognise, respect or value ways of *being*, *knowing* and *doing* that

originate from outside the dominant groups in Western society. In the current, (re)emerging European and international policy narrative, 'education' is reduced to a commodity to increase an individual's 'human capital' and usefulness (employability) in a narrowly-defined neo-liberal economy — *homo economicus*. That the transformation of the individual, regardless of cultural background and collective identity, requires assimilation into to the 'achieving' mainstream is taken for granted. As Tan (2014, p. 429), in his detailed critique of Human Capital Theory, succinctly points out with reference to the work of Nussbaum (2010) and Ball (2010):

> Education is no longer conceived as an integrated strategy to promote freedom, self-enrichment, and human development, but rather it is a business activity driven by profit or a commodity in the market.

While the experience of the Roma child in Croatia, the Traveller boy in Ireland, and many similar hands-on experiences with mainstream early childhood education are inevitably local, the overall trend is not, as Iris Duhn (2006) explores in her investigation of the move towards what she calls 'cosmopolitanism' in the early childhood curriculum in New Zealand.

The second harmful consequence of the new emphasis on formal education as the only justifiable purpose of early childhood services is already deeply embedded in many early childhood systems. It is the unresolved contradiction between different meanings of 'care' in educational contexts. As we have seen, the early emphasis on 'childcare' in EU policy documents was not so much driven by an acknowledgement of the importance of human beings 'caring' for one another, individually and collectively, but by the need to provide a commodity for working parents as part of a wider economic agenda. Care, in the context of hyphenated *early-childhood-education-and-care policies*, has become the synonym for the *service* part of the programme. The policy debate has hardly begun to grapple with the notion of care as a public good that must be valued (as opposed to priced) as the foundation of society. What we are seeing in the current climate is a critical step towards the expansion of a 'culture of carelessness, grounded in rationalism [and] exacerbated by new managerialism' that Kathleen Lynch identified across the general education system (Lynch, 2010, p. 54).

The transformation of the political conceptualisation of societies' engagement with the youngest children, their families and communities from a commodity (childcare) into integrated education and care (educare, as it is referred to in the US-American context) and now into the first, preparatory step in the production of human capital (lifelong learning, employability) does not take place in a vacuum. Schoolification of early childhood is only one manifestation of the hegemony of neo-liberal economy and *gouvernementalité* (Foucault, 1982). The more we accept the primate of the economy in every aspect of human life — neo-liberalism with a small 'n', as Ong (2007) puts it —, the more normalised the educational aspects of the hegemony. The relationship between hegemony and education is complex and reciprocal. Not only, as Paulo Freire observed, is there hegemony in education and the education system 'so completely subjected to the greater context of global society that [it can] do nothing but reproduce the authoritarian ideology' (Freire, 2004), but hegemony and power are inherently educational:

> Every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world-wide field, between complexes of national and international civilisations (Gramsci, 1971, p. 666).

Today, Gramsci's relationship translates into the experience of young children and their families in early childhood education in contexts of oppression in Europe:

> They evicted a family with seven children, as if those people didn't live here . . . as if they didn't have children who went to school, preschool, kindergarten . . . but they came and just threw them out. They didn't ask these people where they were going to go with seven children; they're not interested in this (Tihomir, father of 6 children) (Šikić-Mićanović *et al.*, 2015, p. 80).

What the children in this family 'learn' from a daily experience of being ostracised, marginalised, pushed around and abused by the State — the same State that urges families to 'participate' in early childhood education and care for their betterment — is going to have an impact that, in terms of lifelong learning, by far exceeds the effects of the preschool curriculum. In Europe, the policy debate that drives the move towards more formal education in less and less caring societies has not even begun to acknowledge the repercussions of the 'educational' effects of poverty, oppression, and racism. Good culturally and locally appropriate early childhood services can address difficult aspects of diversity (including prejudice, stereotyping and racism), as examples from many different countries convincingly show (Derman-Sparks, 1989; Derman-Sparks *et al.*, 2006; Murray, 2012; Murray & O'Doherty, 2001; Robinson & Jones-Diaz, 2008). The international DECET network (Diversity in Early Childhood Education and Training/www.decet.org) has developed a range of resources for early childhood practitioners and practitioner educators ('trainers') to support them in ensuring that everybody in early childhood settings (children, parents, practitioners) can be free from discrimination and build services and communities where everyone:

- feels they belong
- can develop the diverse aspects of their identity
- learns from each other across cultural and other boundaries
- participates as active citizens
- actively addresses bias through open communication and willingness to grow
- works together to challenge institutional forms of prejudice and discrimination (DECET principles http://www.decet.org/en/mission-statement/ms-english.html)

However, any success in addressing inequality in early childhood education and care is undone by the daily 'lived experience' (Van Manen, 1990) in unequal and uncaring societies — Gramsci's educational core of hegemonic relationships.

Shifting Grounds: Centre and Periphery

What are nurseries for? The question asked by Peter Elfer (2007) with a view on self-perceptions of English early childhood practitioners and their roles is more relevant than ever. In the context of international policy, addressing the rationale of society's engagement with young children in institutions established for no other purpose has become urgent. More than 20 years of EU policy development has made, arguably, little difference to the lived experience of the most marginalised

children, families and communities. The promise of education as an enlightened humanist project of self-determination has turned sour for those on the margins — the *deliberately silenced*, or the *preferably unheard*, as Arundhati Roy calls them. For the poor, the maladapted and all the *outsiders* (Elias & Scotson, 1994) affected by the careless society, the promise of self-determination is always conditional on their 'choosing' to become like 'us'. *Them* and *us* — the generalised other — have long been a key configuration in the narrative of early childhood education, with the promise of a possible transformation of the underachieving *them* into the succeeding *us*. This is easier to justify in contexts where the lines between *them* and *us* can be clearly drawn, e.g. between distinct cultures and ethnicities. However, the situation is not as clear-cut as ostracisers and simplifiers would like us to believe. As Rosi Braidotti reminds us, simple dichotomies are not what characterise societal reality, but complexity, fragmentation and multiplicity:

> Present day Europe is struggling with multiculturalism at a time of increasing racism and xenophobia. The paradoxes, power dissymmetries and fragmentations of the present historical context rather require that we shift the political debate from the issue of differences between cultures to differences within the same culture. In other words, one of the features of our present historical condition is the shifting grounds on which periphery and centre confront each other, with a new level of complexity which defies dualistic or oppositional thinking (Braidotti, 2002, p. 14).

European society today can best be described in terms of *hyper-diversity* — 'an intense diversification of the population in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities' (Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013, p. 6). Under such circumstances, the impossibility to retain simplistic dualisms as the central narrative for policy-making also extends to educational relationships. In contexts of hyper-diversity, questions of representation and normalisation (a core activity of educational institutions) become problematic, as Hillevi Lenz-Taguchi argues with a view on early childhood education:

> . . . we cannot continue to understand diversities in terms of what an individual represents in terms of group category of, for example gender or race. Rather we need to look at the singularity in each becoming, and how gender or race, or both matter differently in different events for different children. (Lenz Taguchi, 2010, cited in , Jones *et al.*, 2014, p. 16)

Lenz Taguchi reminds us to take diversity seriously in its effects on, and meanings for, each child and family. This is a welcome reminder of the task at hand for early childhood policy and practice, which cannot be reduced to applying readymade 'solutions' to a phenomenon (*diversity*) that is too often reduced to a simplistic dualism. Either, *diversity* is seen as problematic, as an adversity that needs our urgent intervention (e.g. the educational underachievement of children who 'have' diversity) or it is naively celebrated in harmless but stereotype-reinforcing multicultural practices that revolve around exotic food and religious holidays such as Eid, Diwali, Christmas, Hanukkah (Murray, 2006; Murray & O'Doherty; 2001, Murray & Urban, 2012).

One aspect that is conspicuously absent from most scholarly contributions and policy documents is that of *class*. It is as if social class had become unmentionable in the mainstream discourse and unfashionable as a tool for analysing the workings

of social privilege and exclusion, individual and group identity, and individual and collective interest in European society. To my knowledge, the question *Whatever happened to class?*, critically examined in the South Asian context by economists Agarwala and Herring (2008), has yet to be addressed systematically in Europe. Doing so, I am convinced, would force us to face other uncomfortable aspects of *diversity* that are currently absent from the scholarly (in early childhood education) and policy debate: bringing *class* back into the picture would not be possible without recognising that the complex of poverty, exclusion and inequality has more than one side to it. Instead of asking how early childhood education can contribute to lifting children and families out of poverty, we would need to ask in who's interest it is to keep significant (and growing) parts of the population in poverty. Instead of presenting *exclusion* as something that marginalised groups suffer from (Roma, Travellers, migrants, refugees etc.) we would have to begin to acknowledge that *exclusion* is an activity — it is *done to* people by someone. Cui bono? — Who benefits? — is a question rarely asked in early childhood research, policy and practice. And, as I have argued in more detail elsewhere (Urban, 2014), research, policy and practice would have to widen their attention from a sole focus on how to 'break the cycles of poverty and disadvantage' (a well-established motive in the debate about the effects of early childhood education) to the persistent *cycles of advantage and privilege* in our societies and the societal institutions we establish to protect them.

The Power of Marginal Notions

Braidotti's *shifting grounds* between centre and periphery become even more visible once we move beyond Europe and the so-called 'developed' world. In this final section of the article, I want to argue the case for an urgent reversal of the established 'epistemological hierarchy' (Urban, 2008) in early childhood research and professional practice. Western early childhood practices, and the research evidence supporting them, continue to have enormous influence on early childhood practices in many regions of the so-called 'developing' world, not least because of the power of international agents to dictate (World Bank) or shape (Philanthropy) national educational policies in Africa and Latin America (Ball, 2012, Spring, 2008). Critical pedagogy, building on the work of Paulo Freire and John Dewey, has long criticised this hegemony in education (Darder *et al*., 2009; Giroux, 2011). Indigenous scholarship in many countries has recently begun to counter the dominant discourse of 'what works' in education and has developed strong arguments and examples for locally and culturally appropriate approaches to research and practice. Examples include the work of Nsamenang (2004) and Ng'asike (2011) in Africa, Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 2012) in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Peñaranda *et al*. (2011) in Colombia, Pence's work with the Meadow Lake Tribal Council in Canada (Ball & Pence, 2000), and Mertens *et al*. (2012), to name but a few. What all these voices have in common is a clear focus of purpose — social justice — and an understanding of *globalisation* as a reciprocal and most importantly *equal* relationship between local histories, practices and values, and the wider global context. I have argued, in the first part of this article, that European mainstream approaches to early childhood education and care have not made a difference with regard to the 'outcomes' for the most marginalised children. In the heart of Europe, they continue to live in what we used to call, arrogantly, 'Third World' conditions. One of many explanations for this apparent failure (in

a complex assemblage of social, political, cultural, economic factors of influence) is the grounding of practices (and their underpinning onto-epistemologies) in white middle class understandings of education, and educational institutions. Not only has this grounding prevented mainstream (as in funded, listened to . . .) research from asking radically critical questions such as why are things the way they are?, and who benefits from maintaining the *status quo*? (Schostak & Schostak, 2008), it has also — and continues to do so — successfully rendered irrelevant the *ways of being, knowing and doing* of marginalised communities, including childrearing practices. The argument I am bringing forward here is that we can no longer pretend that this 'works' in any other way than to perpetuate inequality. The question I am convinced we need to ask is *what can Europe learn* from initiatives, policies and practices made by 'developing' countries, and by and with indigenous communities.

One example of an entire country taking a radically ambitious approach to early childhood policies is Colombia. In 2011, the country adopted a new national early childhood policy framework and strategy ('de cero a siempre' www.deceroasiempre.gov.co) which differs from established European approaches in many significant aspects: First, 'de cero a siempre' is an explicit statement of a holistic understanding of early childhood and the role of the youngest children in society. Education (early childhood education) is a key component, but it is not the only, let alone the most important part of the framework. Societal (public) engagement with young children, their families and communities is understood as a reciprocal relationship: as much as young children have a right to have their needs met by adults, individually and collectively, society as a whole benefits from that engagement. The policy covers and integrates four key areas:

- Health — including nutrition and well-being
- Education
- Social cohesion — including solidarity and the development of a 'culture of democracy'
- Equality — including reduction of all forms of inequality

These key areas come together to create a widely integrated approach to early childhood — *Atención Integral de la Primera Infancia*.

Second, in order to implement the policy, Colombia established an interdepartmental early childhood group (Comisión Intersectorial de Primera Infancia) chaired by the Office of the President of the Republic. It consists of representatives of key government departments, including Health, Education, Culture, National Planning, Social Prosperity, and the Colombian Institute for Child and Family Welfare which has been supporting the many *madres communitarias* that have traditionally been providing community-based child care, education and development services throughout the country. The group's remit is to coordinate the implementation of the policy at all levels of government — local, county (districts), regional (departments), and national — and to oversee a sustainable financing scheme (*esquema de financiación sostenible*) to roll out the policy across the country.

Third, embedded in the framework is a workforce strategy that aims at developing and supporting an integrated and inter-professional workforce across all aspects of the Colombian early childhood system. Colombian partners I have the privilege to work with have embraced the concept of a 'competent system' in early childhood, an approach developed in Europe in a research project funded by the

European Commission and coordinated by the author (Urban, 2013; Urban *et al.*, 2011, Urban *et al.*, 2012). However, instead of simply adopting the European approach, Colombian research partners, in collaboration with our Early Childhood Research Centre at the University of Roehampton, are working towards a reconceptualised understanding of what competent systems (sistemas competentes) might look like in contexts that go far beyond the European mainstream concept of early-childhood-education-and care.

In early childhood practice, policy and research, *we cannot continue as we are*, argues Peter Moss (Moss, 2010), as questions of short-sighted educational achievement (and how this should be managed and governed) prevent us from addressing more urgent questions of survival as societies and as humanity on this planet. Learning from and with the margins — and the marginalised — will be crucial if we want to take the necessary step towards sustainable, more equitable and just early childhood practices that make a difference for *all* children. Moving in this direction requires more than yet another technocratic decision to do so. Sustainable practices and policies can only develop if we succeed to reformulate the 'project', as Rosi Braidotti, writing about the 'Powers of Affirmation' explains:

> "We" are in this together. This is a collective activity, a group project that connects active, conscious and desiring citizens [. . .] As a project, it is historically grounded, socially embedded, and already partly actualized in the joint endeavour, that is, the community of those who are actively working toward it. If this be utopian, it is only in the sense of the positive affects that are mobilized in the process, the necessary dose of imagination, dreamlike vision, and bonding without which no social project can take off (Braidotti, 2011, pp. 294–295).

The sub-heading of this section — the power of marginal notions — is the subtitle of a paper written by Cuban philosopher Pedro Sotolongo (Sotolongo, 2013) in which he explores what he calls 'Idea-Forces', a radically transformative process that he identifies throughout history:

> [. . .] it emerges from a social movement, often led by a charismatic and visionary person, and proceeds to have significant impact, even totally revolutionary impact, on the society and culture. Sometimes idea-forces end up changing radically, that is in a qualitative way, the prevailing social order and worldview (Sotolongo, 2013, p. 99).

No wonder, Sotolongo argues, that these idea-forces are regularly opposed by the ruling classes of a particular epoch, as they emerge due to the dominant group's failure to understand social realities and its ignorance of social problems. A contributing factor, he explains, are 'inherent contradictions of the prevailing social strata, which more often than not, benefits from the status quo' (ibid). One recent example of such an idea-force is the transformation, against all odds, of the Andean State of Bolivia. Drawing on the history of Tupac Katari, leader of a rebellion against the Spanish *conquistadores* several centuries ago, the cultural and social resistance of indigenous communities led to the election (and subsequent re-election) of an indigenous President for the first time in the history of both South and North America. The political agenda is based on the ancient Andean notion of 'living well' (*El Vivir Bien*) which 'represents a different conception of

social communitarian everyday interactions and respect for other human beings and for Mother Nature (the Pacha Mama)' (ibid, p. 102). Ancient traditions, Sotolongo argues, are at present coming together with 'complexity-thinking', which he sees as the most advanced form of contemporary knowledge.

The argument I want to make in relation to early childhood research, policy and practice, and in reference to Pedro Sotolongo, is that mainstream approaches, supported by dominant discourses, have proven to be incapable of connecting to, and constructively engaging with the reality of an increasing number of children and families in our societies. As we have seen, experiences of marginalisation are no longer confined to the margins of European society and we continue to ignore the potentially catastrophic effects at our peril. Acknowledging this reality and paying critical attention to the transformative potential of emergent 'idea-forces' are far from utopian, it is a question of survival.

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NOTE

1. The Family Wall Project was developed by the Irish Equality and Diversity Early Childhood National Network (EDENN/www.edenn.org) in collaboration with the international DECET network (Diversity in Early Childhood Education and Training/www.decet.org). It involves introducing photos of the children's families to the rly childhood setting in order to initiate meaningful conversations about families, their uniqueness, differences and similarities (Murray & Urban, 2012, pp. 141–155).

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12137

Women's Empowerment and Education: linking knowledge to transformative action

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Introduction

Derided by institutions and governments when it first appeared three decades ago, the concept of women's empowerment has now become highly esteemed, though judging from available literature, it is still much more in use in the women's movement and among international development agencies than in the academic world. Women's empowerment figures explicitly as a fundamental piece of the policies adopted by international development agencies, but in contrast is given weak treatment by educational publications. A review of article titles in three prestigious comparative education journals (*Comparative Education Review*, *Compare*, and the *European Journal of Education*) over the past 10 years identified a total of three articles using 'empowerment' in their title.

This article examines empowerment as a theory of social change and addresses the realities of women in both developing and industrialised countries which, though different in degree, present significant commonalities that cut national boundaries and even levels of socioeconomic development. It comprises five parts: the first discusses the concept of empowerment and its theoretical architecture; the second deals with the role of formal education in the empowering of girls; the third examines the contributions of non-formal education to empowering adult women; the fourth considers the role of women-led NGOs as key actors in the promotion of empowerment; and the fifth provides examples of successful instances of the implementation of empowerment through education. The article concludes with an assessment of the possibilities for and challenges to making empowerment a concrete reality.

A Theory of Social Emancipation

Empowerment has received theoretical and practical attention from several scholars and activists. Some describe it as an end point; others as a process. In reality, process and outcomes are intertwined. Here, I focus on three conceptualisations. Amartya Sen has contributed theoretical attention to women's empowerment by describing it as 'one of the central issues in the process of development for many countries in the world today' (1999, p. 202). Sen criticised national development efforts of the past for their concentration on aspects of well-being which treated women as 'passive recipients of welfare-enhancing help' (p. 191). He wanted instead to recognise women as 'active agents of change' through their own agency. For Sen, empowerment is the acquisition by women of 'agency and voice' (p. 193). These assertions, together with his concepts of capabilities (the aggregate of resources and human capital as prerequisites to agency, i.e. the conditions under which choices are made by individuals) and functionings (the ways of being and doing), highlight the importance of individual agency. Yet, his 'capabilities' do not focus on gender and he does not elaborate on how subjects can gain 'agency' in their lives. Specifically, Sen's capability approach is silent on the capability to

exercise freedom (Deneulin& Stewart, cited in Iversen, 2003). Iversen argues that the problem facing women is not 'what you are able to do or be with the goods at your disposal' but whether 'your command over goods may be circumscribed in the first place' (p. 105). Martha Nussbaum (2000; 2003) builds on Sen's capabilities by identifying 10 concrete aspects of social life that are essential for a decent life for women and men. But she does not consider conditions that affect women in particular and, like Sen, she does not elucidate the possible mechanisms by which women may attain these conditions. My proposed theoretical framework does not overlap with the capabilities approach because: (1) it is not a list of social values, but rather a set of *empirically* demonstrated conditions and sites for social change, and (2) it centres on the macro- and micro- dynamics that must be in place to enable *women*'s individual and collective agency.

An important thinker on the question of women's empowerment is Naila Kabeer (c.2000), who recognises three levels of empowerment: the 'deeper' level, or the understanding of structural relations such as the interaction between class, caste, and gender; the intermediate level, or awareness of institutional rules and resources; and the immediate level, or the set of individual resources, agency, and achievements. Her proposal thus corrects the tendency to discuss empowerment at the immediate and intermediate levels without touching deeper cause-effect relationships. Kabeer's conceptualisation of empowerment is also sensitive to the need for subsequent action. She asserts that empowerment is 'the expansion of people's ability to make strategic choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them' (p. 19). It is in the development of such 'ability' that education can play a major role.

On the basis of empirical findings generated by both feminist researchers and the women's movements in various parts of the world, I propose a holistic theory of women's empowerment and place education (knowledge) among several other components. I do so because I maintain that education and schooling have been overestimated as pillars of social change. I define empowerment as a set of knowledge, skills, and conditions that women must possess in order to understand their world and act upon it. Empowerment is thus *inseparable from subsequent action* — at both the individual and collective levels. I see women's empowerment not as a new form of domination (men subordinate to women), but as an attribute, a leverage that guarantees that gender equality will be initiated, respected, and maintained. In an earlier conceptualisation (Stromquist, 1999, 2002), I described women's empowerment as having four key interlocking dimensions: the economic dimension, or some measure of financial autonomy; the political dimension, or the ability to be represented or represent oneself at various venues of decision-making; the knowledge dimension or awareness of one's reality, including possibilities and obstacles to women's equality; and the psychological dimension, or the sense that one's self has value and deserves a good and fair existence. While I still consider these dimensions as crucial, I think that the mechanism and venues to make them a reality merit greater development. A major shift in my earlier conceptualisation was to move from awareness to action, where there is a need not only for individual agency, but also for engaging in collective forms of support, organisation, and mobilisation; it includes the recognition that organisations working on gender issues at micro and national levels must play a crucial role in women's empowerment. I also endorse the notion of empowerment proposed by Srilatha Batliwala: 'a spiral process, changing consciousness, identifying areas to target for change,

planning strategies, acting for change, and analyzing actions and outcomes' (1994, p. 130; see also Leon, 1997). In my proposed theory of empowerment, education continues to be considered a major force, but its need to be connected to economic, political, and psychological conditions is stressed.

Change in the social relations of gender takes a particular form, that of social emancipation. To understand potential alterations to gender relations, one needs a theory of social change that centres on modifications in both oppressing and oppressed groups. To counter such asymmetries — as in any other process of human liberation —, the social actors who feel the negative aspects of domination most deeply are those who are most likely to play a role in challenging their condition and status (Marx, 1969 [1848]; Douglass, 1857; Gramsci, 1973 [1929–1935]; Freire, 1972 Houston & Ngculu, 2014). A phrase by slavery abolitionist Frederick Douglass (1857) captures the situation well: 'Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will'. In other words, women — as a group negatively affected by the *status quo* — must assume a key role in advancing their cause, with knowledge as an indispensable ingredient. A second element in my proposed empowerment theory thus recognises the key role of both individual and collective agency in the process of social change.

Gender theories have emerged to provide explanations for women's subordination *vis-à-vis* men.[1] The concept of empowerment has emerged as an inductively-created theory of change since it started with the women's movement, not feminist theoreticians. Oppressed/oppressor are terms linked to the notion of empowerment, as it is the oppressed who need to become empowered in order to challenge the oppressor. At its highest level, empowerment is political (Staudt, 2002) because it seeks to share power, assumes that there will be resistance to change by those who will be asked to share power (men), and relies on action by those seeking social alteration (women). Empowerment acknowledges that, although increasingly there are many men who are sympathetic to women's claims for advancement, on average, they are more inclined to prevent rather than to support changes in the social relations of gender.

I propose yet a third element. Given the nature of the social distinctions imposed on women and men, a women's empowerment theory requires acknowledgement of the existence of private and public spheres, as well as an understanding of everyday life. In both private and public venues, there are material and ideological forces that create, sustain, and reproduce gender asymmetries. The private sphere comprises the plethora of recurrent activities in the home linked to cooking, washing, cleaning, administering the household, and serving as the emotional pillar and care provider for children and the elderly. It also includes the area of sexuality — a vital space for both the expression and control of human desire. Empowerment links structural conditions to the possibility of agency, noting their supportive or non-supportive roles. As a theory of social change, it cannot stop at empowerment of individual women, but must seek ways of translating it into collective action. It must also be multidimensional, as it comprises four critical components (below) in which macro and micro levels intersect and interact. In this article, I do not address issues regarding the measurement of empowerment. Let it be said, however, that, given its complex and interactive nature, empowerment cannot be reduced to a few quantitative indicators, but requires a descriptive account of how various dimensions support each other.

Economic Empowerment

Any discussion of economic empowerment for women must consider both macro- and micro-levels of access to material goods and financial resources. The over-reliance on macro-level indicators by international development agencies (IDAs) produces an incomplete and perhaps even erroneous picture of women's economic empowerment, since their incorporation into the labour force, particularly those at the lower ends of the social hierarchy, tends to place them in stagnant positions.

Access to material goods is fundamental to enjoy economic and social rights. A strong correlation exists between economic development and women's legal rights, such as property rights, access to bank loans, protection from violence, and abortion policies (Duflo, 2012). It has been argued that 'the gender gap in ownership and control of property is the single most critical contributor to the gender gap in economic well-being, social status, and empowerment' (Agarwal, cited in Robeyns, 2003, p. 64). There is considerable evidence that technological improvements, made possible by economic development, benefit women's conditions considerably. Industrialisation, through the introduction of infrastructures such as electricity, drinking water, and domestic appliances helps women by reducing housework time (World Bank, 2011; Duflo, 2012). Access to contraceptives has enabled them to gain greater control over their bodies (Vincent-Lancrin, 2008; Duflo, 2012). Reducing poverty helps women, since they are the most vulnerable within poor households and are the managers of the poorest households. Still, it is clear that economic development by itself is by no means sufficient to reduce gender inequalities. Some of the fastest growing national economies, such as China, South Korea, Taiwan, and India, show a lower number of girls than boys, the result of abortions and infanticide (Duflo, 2012) and a clear indication of the poor status of women.

One of the most widely-used indicators of empowerment is the proportion of women in paid employment in non-agricultural sectors (inscribed in the Millennium Development Goals proposed by the UN in 2000). Their control over and access to money are crucial in creating greater equality and social welfare, as women with access to financial resources are more able, for instance, to discourage domestic violence (Dijkstra & Hammer, 2000). On the other hand, many of the jobs that women occupy in most countries are low-status and low-paying. For a variety of reasons, ranging from household constraints to interrupted work trajectories, to occupations in which most women work, to discrimination in the labour force, women earn less than men in all countries in all occupations, including those that are female-dominated. In the US, for instance, men with a high school diploma or equivalent earn on average more than women with an associate degree (two years of college); men with a bachelor's degree earn as much as women with a master's degree; and men with master's degrees earn more than women with doctoral degrees (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). The gender gap within nations (imperfectly measured as it currently is) continues to exist and, even among the best performers (all five Nordic countries), the gap has closed to only 83% (100% being parity; WEF, 2014).

At the micro or household level, economic empowerment is enabled through women's income, which makes them less dependent on their husbands' decision-making and more capable of making autonomous decisions. Unfortunately,

because of the domestic division of labour, especially among poor women, remunerated work tends to impose double burdens, leading to survival strategies rather than to circumstances that enable women to move into upper employment categories or develop self-controlled micro-businesses. Under the dominant neoliberal régime of today, unremunerated work is considered not important, since the market focuses on economic exchanges that lead to profit; this way, processes within the household go unattended in public policy. This is a major challenge to the successful design and implementation of economic empowerment strategies today.

Political Empowerment

As in the case of economic empowerment, women's political empowerment must be attentive to macro and micro considerations. At the macro level, being elected a political representative at any level allows women to gain a voice that can be used for their advancement and the improvement of gender relations in society. Too often, IDAs employ indicators of political empowerment that focus exclusively on macro levels.

Micro/household empowerment

A crucial political dynamic remains unremunerated work at the household level. This has been recognised not only in feminist theories, but increasingly also by economists (Cohen, 2004; Chioda, 2011; Duflo, 2012). Women nearly everywhere perform more work in the household than men, an imbalance that emerges early in their lives and increases as girls become older. Thus, accounts of rural adolescents in India show that by the time girls are between 14 and 17 years old, they engage two and five times more than boys in household work. Conversely, girls engage between half and a quarter of the time that boys spend on homework (Kelly & Bhabha, 2014). These household conditions, which are extremely difficult to negotiate and in which mothers themselves reproduce a rigid sexual division of labour among their children, contribute to reduce adult women's possibilities of power development in later years. The problem does not go away in advanced industrialised countries. A longitudinal survey of men and women in academic positions in a leading research university in the US found that family formation — marriage and childbirth — accounted for the largest loss of women during the time between receiving a Ph.D. degree and acquiring tenure in the sciences (Goulder, Frasch, & Mason, 2009).

The household must be considered a major target of social change for several reasons: domestic violence is the most pervasive act of male domination; unremunerated women's work at home creates financial and psychological dependence on male partners; time constraints at home shape women's availability for their enlightenment, organisation, and mobilisation for social change; and, in many countries, women's lack of control over their bodies (particularly the ability to regulate their fertility) prevents them from negotiating their freedom. In this respect, I must remark that A. Sen's recognition of the micro-political environment affecting women's empowerment is weak, as he states that it will be necessary to change '*attitudes* of the family . . . toward outside economic activities' (1999, p. 202, emphasis added), yet he does not elaborate on ingrained ideological and material forces in society that prevent gender transformation from becoming a reality.

The research literature has consistently shown that the gendered division of labour (with women predominantly at home and men primarily in public arenas) was a key factor in the production of gender inequality, both in its economic/material aspects and in the social construction of gender identities (Cohen, 2004). Feminist scholars have recognised the multidimensional, complex, and contradictory nature of care-giving in women's identity and gender equity. Care is an essential part of social life, but also a source of degradation and marginalisation (Schildberg, 2014). From a feminist perspective, the expansion of agency requires major changes in both domestic and unpaid work (Robeyns, 2003). These changes should not focus on the revalorisation of care, but rather on the *sharing* of caring responsibilities. Studies on Central American countries have found that women with access to childcare were 10% to 30% more likely to be in the labour force (Vakis, Muñoz, & Coello, c. 2011). Moreover, longitudinal data for the US show less gender inequality in couples' housework when women are employed (Cohen, 2004).

The considerable and continuous time demands placed upon women, especially poor women, are not sufficiently recognised by either government or IDAs. This partly accrues from a superficial understanding of housework and how it connects to activities beyond the household. Until 1993, for example, the US Current Population Survey identified women working at home as 'keeping house', an expression that suggests leisure rather than work; moreover, this category was excluded from labour force statistics (Cohen, 2004). A consistent cross-national finding is that at all levels of income, and regardless of the national level of industrialisation, women do the majority of housework and care-giving (Cohen, 2004; World Bank, 2011). Time-use analyses indicate that the amount of time women spend on housework ranges from about 30% more than men in Cambodia to 70% more in Sweden and to 10 times more in Iraq (Duflo, 2012; see also Aguirre & Ferrari, 2014). The proportion for Sweden is revealing: even in highly egalitarian societies, women spend more time than men in household and caring tasks. And high education levels do not seem to reduce the gender division of household tasks: data for Colombia for 2008 found that men with a university education engaged in more hours of remunerated activities than women with similar levels of education (45 vs. 40 hours per week) and, conversely, significantly less in non-remunerated activities (10 vs. 25 hours) (Villamizar, 2011). At the lower end of the social scale, i.e. among persons without literacy skills, data from 95 countries indicate that women participate more than men in adult literacy programmes in 75 countries (UIL, 2013, p. 119). Since women constitute about two-thirds of the world's illiterates, these statistics suggest that they have enough motivation to enrol in literacy programmes but later run into domestic constraints to complete such programmes and attain literacy.

The UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean concluded that 'the gender division of labor between women and men and the differential use of time is a fundamental factor for the economic, social and political subordination of women' (CEPAL, 2010, p. 6). It asserts that correcting this 'requires political will by government'. This emphasises action by the State but, unwittingly, minimises the fact that political will can be shaped by pressure from collective bodies, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Agency cannot be expressed independently of conditions in the household. Sometimes state action can foster women's agency; most often, it does not.

The framing of women's inequality as a matter of human rights has served to position the plight of women on a high moral level, as well as on a universal basis, which can then be applied across nations and cultures. The demand for human rights implies action by individuals or groups who ask for state redress. States participate actively in the social construction of gender through laws, policies, and rules. Extensive empirical research, however, demonstrates that the State is far from being a fair arbiter of social, economic, and political rights linked to gender. Although there are governments that are willing to consider women's human rights and to recognise the active presence of social and women's organisations (Ranaboldo *et al.*, 2013), action lags significantly. Many States have not yet recognised violence against women as a violation of human rights. The contradiction between legal attributes of States and their actual behaviour tends to be obscured in strategies that focus excessively on women's human rights without supporting the provision of emancipatory knowledge.

Knowledge Empowerment

Knowledge widens people's mental horizons, enabling them to see both larger pictures and more detailed accounts of social phenomena. It plays a critical role in identifying the oppressing groups and the multiple mechanisms available to them for social control. The knowledge needed to counter gender oppression, however, is not general knowledge. It must be knowledge that is pertinent to identifying the conditions of subordination that women experience and exploring how such conditions can be contested. As is well known, the acquisition and transmission of systematic knowledge operate through two main modalities: formal education or schooling and non-formal education.

Formal education

Over time, the formal school curriculum has accumulated relevant knowledge content to ensure social stability and progress. Formal education enables women to obtain better paid jobs and in so doing supports the economic dimension of empowerment, as well as allowing women to cross the boundaries between private and public spheres. However, from a transformational gender perspective, it can be asserted that schools fail to address indispensable gender-related knowledge. Why? An optimistic explanation would be that the failure occurs because other priorities take over; for instance, given globalisation forces, with the emergence of the knowledge economy and the putative need for schooling to produce workers, greater attention is now being paid to knowledge dealing with science and technology than to social skills. A more skeptical explanation would be, as Freire observes, that the interests of the oppressor lie in 'changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them' (1972, p. 60).

Educational researchers and educators alike are certain that schooling alone does not foster social change and even less so in the social relations of gender. US educator Ira Shor (1992) remarks that knowledge is the power to know and to understand, but not necessarily the power to do or change. An example that invites sober thinking is that of Japan, a country with one of the largest proportions of tertiary-educated women but one in which about 32% of women are out of the labour market due to cultural factors that link them to home and children. Unable to participate equally with men in the labour force, women with tertiary education in Japan earn only 48% of the income of men with similar levels of education

(OECD, 2014). For schooling to contribute to the questioning of gender relations, there must be access to gender-related knowledge and classroom/school experiences that validate girls' identities and support an understanding of the asymmetrical conditions affecting women and men. In other words, the curriculum should be designed so that it brings relevant gender issues to the consciousness of both girls and boys and deals with a deeper understanding of the functioning of gender in society, as suggested by Kabeer. In many countries, however, while 'family life education' and 'sex education' courses are provided, they seldom address sexuality, sexual feelings, or even gender roles and expectations. A gender-sensitive curriculum must make room for the discussion of issues such as sex education (including sexuality and contraceptives), the formation of masculinity and femininity, domestic violence, early and forced marriages (particularly urgent in Africa and South Asia), men and women's responsibilities regarding childcare and household management, and an overall understanding of how gender ideologies (patriarchal norms and practices) shape everyday life. It should also foster an understanding of legal structures and practices affecting gender issues, from property rights to abortion; this includes knowledge of national legislation and its implementation, as well as knowledge of international agreements and conventions (particularly the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in force since 1981). In this context, removing stereotypes from books and teacher practices is a crucial first step. But even more important are the modifications to the curriculum and the provision of gender training for school administrators and teachers — measures that are still not implemented by many governments.

Formal education deals with the knowledge and, indirectly, the psychological dimensions of empowerment by increasing the students' sense of self-esteem, efficacy, and future life aspirations. A large body of empirical evidence shows that educated women tend to engage in better decision-making about their private lives. Because of the pupils' young ages in primary and secondary schools, their social environment does not yet touch the political and economic dimensions of women's lives. Although formal knowledge can introduce key aspects regarding gender awareness — such as women's rights to protection from domestic violence and rape and to goods enjoyed by men such as access to property, land, and credit —, it must be recognised that this knowledge remains abstract for many girls. It is mainly as these young people move through life that they feel the impact of structural constraints. Women are older at the university level and have had multiple experiences with their gender identity. In principle, they could be subjects for greater absorption of gender knowledge. However, university women tend to focus on their programme of studies and seldom venture into gender-related courses. For example, the US, a country with about 11.7 million women enrolled in tertiary education in 2014, has fewer than 900 gender studies' programmes at that level (Korenman, 2014). Hence, it can be estimated with confidence that less than 1% of female college students participate in gender-related courses and thus fail to develop significant levels of gender consciousness.

Schools often offer a safe space for access to knowledge and reflection. Schools and classrooms, however, are not always girl-friendly and can create environments that are either unsupportive or explicitly hostile through the exercise of sexual harassment, a situation that is common in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. Schools as sites of violence have been documented in large-scale surveys in five Asian countries (Plan & ICRW, 2015). Students report frequent instances of emotional and

physical violence in which both girls and boys are victims and perpetrators. These experiences are often hidden from teachers and parents; a common student response to violence is to do nothing. A considerable degree of sexual violence at the university level, primarily through dating relationships, has been documented in Canada in a national survey (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993) and increasingly today by the US press. From a distance, however, policy-makers tend to see formal educational settings as positive environments that contribute only to the empowering of girls and young women (Warner, Stoebenau, & Glinski, 2014). The Millennium Development Goals identify years of schooling of women compared to men as a key indicator of women's empowerment (UN, 2008). The two other indicators are 'share of women in wage employment in non-agricultural sector' and 'proportion of seats held by women in national parliament'. Conversely, it has been noted that time use data are not included in current female indicators of empowerment (Dijkstra & Hammer, 2000). The easy equation of schooling and women's empowerment is not warranted.

Non-formal education (NFE)

Gender awareness programmes are needed for all women, regardless of social class. In developing countries, most non-formal education programmes for adult women focus on the poor and literacy is usually the main entry point for the development of gender awareness. UNESCO and other organisations consider literacy as part of a 'paradigm for inclusion and empowerment' (UIL, 2013, p. 153). Indeed, UNESCO has been engaged in a 'Literacy Initiative for Empowerment' (LIFE, in effect 2006–2015), aimed at both women and men. Literacy classes with open questions and class discussion can be effective in empowering women when they create a space to develop the personal agency and critical reflection that enable women to recognise the feminised burden of care and domestic responsibilities (Nabi, 2014; Eldred, 2013). NFE programmes touch upon the knowledge, political, and psychological dimensions, as they often increase feelings of self-esteem and provide the skills to participate in public venues. They address the economic dimension less frequently. Transformative non-formal education programmes are usually run by NGOs and primarily by women-led NGOs.

Programmes that have empowering consequences for women are those that provide a safe space, foster discussion, and encourage participants to think critically about gender social norms; they also support individual agency and group cohesion (Warner *et al.*, 2014). It is often through access to the public sphere and by engaging in group discussions that individual experiences can be shared and social networks developed. Women with even minimal progress in literacy report gains in self-confidence (Stromquist, 2007, showing findings from Brazil). Research shows that greater social interaction tends to increase communication among female programme beneficiaries and community members and leaders, and that this interaction 'can promote knowledge exchange and induce important changes in behaviors and attitudes' (Vakis *et al.*, c. 2011, pp. 76–77). A more recent study of literacy programmes covering Nepal, Indonesia, India, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Brazil, Pakistan, Turkey, and Bolivia was conducted by Eldred (2013) under the auspices of the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL). Eldred, who defined empowerment as 'the process of supporting people to become more aware of power relationships and systems and understand that just and fair

balances of power contribute to more rewarding relationships' (p. 13), found that literacy experiences had positive outcomes (although empowerment was diffusely assessed through various accounts) and that valuing women's experience, discussion in circles and small groups, and the use of native language and bilingual approaches contributed greatly to their empowerment. Based on data collected from 55 projects dealing with gender issues in 15 countries, researchers found that one of the strongest predictors of women's empowerment was the ability to organise and learn from their experience (Pathways of Women's Empowerment, c. 2011). They also found that 'women's organizations and movements are vital in building constituencies for gender justice' (p. 9). In the UK context, it has been found that adult learning programmes could facilitate women's decisions to break away from abusive relationships with their partners (Schuller, Bynner, & Hammond, 2004).

The emancipatory aspects of literacy continues to receive limited governmental attention. A study conducted by UNESCO found that of 129 countries reporting on literacy activities following the implementation of adult education policies in recent years, only 18 indicated that an empowerment/autonomy approach was being used in their literacy programmes (UIL, 2013). The same report observed: 'The more we move towards concrete policy targets and goals, and to practical priorities, a functionalist perspective with a clear focus on the work sector and employability emerges' (UIL, 2013, p. 52). Adult literacy programmes account for an average of less than 1% of national budgets (UNESCO, 2012), which suggests that state support of empowerment through literacy is very limited. Governments and donor agencies funding NGOs expect quick returns on literacy. Yet, the effects of literacy may be felt only after several years and, as shown in studies in various parts of the world, these include women developing a sense of becoming valued family members, gaining increased decision-making, and learning to negotiate with husbands, mothers-in-law, and community members (Nabi, 2014, showing findings from India).

Psychological Empowerment

While at first sight psychological empowerment may seem a cross-cutting dimension and thus not deserving separate consideration, it is significant and must receive specific treatment at all times. Women need to feel self-confident, have strong self-esteem, and develop self-assertiveness in order to press for change and feel competent enough to enter public spaces. They must share these attributes with other women so that individual actions may foster collective actions that will challenge existing power relations. How do women attain these positive psychological attributes? Empirical evidence has determined that these can only be developed through collective experiences in group participation, joint efforts, and be validated in subsequent successes in conducting those actions. In this regard, the connection between psychological empowerment and local spaces emerges as critical.

Social geographers who have been studying the actual and potential use of space for many years hold that the most productive level for action by newly-incorporated social actors is the local level. This is particularly true for women because local spaces are small and thus closer to home, which creates considerable logistic advantages. Local venues are also more flexible in terms of who can participate in agenda-setting (Ranaboldo *et al.*, 2013; Massolo, 2002). Action at

the local level will also enable community-based NGOs led by women to emerge and gain the experience that improves performance over time. These NGOs not only provide important knowledge opportunities through NFE, but also link the private to the public sphere and provide an opportunity for the articulation of women's interests beyond party politics and government (Oxaal, 1997).

Women's empowerment is a complex undertaking that needs action in many dimensions to produce a visible and sustainable effect. It also requires macro- and micro-level action. Moreover, it demands the active participation of organisations that are deeply committed to the emancipation of women so that collective action may result in tangible policy outputs. The engagement of organisations is fundamental to promote institutional change and support changes in everyday life and personal conduct (Connell, 2005; Ibrahim & Tiwari, 2014).

The Role of NGOs

A major counterweight to weak state responses is the women-led NGOs and feminist organisations which, notwithstanding their diversity, are central to empowerment strategies (Sen & Grown, 1987). NGOs, as is well known, operate at international and national/local levels. Those at national/local level are numerous but have little access to financial resources. Many function as substantial sources for the multidimensional provision of empowerment. Amartya Sen's ideas on development as human freedom and on the critical role of capabilities are very influential among IDAs and they have contributed to the recognition of the critical importance of agency. Yet, he does not consider the process by which collective agency may build upon the aggregation of individual and social capabilities (Parpart, Rai, & Staudt, 2002; Ibrahim, 2006).

Many critics argue that NGO staff members, not having been democratically elected, lack legitimacy as spokespersons for others and thus cannot claim to represent them. In response to this, Ballón & Valderrama (2004, p. 22, citing Chiriboga) contend that two different forms of representation exist: (1) that which derives from a political mandate, and (2) that which emerges as the result of a voluntary commitment to the promotion and defence of a given public good. Such a representation, though not gained by electoral process, nevertheless acquires legitimacy by acting on behalf of those who are disenfranchised or otherwise unable to act and thus, in part because of the organisation's particular capabilities, is able to influence the public agenda. Of course, this type of representation carries the risk of abuse, as do electoral procedures, but these are few and often self-correcting. Women-led NGOs are agents that are part of this second kind of representation, one that works well for subordinated groups. Despite their importance for the empowerment of women, these NGOs receive limited funding from IDAs. According to OECD (2012), of the US$23,495 million invested in support of gender equality and women's empowerment in 2011, US$504 million (or 2.1%) went to 'women's organizations and institutions'. Even in the case of donor countries that have been traditional supporters of women's groups, the share of funds that goes to them is low. The Netherlands, for instance, which is by far one of the greatest supporters of women's groups, allocated only 10.5% of their 'gender equality and women's empowerment' aid to them (OECD, 2012). Most of the international assistance is allocated to sub-Saharan African countries (rightly so, as they constitute the area in greatest need of assistance) with the bulk given to small-scale, short-term projects which do not permit institutional growth and

maturation. And yet, the women's movement in the global South could not exist without international support. International assistance creates global pressure and brings attention to an issue that is otherwise forgotten or discarded as a problem. Shor (1992), an educator with wide experience in mobilisation for change, reminds us that, in the struggle against inequality and for democracy, social movements for civil rights are indispensable.

There have been many efforts to provide an education with explicitly empowering objectives. Below, I review three of the most substantial.

Efforts to Foster Empowerment through Education

There have been efforts to modify the schooling content and experience so that classrooms and schools may promote girls' empowerment. A notable innovation has been put in place by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), a region-wide NGO led by women in Africa and centred on education. For several years, FAWE has implemented the Tuseme clubs (Swahili for 'let's speak out'), an extra-curricular programme. After selecting a particular school, the Tuseme programme trains facilitators and teachers with whom it develops an action plan at the school level to provide student workshops for communication and life skills, festivals, dance, drama, and the creation of a school newspaper (FAWE, c. 2000). FAWE's 'theatre for development' plays a key role in enabling students to examine specific problems affecting the community and subsequently to engage in a post-performance debriefing where the audience reacts to the play and thus facilitates gender consciousness. An important predecessor of this approach was the 'theatre of the oppressed', developed by a Brazilian theatre director and activist, who, in the early 1970s, designed this experience to foster dialogue and critical thinking among oppressed groups. Tuseme clubs generally operate in middle schools and, while open to both girls and boys, they centre on the development of girls' confidence, self-esteem, and assertiveness by engaging in problem-solving on a number of issues involving gender relations that are of concern to young people, such as sexual harassment, academic performance, early marriage, and female genital mutilation (FAWE, 2006, p. 6). Tuseme clubs have been effective in increasing gender awareness among girls and protecting them from negative social norms; the main obstacle they face is the governments' reluctance to bring them to scale.

Empowerment efforts through non-formal education (NFE) have been more numerous and more successful. An important NFE empowerment intervention has been CARE's leadership model, tested in 28 countries throughout the world since 2009. It is based on three domains: agency (aspirations, resources, capabilities, attitudes, and achievements), structures (policies, laws, unwritten rules), and relationships (power relations). It provides a space for the development of supportive relationships so that girls learn how to make decisions and act as leaders under the mentoring of caring adults. CARE's leadership model has been experimented in Bangladesh, Egypt, Honduras, India, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, and Yemen, where 190,000 girls and 136,000 boys were reached through extracurricular activities in local schools or through community groups. An evaluation of the model in these eight countries, based on self-reported data from girls after two years of project participation and treatment/control comparisons, explored outcomes related to such issues as adolescent pregnancy and sexual abuse and rape in schools and communities. The girls reported significant gains in their endorsement

of statements about equal rights for women and men. Additional changes among the girls concerned their preference for avoiding early marriage (Mol, Kintz, & Janoch, forthcoming).

Another evaluation of empowerment efforts was made by Warner *et al.* (2014), who conducted case studies of four large NFE programmes carried out in Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Bangladesh. The interventions sought primarily to reduce the number of child marriages. Different approaches were put in place by these programmes, some focusing on the improvement of economic and sexual health, others on the improvement of communication, yet others seeking the re-entry of girls into formal schooling. For the most part, the programmes were successful in decreasing girls' preference to marry under 18 years of age and in identifying risks associated with early marriage. The study found that the strategy with the greatest impact by far was the provision of information, skills, and supportive networks.

A third NFE programme of significance is based on the curriculum and pedagogy offered by the Tutorial Learning System (*Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial*, SAT) first developed in Colombia by FUNDAEC, an NGO focused on training and education. SAT is now being implemented in several countries in Latin America and Africa, with a curriculum that offers an alternative high school diploma and treats gender as an explicit curriculum component, while emphasising critical thinking, discussion, and debate (Murphy-Graham, 2012). A qualitative evaluation of SAT based on 10 women who had participated in the programme for at least three years (and compared with non-participant women) found that they had increased their levels of self-confidence and critical analysis as well as their ability to negotiate spousal relations. Taken as the main indicators of empowerment were the women's subsequent participation in higher education, creating a small business, or negotiating spousal relations (Murphy-Graham, 2012).

As can be seen, the implementation of empowerment has tended to be unidimensional, focusing on the acquisition of emancipatory knowledge, often limited to influencing girls' preferences and opposing child marriage. While this knowledge should by no means be minimised, chances that it will transcend in the absence of the other empowerment dimensions are slim, especially as the girls become adults, marry, have children, and perpetuate the cycle.

Conclusions

At its best, empowerment is a rich concept embedded in a theory of social change that maps the dimensions in which to operate and the mechanisms by which emancipatory gender outcomes may be attained. To enable social action, attention must therefore be paid to four critical dimensions of empowerment — dimensions that interact with each other, resulting in synergistic outcomes.

Women's empowerment implies a theory of social change that calls for a strong protagonism by women. Empowerment is based upon individual self-discovery, self-assertiveness, and critical learning about one's world, as well as upon collective organisation. While women's empowerment recognises the fundamental role of individual and collective agency, it is sensitive to structural conditions that work as impediments to the transformation of gender relations. Empowerment theory is complex, and thus requires simultaneous multisectoral action, which governments and IDAs seldom foster.

The role of knowledge in women's empowerment is crucial. As has been noted in other sections of this article, the knowledge that women need is that which

prepares them not only for the labour market, but also for understanding and challenging their social world. Formal education has still a long way to go before its potential for transformation is fully deployed. Not only is the young age of the students a factor in the limited role that formal education plays in fostering women's empowerment, but there are also many structures that continue to divert schooling from gender consciousness efforts, especially today when academic achievement is narrowly linked to reading, math, and science — and away from life skills, including gender-sensitive learning and teaching. NFE has a stronger record in fostering attitudes and skills that question the dominant gender order. The financial support that NFE receives today, however, is not congruent with the role it can potentially play in promoting women's empowerment. Yet, as fundamental as knowledge is, there also exist other dimensions of social life — the economic, the political, and the psychological — which must be closely attended to.

Increasing women's emancipatory engagement requires external support. At the local, national, and regional levels, women-led organisations have played a key role in facilitating both individual and collective agency. They have enabled women to gain emancipatory education and engage in collective efforts that have crossed the private/public boundary that used to keep them relegated to the household. The importance of women-led NGOs cannot be overemphasised. Given the reluctant support by national governments in developing countries, women's emancipatory action needs international assistance to engage in substantial and sustained gender action. Just by their mere existence, global gender policies greatly facilitate attention to gender inequalities and provide economic backing from friendly sources.

IDAs today explicitly endorse the notion of women's empowerment; yet, their empowerment policies generally do not attempt any supportive linkages between macro and micro conditions affecting women. International assistance often materialises in the form of unidimensional projects, usually with a narrow sectoral focus and limited funds. IDAs continue to see governments in developing countries as fully supportive of women's issues and thus consider such governments their almost exclusive interlocutors. IDAs fund women-led NGOs only through small, short-term projects which do not permit the institutional growth and learning of such bodies. Because public agencies usually fragment empowerment and reduce it to minimal expression, a wide distance emerges between the promise of the challenging theory and the actual programmatic forms of empowerment.

While the knowledge dimension of empowerment is fundamental, from a feminist perspective, knowledge is valuable insofar as it leads to action. Action requires knowledge that is specific to gender conditions as well as protective education settings that foster new gender practices. Today, women's empowerment remains a promising theoretical premise that has not received concomitant operationalisation and support to reach its full range of possibilities — hence, the imperative to question its empty normative meaning and demand that it be taken seriously as a theory of change in the social relations of gender.

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NOTE

1. Over time, and rightly so, efforts towards gender equality have been expanded to include the existence and the need for rights of other forms of sexual identity (i.e. gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer). Here, I concentrate on women and men, with no intention of treating these two categories as essentialist or fixed.

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12133

Is Education the Pathway to Success? A Comparison of Second Generation Turkish Professionals in Sweden, France, Germany and The Netherlands

Maurice Crul

Introduction

Research on the success of children of immigrants is a new hot topic in the field of migration and ethnic studies. In the US, for instance, we see the attention for the Asian success: the new model minority. How can one explain the exceptional success of second and third generation Asian-Americans? First, we could read about the 'Tiger Mom' by Amy Chua and more recently about the 'Triple Package' in another book by the same author and her husband Jed Rubenfeld (Chua, 2011; Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). These two books created a firestorm of reactions in the media, proving the ample interest in the topic. There are also many academic publications on possible explanations for immigrant success of Asians in the US. In their explanation, Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou focus on what they call the 'hyper-selectivity' of the first generation Asians (Lee & Zhou, 2014). They also discuss the stereotyping of Asians as a successful group — and related teacher expectations —, dubbing this the 'stereotype promise'. As discussed in several publications, the framing of Asians as a model minority is not of all times and authors also emphasise that the educational success is accompanied by persistent discrimination and racism against Asians in the US (Chou & Feagin, 2010; Lee & Zhou, 2014). In her book 'Keeping the Immigrant Bargain' (2012), Vivian Louie investigated the successful children of Colombian and Dominican immigrants in the US. Louie stresses that many explanations she finds for these two groups are similar to what she found when studying successful second generation Chinese (Louie, 2004), thus debunking the ethnic focus of Amy Chua.

In Europe, we do not encounter a similar focus on a 'model minority', but research on successful children of immigrants is an upcoming theme there too. So far, many people have been working within a single national context (Bouw *et al.*, 2003; Crul, 2000; Pott, 2001; Santelli, 2012, 2013). The *ELITES: Pathways to Success* project is the first internationally comparative project in Europe. In this article, I will report the findings of the research. In the project, we compare Turkish second generation professionals in Sweden, Germany, France and The Netherlands. One of our first questions in *ELITES: Pathways to Success* was how to define success? Which criteria determine who is successful — or not? Successful compared to whom? Many first generation Turkish parents have very little education (Crul *et al.*, 2012). Some did not even go to school at all. So, most of the Turkish second generation are doing much better than their parents. They work in skilled jobs instead of in the unskilled jobs of their parents (idem). But is that success? These jobs are still mostly under the average job level in society. Alternatively, you can ask people if they see themselves as successful, using a subjective definition of success. We did this in our in-depth interviews. The respondents, however, turned

out to have similar questions when defining their own success. We illustrate this with a quote from a Turkish-Swedish CEO:

> Interviewer: Do you consider yourself successful?
>
> Both yes and no. I mean, everything is relative. If I compare myself to Steve Jobs, I am not successful at all. But if I look what goals I had, I have reached them and surpassed them. So I am content with where I am now. But it is also how you define success. Is it a high salary? Is it how much money you have in the bank, how interesting your work is; are you in a leadership position? There are many parameters when you look at success.

For the ELITES project, we chose an objective way to select our success group. We took the status of the job as a success criterion. We selected people working in a professional job according to international EGP (Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero Occupational Class Coding) scheme: those in the top two scales of the 11-point EGP coding scheme work in lower or higher managerial functions. They usually show a steep upward mobility compared to their parents. This criterion means that our respondents are also far more successful than the average person in their own ethnic group or in the majority group.

In this article, I explore differences in the pathways to a professional position in Sweden, Germany, France and The Netherlands. I am more especially interested in the role of education in obtaining that position, which varies greatly.

Theoretical Discussion

The study of upward social mobility among children of immigrants provides an interesting additional dimension to the theme of social mobility in the mainstream population. It allows us to analyse the extent to which new groups can find their way into desirable positions in society. In Europe, a growing group of children of labour migrants is climbing the social ladder, despite the fact that they grew up in working class neighbourhoods and that, overall, their parents are poorly educated and work in low-skilled jobs or are unemployed. The barriers they have to overcome to succeed are often considerable. What routes do they take to 'bypass' these barriers? To explain their success, authors looked at both individual and group characteristics (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). From the very beginning, the importance of class versus ethnicity was part of the debate (Crul, 1994). Portes and Rumbaut (2014), for instance, reserve the classical assimilation pathway within segmented assimilation theory for those who have sufficient cultural and social capital. How class background affects the social mobility of lower class immigrants is more difficult to assess. Breaking down the influence of class versus ethnicity is statistically difficult when there is little variation in class position within a particular ethnic group. It is usually also difficult to evaluate the pre-migration social class position in relation to the position in the country of immigration (Alba & Holdaway, 2013). Portes & Zhou (1993) argue that we should also take into account the heterogeneity in class positions within an ethnic group. Lower class people can potentially benefit from resources and information of higher class people within their shared ethnic community.

Some authors made the point that the bi-cultural orientation of children of immigrants gave them an advantage in a society that is increasingly diverse (Kasinitz *et al.*, 2008). Others emphasised the drive to succeed in immigrant

families (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Louie, 2012; Smith, 2008). Often, the parents migrated to provide a better future for their children, thus they often have upward mobility aspirations. Smith (2008) and Louie (2012) stress that migration is a family project in which the children must succeed as part of the 'bargain' with their parents who sacrificed so much to move to another country. To succeed, a positive education climate in the family is almost conditional for children of immigrants from lower class families (Rezai *et al.*, forthcoming). The barriers in the school system are often huge and, if not compensated by an enormous drive, cannot be overcome. In addition to a positive climate at home, at critical junctions, students need the support of institutional agents. This can be support from teachers, mentors or guidance counsellors. Sometimes, older siblings or aunts or uncles play a similar role (Crul, 2000; Louie, 2012; Smith, 2008). The successful cases tell us a great deal about how structural conditions of inequality can be overcome by individual success. In this article, I contribute to this literature by looking at the structural conditions in the school systems and the transition to the labour market. More precisely, I look at the institutional arrangements that either help or hinder children of migrants from lower class backgrounds, as well as at their trajectories. 'Unorthodox' pathways to educational success frequently used by children of immigrants can be an indication of the existence of structural barriers or of a lack of resources for a more straightforward pathway to success.

The theoretical framework I use in this article is the comparative integration context theory (Crul & Schneider, 2010; Crul *et al.*, 2012; Crul, 2013) which argues that the different levels of success of the second generation across countries depend on opportunities offered by school systems in place and the way labour market institutions function in the different countries. In several articles, we demonstrated how differences in national school systems, such as the availability of pre-school education, the number of contact hours in primary school, the moment of selection for secondary education, and the availability of apprenticeship places, influenced the likelihood of the second generation to succeed (Crul & Vermeulen, 2006; Crul *et al.*, 2012; Crul, 2013). This fits in the wider literature on the effect of school tracking, the age of selection, and stratification (Ammermüller, 2005; Bauer & Riphahn, 2006; Breen & Jonsson, 2005; Brunello & Checchi, 2007; Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; Entorf & Lauk, 2008; Heckmann *et al.*, 2001; Horn, 2009; Penn & Lampert, 2009; Shavit, 1990; Werfhorst & Mijs, 2010). In the comparative integration context theory, we look at the demands of the institutional arrangements on the resources of the families. This framework is especially interesting for the topic of this article: success against all odds. Which institutional arrangements were helpful on the way up, and, in the case of certain institutional barriers, how did the successful second generation bypass these?

Methodology

For this article, we use both quantitative data (TIES survey data in four countries) and qualitative data (ELITES: Pathways to Success data). We gathered data on second generation youth in the international TIES project (The Integration of the European Second Generation) in 15 cities in eight European countries (see Groenenwold and Lessard-Phillips, 2012 for an overview of the data collection and sampling). In total 9,771 respondents aged 18 to 35 years were interviewed between April 2006 and December 2008. For this article, we concentrate on the second generation Turks in Sweden, Germany, France and The Netherlands. Why

compare the second generation Turks? With about 5 million people, Turks and their descendants form the largest single migrant group in Europe. An important feature is that Turkish nationals moved to different European countries in the same time period and that they came from very similar socio-economic backgrounds. We used city register data to sample the respondents in Sweden and The Netherlands and a combination of name recognition, register information and screening to select the Turkish second generation in Germany and France. Our sampling method made it possible to include naturalised Turkish second generation youth in all four countries. The TIES survey data allow us to identify our target 'success group' using the criterion of being in a professional job, defined as a job in the two top level scales in the 11- point EGP coding scheme.

In the TIES project, we interviewed the Turkish second generation in Sweden, Germany, The Netherlands, Flemish Belgium, Austria and Switzerland. The size of the success group differs greatly between these countries, even after controlling for socio-economic backgrounds (Crul *et al*., 2012). Not only do the outcomes differ, but also the educational and labour market pathways. The TIES survey is unique because it gives detailed information on *every step* of our respondents' school and labour market career, beginning at pre-school. Based on the TIES survey outcomes and on the pathways these reveal, I selected four country cases that represent distinct successful groups with distinct pathways to success. The German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria and Switzerland) have their own pattern; The Netherlands and the Flemish part of Belgium have another distinct pattern; and both Sweden and France each present their own very distinct pattern. The distinction is both in terms of the size of the successful group and in their pathways leading to this success. Since Germany is the country with by far the largest Turkish community, I chose Germany for this comparison and I chose The Netherlands over Belgium, because The Netherlands is more distinct than the other cases.

Obviously, the Turkish community is not exactly the same in each of the countries. A first difference is its size: Germany harbours by far the largest, with well over 3 million people. The Turkish community in Sweden, France, and The Netherlands is much smaller (between 300,000 and 500,000). Neither is the composition of the groups exactly the same. The group is most homogeneous in Germany, France and The Netherlands. Most of the first generation men came as guest workers. In Sweden, a considerable share of those who came from Turkey were Kurdish or Christian Turks (Vera-Larrucea, 2015, p. 38). In the TIES survey, 14% of the first generation respondents born in Turkey identified themselves as Kurdish and 23% as Assyrian (id., p. 37). Of the Assyrians, about half came as refugees and this was also true for almost a quarter of the Kurdish Turks. Those who came to Sweden as refugees tended to be slightly more educated than those who came as labour migrants. In the first group, 24% of the first generation men had some form of post-secondary education, against 11% in the group of labour migrants. This difference in educational level of the parents does not result in a significant difference in terms of the educational outcomes for their children.

In addition to the size and composition of the Turkish group, the integration context in the different countries plays an important role in explaining the proportion of the success group. Basing myself on the TIES survey data, I will show this in three steps. First, I look at success in education, then at success through the labour market, and then at the characteristics of the successful group. The TIES survey is a representative survey for the second generation at the city level. In each

of the four countries, it was conducted in two cities (except for Sweden where we surveyed only Stockholm). Here, I present the outcomes for the two cities under the name of the country; however, we must bear in mind that these are city results.

The qualitative data used for this article are derived from fieldwork in the ELITES: Pathways to Success project. In each of the four countries, with the help of research assistants, three PhD students interviewed about 180 respondents: two-thirds being Turkish second generation and one third people of native parentage who are working in the same type of jobs. We interviewed people in three sectors: corporate law, the corporate business sector and the education sector. In each country, we concentrated on the same cities as in the TIES survey. We chose sectors representing different mobility channels (both through education and through the labour market) and different types of professional positions. In each country, we interviewed second generation Turkish respondents over the age 25 who held the most prestigious positions in each of the three sectors.

Pathways to Success in Sweden, Germany, France and The Netherlands

We first look at educational outcomes of the TIES data-sets in the four selected countries. As shown in Table I, there are huge differences.

TABLE I. Turkish second generation immigrants who left school, studied in pre-academic tracks and who have a higher education diploma

	Germany	The Netherlands	France	Sweden
Pre-academic track	7%	17%	36%	54%
Higher Education	5%	16%	20%	30%

Source: TIES Survey Germany, The Netherlands, France and Sweden.

The outcomes in Sweden immediately stick out, with commonly used from very early on, most respondents in academic tracks and with a higher education diploma. Sweden has the most open education system of the four countries because of the availability of low cost pre-school education commonly used from the age when children are still babies, the many contact hours in elementary school (*Grundskola*) and the late selection for secondary education (*Gymnasium*) at age 15 (Crul *et al.*, 2012; Crul, 2013; Schnell, 2012). Many studies have documented how early selection and tracking negatively affect the children from lower-class backgrounds (Ammermüller, 2005; Bauern & Riphahn, 2006; Breen & Jonsson, 2005; Brunello & Checchi, 2007; Horn, 2009; van der Werfhorst & Mijs, 2010). The effect of early selection and tracking on immigrant youth is even deeper (Crul & Vermeulen, 2006; Entorf & Lauk, 2008; Heckmann *et al.*, 2001; Penn & Lampert, 2009; Shavit, 1990). *Crul et al.* (2012) showed that built-in inequalities in the school system were magnified for ethnic minority groups (Entorf & Lauk, 2008; Shavit, 1990).

The case of Germany shows how this works out in practice. According to the TIES study, entering a Gymnasium and obtaining a higher education diploma are extremely difficult for those who come from an immigrant family (Sürig & Wilmes, 2015, p. 44). The stratified German school system blocks their chances (Kirsten & Dollmann, 2010; Neumann & Schneider, 2011). It is the combination of the unavailability of affordable pre-school education (and this was even worse when our respondents were young), the few contact hours in elementary school

and the early selection at age ten that makes it extremely difficult to enter a Gymnasium directly (Crul, 2013; Sürig & Wilmes 2011; 2015). In the international PISA study, we find similar negative results for Germany (OECD, 2006). Those who do make it, according to the TIES survey, either have highly-educated parents — meaning that they are exceptions in the Turkish community in Germany — or had to go through complicated pathways. The outcomes in The Netherlands draw our attention because of the small difference between the number of students in pre-academic tracks and in higher education: Usually, the percentages are much smaller in higher education than those in academic tracks because not everybody continues into higher education after high school and because drop-out rates in higher education are considerable. This is also true for The Netherlands (Wolff, 2014), but this is compensated by the large number of people taking the longer route through the vocational track to enter higher education. They start out in the middle level of junior high school (*Vmbo-t*), then move to middle vocational education (*Mbo*), after which they enter higher vocational education (*Hbo*) which leads to a BA (Crul & Vermeulen, 2006). This also means that there is a larger concentration of successful respondents in universities of applied sciences (*Hbo*). In France and Sweden, most successful respondents directly accessed university through the *Lycée* in France and the *Gymnasium* in Sweden (Crul, 2013) and had a Master's degree. This means that in Sweden and France we find more doctors, lawyers and engineers in this success group since these professions all require this degree.

We found substantial differences between the countries in terms of obtaining a higher education diploma. In Sweden, we find *six times as many* people with a higher education degree as in Germany. But the next question is: what can they do with their diploma? Not all these respondents participate in the labour market (think for instance of stay-at-home mothers) and some are unemployed. Another question is: have they found a professional job, or did they have to settle for a job under their skill level? In all three steps (participation in the labour market, unemployment and working at a professional job level), we lose many people who have a higher education degree. As Table II shows, the most dramatic decrease is in France where no less than *half the group* is lost.

TABLE II. Turkish second generation immigrants who left school and who have a higher education diploma (raw 1); who participate in the labour market and are working (raw 2); who work at a professional job level EGP 1 and 2 on an 11-point scale (raw 3)

	Germany	The Netherlands	France	Sweden
Higher Education	3%	16%	20%	30%
Participating & Working	3%	12%	12%	25%
Working as a professional	2%	11%	11%	18%

Source: TIES Survey Germany, The Netherlands, France and Sweden.

The transition to work is the most problematic phase in France (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boada, 2007; Santelli, 2013), not only for children of immigrants, but for everybody. This is a result of the rigid structure of the French labour market. A recent study by Keskiner (2013) shows that those who enter apprenticeships,

mostly through BTS (*Brevet de Technicien Supérieur*), are more successful in entering the labour market. Gender also plays an important role here. Many more women than men have a higher education diploma, but in the transition to the labour market, they lose this leading position. Almost two out of three women with a higher education diploma do not work at their skill level.

After looking at those who succeeded in the labour market by being successful in school, we will now look at those who moved up the labour market without a higher education diploma. As can be seen in Table III, this differs greatly across the countries.

TABLE III. Turkish second generation immigrants who left school and who are working as a professional through the pathway of a higher education diploma (row 1); who work as a professional through a pathway in the labour market (row 2); who work in a professional job in total (row 3)

	Germany	The Netherlands	France	Sweden
Through Higher Education	2%	11%	11%	18%
Through Labour market	10%	8%	7%	6%
Working as a professional	12%	19%	18%	24%

Source: TIES Survey Germany, The Netherlands, France and Sweden.

In Germany, *five times as many* people succeed in climbing the ladder through the labour market rather than through a successful educational career. Both the negative and the positive effects of the dual system are much discussed (Crul & Schneider, 2009). In the German TIES survey, the results for the Turkish second generation show that both the success and the failure of the apprenticeship system exist next to each other. Half the students who only obtain a *Hauptschule* diploma (the lowest level of secondary school) are unable to find an apprenticeship position (Sürig & Wilmes, 2015, p. 50). This has a deep negative impact on their labour market integration. At the same time, of those who obtain a *Real Schule* diploma (the middle level in secondary education), 80% find an apprenticeship (id., p. 52). Many succeed in moving up the professional ladder into a lower managerial position. For them, the German apprenticeship system does pay off.

In Sweden, on the other hand, we see that education is the main path to a professional position. The dramatic differences in educational outcomes that we found between the countries are less pronounced when we take into consideration those who climb up the ladder through the labour market. Still, in Sweden, there are twice as many successful second generation Turks as in Germany, but it is a very different picture from the six times as many that we saw based on just the educational outcomes. This is a strong reminder that schooling does not play an equal role in each country. However, climbing up the ladder through the labour market also comes at a cost: it has important consequences for the sort of professional position people are able to obtain. There is a ceiling for the type of job one can obtain. In Germany, these jobs are mostly lower managerial jobs. Our respondents are often part of the middle management where they supervise people in skilled white collar or blue collar jobs. So, not only do the different pathways to

success lead to differences in the size of the success group, but also to differences in the prestige of the jobs.

Profiles of Professionals in France, Sweden, The Netherlands and Germany

I will describe four ELITES: Pathways to Success respondents, each from one of the four countries. Their pathways highlight both the different challenges and the different opportunities in the four countries. Let us start with France:

France: business consultant

Zeinep was born and raised in the Elzas, France. Her father completed primary school in Turkey, and her mother did not go to school at all, but learned to read and write when she moved to France. Her father worked in a factory 'like everyone else', as Zeinep said. Her mother worked in the vineyards. Her parents always supported her studies, although they did not understand much about what kind of school she went to. They always appreciated it when she passed a grade by saying 'Well done!'. As a happy-go-lucky teenager, her grades started to suffer in the *Lycée Général* (the track that prepares for University) and she had to switch to a *Lycée Technologique* and passed her *Bac* in that specialisation. She continued to study in a university of applied science in Strasbourg; her subject was transport and logistics. After finishing her studies, she had a hard time finding a job.

Now let us remember the difficult transition to the labour market that we saw in the figures for France. Here, we can see how it works: Zeinep did find a job, but it was below her skill level, which is something we often came across in our interviews. After Zeinep worked in this job for a year, her older brother encouraged her to go back to university. She followed his advice and completed a master's 1 and 2 degree in statistics and demography. She re-entered the labour market, but not without difficulty and had to settle for several short job contracts as a statistician. Then, she decided that she must move to Paris because she could not find a stable job in Strasbourg. In Paris, she found a job through a friend working at the international department of the *Société Générale* bank. Zeinep was hired to prepare stress test models for the bank. When she started, they said: 'We give you a year. First you have to find the appropriate methodology. Then you have to explain it to all 34 foreign branches of the firm. In addition to that, you have to implement it'. The task was demanding and, not surprisingly, Zeinep felt stressed at first. She told us how she did not have much self-confidence during that first year, how she felt small because she worked with engineers who had graduated from *Polytechnique*. They were doing the same work, but had studied in the *Grandes Écoles* (Ivy League Schools). Zeinep mentioned the importance of being part of the *Grande École* network in the company. She said how these people supported each other because they came from the same prestigious schools. At the time when Zeinep went back to university, she did not even try to apply to a *Grande École*: it did not cross her mind that she might be able to get in. It was only later that she realised that the quality of her work was the same as that of a *Grande École* graduate. Her managers and supervisors contributed to that change, appreciating her work and inciting her to keep learning and to move up in the company.

The most extensive part of the interview with Zeinep dealt with her transition to the labour market. This was true for most of the French interviews. The time at

college and at the *lycée* (the lower and upper part of high school) was hardly commented on. Most respondents did not encounter great difficulties during that period. Because of their early start in school, they learned French in *Maternelle* around the age of two-and-a-half. Selection for the type of secondary school in France is at age 15, which leaves a great deal of time to repair initial disadvantages. This results in France having a fairly open educational system. The real selection takes place in higher education, with the *Grandes Écoles* on the one hand and the 'normal' universities on the other (Silberman *et al.*, 2007). Most of our respondents were not even aware of these differences and only found out about them upon entering the labour market when they had difficulties in finding a good job. The typical institutional arrangements in higher education and the transition to the labour market are very important in order to understand success — and failure — in France. Zeinep went back to university and moved to Paris on her own. Both steps, especially in a more traditional family, require a great deal of confidence and support of the parents. Zeinep was unmarried when she left for Paris to live on her own, something many traditional Turkish parents refused their daughters.

Sweden: education, law and business sector

Mehmet was born in Stockholm. His parents came to Sweden in the 1970s from a rural area in central Turkey. Both his parents only went to primary school in Turkey. His father came as a guest worker; he first worked as a welder and then in restaurant jobs before opening his own small döner kebab with his wife. Mehmet's mother did cleaning jobs before that. Mehmet holds a PhD in medicine and now has a high profile job in an international company working on legal patents in the medical field. His father regrets never having studied and always stressed the importance of having an education. Mehmet's parents could only help him to read and write in Turkish; for the Swedish school subjects, he was on his own. However, he easily made it through *Grundskola*, where, until the age of 15, all children are in class together, and then through *Gymnasium*. He described how he only really started to have to work for school when he entered University and more so when he decided to do a PhD in medicine. But even about this period he only talked briefly. Like for other Swedish respondents, the challenges do not lie in education, neither in terms of the demands from school, nor of financial costs because there are still no tuition fees in higher education. At the University where Mehmet did his PhD, he could have continued into teaching or research, but he decided against this. He explained that he disliked the competitive climate between colleagues, for which he blames his supervisor. Although he still had 6 months left of his contract — because he finished his PhD early —, he left nonetheless. This would be unthinkable in France, especially since Mehmet did not have another stable job alternative. He decided to apply for a teaching job at an international high school instead. He was attracted by the international atmosphere. He was hired and quickly made it to a management position. However, after a while, he decided that the job was not challenging enough. Through a Swedish colleague, he learned of a job offer in the National Swedish Patent Bureau where he would be able to use his skills in medicine by working on medical patents. Again, he was hired and he learned a great deal in this job, but the downside was that the bureau's workforce consisted mostly of middle aged men of Swedish origin. He experienced it as a conservative and somewhat narrow-minded environment and decided to move again, this time to

a multinational corporation working on medical patents internationally. He quickly rose in its hierarchy, making use of the skills he had acquired and became head of the Turkish branch of this company.

Mehmet's profile is strikingly different from Zeinep's in a number of important ways. The university he went to never came into the picture because there are hardly any differences between universities in Sweden when it comes to prestige and quality. While Zeinep was concerned about obtaining a fixed contract and a job where her credentials were recognised, this did not play a role in the interview with Mehmet. His main concern was the working environment. He switched easily between jobs, even made two drastic career moves and not once did employers question his credentials. His different job experiences proved to be an asset and this was also how his employers perceived these.

The Netherlands: CEO of an IT business

Adem is the founder and CEO of a large IT firm which branched out in Europe, including in Turkey where more than 200 people are employed. The company also has an office in Michigan, USA. Adem followed the long educational pathway that is typical for children of immigrants in The Netherlands. He climbed up through 'the long route'. He first went to an elementary school that was highly segregated. Adem attended this school until age 12, when he obtained the tracking advice for secondary school. He was sent to Mavo, the middle level in secondary school. This track does not give direct access to higher education. Adem commented on how he followed this school level with 'four fingers in his nose'. This experience stirred a strong resentment against the teacher who did not allow him to follow the academic track and made him take the long route. He proceeded into Mbo (middle vocational education) at age 16, choosing a vocational school specialised in IT and graduated from this school and at age 20 he transferred to Hbo (higher vocational education). At age 22, he obtained his *propedeuse*, the entrance qualification enabling him to switch to a university, after which he graduated with a master degree at age 26. The long route cost him an *extra four years* and Adem still resents the waste of time and money. He found a job directly after obtaining his degree working for the largest IT firm in The Netherlands and quickly climbed the career ladder. The transition to the labour market, as for many Dutch respondents, was fairly smooth, especially when compared to France. Those in the firm saw his potential and trusted him to branch out to Turkey. However, he came into conflict with his employer and decided to start his own business. At first, things went smoothly. His business quickly expanded. At not even 30, he owned several pricey cars and bought an expensive house in a suburb of Amsterdam and another in Turkey. Then the financial crisis hit, and, like so many others, he went bankrupt. But as soon as he was able to borrow the money, he started again more cautiously. Today, his new company is almost the size of the one that hired him at the beginning of his career.

Typically in The Netherlands, many people with a vocational diploma (Associate Degree or a BA) are very successful in business. In most cases, students do an apprenticeship during their studies. A large number stays in that company after graduating. This apprenticeship is something essential that is missing in France and Sweden where one mostly trains 'on the job'. This first work experience is again an influential institutional difference that leads to different outcomes.

Germany: educational and social work consultant

Ayla was born and raised in a village near Frankfurt, Germany. She is the eldest of three girls. Her parents were neither able to help her with her homework nor in her struggle with the German language. Unlike in France or Sweden, language problems were a recurring topic in the interviews in Germany. Many respondents did not go to kindergarten. Some referred to the expenses; others did not know why they did not attend. Unlike in France where pre-school attendance is standard by the age of two-and-a-half and in Sweden where children go to *Barne* at an even younger age, in Germany, pre-school attendance was more the exception than the rule. This institutional difference has a great impact on immigrant children, many of whom first start to learn German at age six upon entering elementary school. And then, at age ten, they are already selected into different tracks in secondary school. Even for the brightest pupils from immigrant families, this makes it almost a mission impossible to enter directly into a *Gymnasium*, the preparatory track for university. Neither can Ayla go directly to a *Gymnasium*. Instead she went to the village's *Gesamtschule* (a vocational school that combines lower and middle vocational education: *Hauptschule* and *Realschule*). Since she was one of the better students in her year, in 11th grade, she was allowed to transfer to a *Gymnasium* in Frankfurt. Her parents allowed her to travel to the city on her own. Like for other respondents who made this transition, the switch to a *Gymnasium* did not come easy for Ayla. She had to repeat classes twice. The level in *Gesamtschule* is usually so much lower that it is a great effort for those students who change to a *Gymnasium*. After her *Abitur* (high school exam), things went much more smoothly. She entered University, to her parents' dismay not to study Law, but something they had never heard of and in which they saw no future. In their words: 'something to do with culture'. Ayla loved Anthropology, but was unable to find a job after her BA. After six months of unemployment, she started working in a jeans store. This drove her first into a depression, then back to University to pursue a master's in Political Science and International Relations. After obtaining her Master's degree, she used her network to apply for a position as a Project Coordinator at the Frankfurt Alevi Youth Center and was asked to set up the new centre in Hessen that she now runs. Being an Alevi herself, she felt at home at the centre and spent a great deal of time with her projects' participants, even during weekends. The projects she coordinates are aimed at young Alevi Turks and address education, labour market issues as well as social issues.

In Germany, many of the people we interviewed in the educational sector and in the social sector worked explicitly for immigrant youth. Often they expressed this as a personal motivation, partly as a response to the hardship they experienced on their own pathway through the German primary and secondary education.

Discussion

The discussion about what explains success among children of immigrants of little-educated parents is still developing. Groups that are exceptionally successful, such as the Asian Americans, are labelled 'model minorities'. This mostly refers to the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the group. However, this type of explanation becomes problematic when we want to explain success within a group that is *not* very successful. After all, how can we explain that both success *and* failure are the result of the same ethnic and cultural background characteristics?

The contrasting outcomes for the Turkish second generation in the different European countries also show that we should be cautious when explaining outcomes through the lens of ethnic or cultural characteristics. I argue that we should look critically at the role of ethnicity *in relation to* the institutional demands in education and the labour market. It is not only about what people and groups can bring to the table based on the resources and attitudes within their own ethnic group, but also about what the country context offers in terms of chances and what it demands from families and groups to become successful. The huge variation between the outcomes of Sweden and those of Germany shows this convincingly. In short, we need a framework that takes into account the context of integration. Close examination of the pathways of the successful Turkish second generation reveals which institutional educational arrangements and labour market arrangements help or hinder the integration of the children of immigrants.

In both France and Sweden, a positive attitude in the family towards education makes it possible even for the average student to directly access higher education. It is the open school system that allows this. But in France, the open school system alone does not lead to a professional job in the labour market. The different level of prestige of universities (with the *Grandes Écoles* on the one hand and the common universities on the other) provides a different entrance to the labour market. Due to the absence of a well-developed apprenticeship system, entering the labour market and finding a fixed position greatly depend on one's network contacts. And that is what an immigrant family usually cannot provide. In Germany and The Netherlands, the odds that you make it directly into higher education are much smaller than in Sweden and France because of the structure of the educational system. Both systems demand practical help and knowledge of the school system, things many first generation parents simply cannot provide. In The Netherlands, with strong determination and perseverance, you can become successful via the long route. In Germany, this option is not available. If your family is unable to provide substantial practical help and support, the odds to make it through a *Gymnasium* are close to nil, even for the brightest children.

Not only the variation in the pathways followed in different countries, but also the huge difference in the demands on family resources convincingly show the limitations of a single focus on the background characteristics of an ethnic group. We should not analyse the practices, attitudes or resources of families or of ethnic groups in a vacuum: the starting point for the analyses is the demand from the institutions in place. However, I do not advocate a straightforward structure-over-agency approach. I advocate looking closely at the *match with agency*. What do the institutions demand from the students and their families and what are the families and students able to offer in return?

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12139

Re-thinking Intelligence: schools that build the mind

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Introduction

Across Europe and North America, citizens are dissatisfied with schooling and its outcomes. They study the educational systems of other countries and compare scores on PISA and other international tests. The calls for reform are numerous and often contradictory.

Education activists today rarely refer to *intelligence* in their writing or speaking. The very concept of individual intelligence appears to be politically dangerous territory. Most educators and education advocates do not want to become embroiled in an argument that seems to have no acceptable answer. If we use programmes and practices that are *adaptive* to students, available choices always seem *de facto* to land on offering those with less 'academic ability' classes that move at a slower pace and thus slow down learning and reduce overall achievement. On the other hand, policies that call for keeping all children *together* almost always result in educational practices that also expect less of some students, more of others.

We can observe cyclical changes in education policy and practice with respect to inclusion and curriculum. But no country, no school system, have yet managed to break the basic correlation between how students are taught and how much intelligence they are judged to have when they come into school. Those judged more intelligent (although the term *intelligence* is rarely used) are likely to be in classrooms with fewer students and to be taught a more demanding and interesting curriculum. In certain time periods, reformers have tried to break down this pervasive correlation (Resnick, 1999). Today, most countries have differentiated education programmes beginning in elementary schools, even when official policy favours equal learning opportunities. There are calls for more schooling, more skills, even more college attendance. But not for more integrated or common schooling.

Although the language of intelligence is rarely used publicly, most citizens believe 'deep down' that some people can learn well and easily and others only with substantial step-by-step programming. This is a natural assumption if intelligence is considered to be an inherited trait rather than a learned set of skills and knowledge.

Here, we propose to turn those notions on their heads. We develop a view of intelligence as *learnable*. We look briefly at the origins of the persistent idea of intelligence as a fixed trait that some people 'have' and others do not, which is the view on which our schools have historically been based. We support our claim that intelligence is learnable with evidence from population trends and a few powerful examples of school interventions. We then consider how schools might deliberately *create* intelligence by looking in depth at our intervention examples. Finally, we discuss the implications not only for how schools are organised, but also what their very purpose should be.

By 'intelligence', we mean more than ease in acquiring a fixed body of knowledge. We mean the ability to reason, process, interpret, and ultimately do something new with information. We claim that intelligence can grow. This alternate view of intelligence as malleable is not new. But the extent to which it has *not* been taken up in education practice is striking.

Why is the idea of learnable intelligence so hard to accept as a public goal? Why should citizens in the most educated, technically-advanced, and democratic countries of the world behave as if intelligence were an innate trait that helps students to do well in school, rather than a learned capacity that schools (and certain other institutions) can *create?* The answer is tied to the historic purposes of public education, which themselves are embedded in shifting economic and social conditions.

Intelligence and the Historic Purposes of Public Education

The 19th and early 20th centuries were times of huge population shifts in Europe and America. Fewer people were needed to work the land. Basic products such as cloth could be produced elsewhere and transported to population centres. Child labour on family farms was less crucial than in earlier periods. At the same time, new industrial forms of production created jobs in the cities that could be performed by unskilled labourers, including young children. 'Poor houses' were filled to overflowing and urban public health was a growing concern. Perhaps the easiest way to acquire a 'feel' of what was happening is to read Charles Dickens' novels about conditions in London.

In America, social reformers began to build alliances with newly-developing public schooling systems, to bring children off the streets and cope with the flow of farm families and immigrants into cities. Expectations of universal literacy began to grow and so did the belief that requiring school attendance was the best way to meet this broad social goal. A remnant of this is visible even today: in most American cities, teenagers seeking jobs must first acquire work permits that are offered by their local school system.

Outside the major cities, however, it required an impending war (WWI) to convince the nation that it needed to attend to the basic education of all of its citizens. The technology of warfare was changing; literacy was now a requirement for effective soldiering. At military recruitment centres across the country it became clear that just *attending* school did not guarantee learning that would allow young men to participate in any but the lowest ranks of the expanding citizen armies.

The Origins of IQ Testing

Military leaders began to look for ways of assessing recruits' likely ability to learn the new skills that military service needed, beyond the very basic literacy that universal schooling was expected to deliver. They needed a way to measure intelligence that was not completely dependent on success in school and could in fact *predict* the likelihood that an individual could quickly learn and deploy the skills needed in a new kind of war. They found it in the *Stanford-Binet* — a set of measurement tools created by scholars from Stanford University, built on earlier work in Paris by Alfred Binet.

Binet and his colleagues had developed an assessment in response to the Parisian school authorities' request for a sorting mechanism by which they could

determine students' varying needs. To meet this practical demand, Binet set aside then-developing arguments about which mental processes constituted intelligence and instead proposed a system that simply tallied what specific knowledge a child had gained in the course of everyday activities. From hundreds of interviews with children, he developed a set of questions and tasks to judge a child's 'mental age'. For example, an average five-year-old could count four pennies, an average seven-year-old could name the uses of everyday objects, an average nine-year-old could make change for a purchase in a play shop (Neisser, 1998). Dividing a child's *Mental Age* (in months) by his or her *actual age* yielded an 'intelligence quotient', or *IQ*. To make this information easier for ordinary people to understand, Binet multiplied both the numerator and the denominator by 100 and selected test items that would produce what statisticians now call a *normal curve*. By carefully choosing test items and rebuilding the tests from time to time, it was possible to insure that an IQ score of an *average* individual would be 100. Those with IQs significantly lower (e.g. 70) could be safely labelled 'retarded', those with IQs significantly higher (e.g. 130) could be labelled *gifted*, and those with still higher scores could be labelled *geniuses*. If not for the war and the American taste for testing, Binet's test might have faded into obscurity. Instead, the idea of an intelligence quotient became hugely influential, so commonplace it was largely unquestioned.

Intelligence and Natural Selection

While the European and North American education systems were forming in the early 20th century, science seemed to provide extensive evidence that biological processes (often called *natural selection*) created human traits, including a general ability to learn (Hernstein and Murray, 1994; Devlin *et al*., 1997). Research on animals had shown changes in the features of several species (Darwin, 1859/1991). Research on agriculture showed that it was possible to improve not only the quantity, but even the quality of plants through genetic selection. Borrowing that idea, natural scientists proposed that the intelligence of a nation could be improved by controlling who could have children, rather than by attempting to educate those whose intelligence seemed to be weak. As early as 1865, British psychometrician Francis Galton (1865) had claimed that intelligence was decreasing in Western countries because people with low intelligence were living longer and producing more children than their more intelligent counterparts, and many scientists and intellectuals in Britain and the US found his ideas persuasive. By the beginning of the 20th century, the view that intelligence in a population could only change through natural selection was widely accepted.

Intelligence and Theories of Knowledge

This view corresponded well with the theory of knowledge that was dominant in psychology and the other learning sciences at the time. Knowledge was made up of bits of information, often best learned through direct instruction. Teachers could help students to build core knowledge in the various domains, but should not expect learning in one area to transfer to another. Moreover, bits of knowledge could be turned into testable items. And for the most part, the results of the tests confirmed the view of intelligence as fixed, and a scarce commodity. These ideas formed the foundation of our schools. Schools adapted to these 'realities' by sorting students into different programmes that appeared to mirror how they had already been sorted by the immutable processes of natural selection.

Evidence of Growing Intelligence (and Continuing Skepticism)

Evidence from Population Trends

Despite the prevalence of these ideas, at least since the 1980s, we have had evidence that intelligence is growing. In New Zealand, James Flynn (1987) showed that average intelligence test scores had risen in 14 countries that had widely administered standardised tests over many decades. The tested populations were scoring *higher*, especially in non-verbal tests such as the Raven's Progressive Matrices that had been thought to be resistant to direct instruction.

Researchers have investigated possible causes of the apparent rise in intelligence — from better nutrition to widespread and more complex electronic communication (Neisser, 1998). Flynn himself, however, ended up arguing against his own findings (Neisser, 1998). He takes 'real intelligence' to be biologically mind and slow to evolve; therefore it could not have risen so dramatically in three or four generations. (Ironically, Flynn's views may be the best illustration of the difficulty of uprooting the idea of intelligence as an inherited trait). Yet the trend continues. Average IQ scores are now 30 points higher than they were a century ago. To say that increases in intelligence are responsible for the rise is not to deny individual differences; rather, it suggests that societies are becoming more intelligent overall.

Evidence of 'Transfer' from School Settings

We also have evidence of growing intelligence from school settings. Resnick, Asterhan, and Clarke (2015) assembled data on the effects of certain forms of dialogue on students' learning. It appears that structured academic discussions, disciplined by shared standards of reasoning, can produce enduring learning gains. More surprising, under certain conditions, students who participated in discussions in one domain performed better in standardised tests in other distant domains (their learning 'transferred') than those who did not have discussion experience.

We will look at three examples. First, in England, students who discussed *science* problems in an intervention called Cognitive Acceleration through Science Education (Adey & Shayer, 1993) significantly outperformed similar students on the GCSEs in *English* and *mathematics* three years later. Second, Scottish students who participated in a programme based on 'Philosophy for Children' (Topping & Trickey, in Resnick *et al.*, 2015), which involves discussions of major philosophical questions, showed significant gains in *non-verbal and quantitative reasoning* abilities (as well as verbal reasoning) in a test of cognitive abilities, while a control group showed none. Despite no further intervention, the experimental group maintained these gains for two more years. Third, students in China who participated in 'Collaborative Reasoning' in which students debate ethical dilemmas produced significantly better problem solutions in a *spatial reasoning* task than their peers (Sun *et al.*, under review). In a later section, we will look at these programmes in more detail as examples of what can occur when students are asked to reason together. (See Resnick *et al.*, 2015, for a recent compendium of research on dialogic learning.)

Creating Intelligence in Schools

We argue that schools should stop using intelligence as a means for sorting students and allocating restricted resources. Instead, they should start creating intelligence, deliberately developing the reasoning abilities that are each person's

birthright. Structured dialogue may be the optimal method, because reasoning is activated by and intimately connected to talk (Michaels, O'Connor, & Resnick, 2008). In virtually every domain of the adult world, we solve problems through dialogue, arguing our way towards solutions and conclusions. However, most students are not often asked to engage in this process in schools.

Dialogue and Learning

Examples of dialogic teaching and learning are geographically widespread but isolated and relatively rare. Still, we can begin to talk about a *dialogic pedagogy*. Over the 50 years since this Journal was first published, ideas about how learning occur have shifted, and learning research in general has been enriched by a deeper understanding of language and culture. Until the mid-1970s, learning was assumed to be an individual endeavour involving processes that happened within an individual brain. Vygotsky (1978) radically altered this concept of learning by showing that knowledge is developed through social interaction. Linguists examined talk — the central event in classroom life (Mehan & Cazden, in Resnick *et al.*, 2015; Mehan, 1979) — identifying patterns, documenting the proportion of teacher talk to student talk, and studying the content of talk. A broader understanding of language and linguistic competence led to the recognition that multiple linguistic forms and styles of language could be used to express complex ideas (Brice Heath, 1983; Resnick, Pontecorvo, & Säljö, 1997). In other words, students can make valuable contributions without necessarily sounding like the teacher or using the formal language of schooling. The concept of *culture* became an important object of study. Students bring their cultures with them, and schools adapt to these in negative and positive ways (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Delpit, 1996). Social scientists showed that the social design of classrooms — social practices and expectations — had an effect on student achievement, both in terms of the present and in preparation for future learning (Dweck, 2006; Yeager & Walton, 2011). These streams of thought have shaped and reshaped dialogic pedagogy.

Classroom dialogue goes by different names: dialogic learning, Accountable Talk (Michaels, O'Connor, & Resnick, 2008), deliberation, argumentation, and more. While the names and specifics may differ, the forms of dialogue that seem to develop intelligence share certain features. In this form of talk, students think out loud: noticing something about a problem, puzzling through a surprising finding, or articulating, explaining, and reflecting upon their own reasoning. The teacher works to elicit a range of ideas, which may be emergent or incomplete. With teacher guidance, other students take up their classmates' statements: building on, challenging, or clarifying a claim (including a teacher's claim); posing questions; reasoning about a proposed solution; or offering a counter claim or an alternate explanation. All students are positioned as intellectual agents in the discussion — they are expected to use their minds. Overall, the teacher's goal is to sustain a *teacher-led* but *student-owned* process of shared reasoning that ultimately leads to a more fully-developed, evidence-backed conclusion, solution, or explanation.

Dialogic Teaching and Learning: three examples

At King's College London, Adey and Shayer developed Cognitive Acceleration through Science Education, an intervention for students aged 11 to 14 (Years 7 and 8 in the UK). The intervention lessons, designed to be taught every other week for two years, were based on Piaget's schemata of formal operations, including

control and exclusion of variables, ratio and proportionality, probability, etc. (Adey & Shayer, 1990). Rather than telling students rules, teachers gave them practical problems, which they attempted to solve by working with materials, talking about their ideas, and defending their solutions. A core principle of the intervention was *cognitive conflict*: Piaget's idea that the mind develops in response to stimuli that disrupt existing structures and cause new ones to form (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969). Therefore, the lessons were constructed around problems that resisted shallow interpretations or quick resolution. The discussion process is described in Adey, Robertson, and Venville (2002): 'A puzzle (the conflict) generates questions, questions are directed at others, tentative suggestions are offered, and the group feels its way towards some resolution of the conflict, with the teacher forestalling too early closure on inadequate solutions'. In their view, individual knowledge was built through this social process.

'Philosophy for Children' aims to develop students' critical reasoning skills through dialogue about philosophical questions, such as 'Is it ever wrong to tell the truth?' Using a text or another stimulus, the teacher guides young students through dialogue and Socratic questioning in which they are encouraged to question one another and multiple answers are considered. Lipman, who developed 'Philosophy for Children', describes a *teacher-guided community of inquiry* (Lipman, 1991) in which students are expected to be thoughtful and increasingly reasonable and the teacher is willing to admit error. Intervention teachers were trained in the techniques of scaffolded dialogue, helping children to reason and support their own views, listen respectfully and question others' views, offer alternative views, make connections, and build on other children's ideas. In weekly one-hour lessons, the teacher's aim was for the class to construct deeper knowledge or a better solution than any child could develop alone.

Collaborative Reasoning, which has been implemented in the US and in China, engages students in discussions of ethical dilemmas, public policy questions, or issues of science that are posed in stories. In small groups and in whole-class discussions, students take positions on the big question of a story (such as 'Are zoos good places for animals?'), learn to argue for and against their positions, and ultimately construct arguments collaboratively. For example, Sun, Anderson, Lin, and Morris (Resnick *et al.*, 2015) quote an American participant: 'Okay, you're a no [points to classmate], you're a no [points], you're a no [points], and I'm a no. We all agree! So let's think of some yes reasons and see if we can sway our own minds'. As students tried to persuade others to share their views, Sun *et al.* observed them spontaneously using analogies. Over a sequence of discussions, growing numbers of students moved from elaborating on classmates' analogies to generating their own analogies and improving their quality. In other words, the discussion space produced *analogical reasoning*, students picked up what they saw as 'a useful rhetorical tool' (Sun *et al.*), and improved their skills through repeated use.

The Benefits of Dialogic Learning

We argue that students are positioned to *learn more* in dialogic classrooms than in typical classrooms for the following reasons. First, the purpose of dialogue changes from a site for displaying knowledge to one where knowledge is constructed. In a typical classroom, talk is controlled by the teacher and tends to fall into the pattern of question (teacher), answer (student), evaluation (teacher). If the purpose of talk

is to develop and think through ideas rather than just communicate them, however, then everyone has the 'right to speak' (Clarke, in Resnick *et al.*, 2015). Clarke studied discussion participation in a high school biology classroom; via interviews, it emerged that most students saw discussion only as a site for displaying knowledge they already possess. As a result, nearly half the class remained silent over the observed period of six weeks. By contrast, O'Connor, Michaels, and Chapin (Resnick *et al.*, 2015) report on a dialogue-rich mathematics intervention involving multiple classrooms in one of the lowest achieving districts in Massachusetts in which most students came to participate virtually every day.

Second, students engage actively with content, rather than passively. They are asked to reason about content, rather than to memorise facts or follow rules to solve a string of similar problems. Over time, they develop a repertoire of reasoning and argumentation skills that can then be used in other settings (Koedinger & Stampfer, in Resnick *et al.*, 2015).

Third, the thinking process is valued over an inert, correctly stated 'right answer'. If the goal is to put an idea on the table, then its form of expression is less important than its content. If the goal is to contribute to an argument, then emergent and half-formed ideas and statements are accepted as part of the process. Again, this shift in focus opens up possibilities for participation.

Fourth, a 'growth mindset' (Dweck, 2006) — the belief that working through intellectual challenges makes the brain more intelligent — is implicit in the dialogic classroom. Decades of research have shown that students who believe that the mind can grow are more successful academically than those who see intelligence as fixed (Blackwell, Trzesniewski, & Dweck, 2007; Yeager & Walton, 2011). In the form of talk that is our focus, students own their contributions. Both Philosophy for Children and Collaborative Reasoning begin with ideas that students implicitly own — their opinions about ethical issues and moral questions that have no fixed answers. In 'Accountable Talk', students are explicitly asked to own their statements through a move referred to as 'revoicing'. A teacher might say, 'I'm not sure I understand. Did you mean . . . ?' or 'I'm not sure I have your thinking right. Are you saying . . . ?' This step communicates to a student, 'You have ideas. You have a mind'.

What we are talking about is a culture, with a shared purpose, shared expectations, shared standards for evidence, and shared beliefs and values. The reward for participation is a product that goes beyond any one student's powers of reasoning.

The Implications for School Systems

The powerful, unexpected educational results of the programmes described here and other dialogic teaching efforts allow us to rethink what is possible for schools. Schools can actually *make people more intelligent*. They can do it without 'throwing away' traditional content — mastery of languages and texts, skills of mathematical reasoning, scientific knowledge, and other domains that have served as markers of the well-educated for centuries. Dialogic teaching and learning can take place in any field of knowledge where students can bring their own ideas to bear on authentic questions and tasks.

We are talking about change at the level of the classroom. At the same time, such a shift should and does affect the entire system. If schools can create intelligence, then we cannot justify — and we must dismantle — our selection processes:

how we sort students into classes and schools, how resources such as small classes and more successful teachers are allocated, and the rationing of challenging content.

For example, while the programmes discussed here involved students from average and low-achieving public schools, in many cases, dialogic teaching has been reserved for élite students. Pauli and Reusser (Resnick *et al.*, 2015) examined opportunities for German and Swiss students (over 1,000 in all) to talk through challenging ideas with classmates during a set of lessons on the Pythagorean Theorem (a condition they found to be predictive of learning success). When they looked at school type, they found that such opportunities were mainly offered to students in the 'high' academic track (*Gymnasium*), and only rarely to those in the intermediate track (*Realschule*/*Sekundarschule*). This kind of structural bias, of course, is not limited to Germany and Switzerland. In American schools where teachers have been asked to try dialogic teaching, a common response is 'My students don't know enough to have a meaningful conversation'. Teachers who persist, however, often express surprise at how 'intelligent' their students turn out to be.

The belief that intelligence is fixed also affects how *teachers* are judged and sorted within the system, and what kinds of opportunities they are offered for professional growth. Another aspect of the systemic change we are calling for is to treat all teachers, not just the superstars, as learners who are capable of improving their skills over time. And just as students develop their reasoning powers through dialogue, both pre-service and in-service teachers can benefit from professional learning that is dialogic (Lampert, Ghousseini, & Beasley, in Resnick *et al.*, 2015).

Some critics of school systems believe schools risk becoming irrelevant because they have not adequately responded to the growing demands of a technological world, and because that same technology can provide similar services in a more egalitarian way. How people use technology suggests that the public view of the nature of intelligence in the technological arena differs from its view of intelligence in the realm of formal schooling. In the online world, people often behave as if they believe intelligence can grow. Gee (Resnick *et al.*, 2015; Gee & Hayes, 2010, 2011) has studied online 'interest-driven sites', where participants in games and other forms of interactive content voluntarily mentor and are mentored, set standards, collaboratively solve problems, and share authority, moving flexibly between leader and learner. For the subset of such sites he calls 'passionate affinity spaces' (PAS), he describes this feature: 'The space promotes the idea of learning as a proactive, self-propelled process that may require group resources and may involve failure' (Resnick *et al.*, 2015). He adds, 'If human growth and learning flourish in a PAS, especially a nurturing one, then it is of some concern that schools have so few of these features'. We can imagine a teenager, for example, sitting silently in a school classroom in which the social design promotes the view that only some students can be intelligent, individuals have a fixed quantity of intelligence, and there is little the teacher can do to increase it. After school, however, the same student may serve as an expert on the physics underlying an online game.

Conclusion

We have reached a moment in history that could be recognised years from now as a turning point in how people imagined the nature of intelligence and the role of schools in building it. Currently, in the US and other countries, the public school

system is broken. Instead of using tests to serve as proxies of learning, test score gains have inappropriately become the goal. Value-added testing, which once appeared promising as a lever for increasing real learning, now sustains a testing, as opposed to a learning, culture. If we continue to view intelligence as determined by genes, we will not find our way out of this maze.

At the same time, we have tantalising evidence that certain forms of structured, socially-supported communication can produce learning that goes far beyond the immediate task. Although the number of studies showing these results is still small, the evidence is growing and comes from a diversity of settings. We do not see these effects from classrooms where students are expected to talk only in response to teacher questioning, and only if they know the answer.

On the one hand, we are calling for a huge shift: a change in an over-riding belief about the nature of intelligence. On the other, it appears that a small amount of dialogic learning goes a long way. Dialogic teaching can live within the traditional domains of the curriculum. We do not suggest that it will be easy, but we do suggest that it is possible. For students everywhere, greater intelligence can become the result, not the cause, of doing well in school.

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European Journal of
EDUCATION
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

European Journal of Education, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2015
DOI: 10.1111/ejed.12130

Education and Social Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe

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Introduction

In this article, the term Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) covers the 11 EU Member States labelled as 'Communist' before the 1989–1990 political landslide: Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia. Some were part of the former Soviet Union, others were formally sovereign States but belonged to the political bloc controlled by the Soviet Union and some were part of the former Yugoslavia. They experienced a dramatic transformation in the 1990s. When the Soviet bloc collapsed, only four existed in their present form. All the others emerged from difficult processes, sometimes peacefully, sometimes through bloody conflicts.

The aim of this article is to evaluate the education performance of this group of countries from a specific perspective: *how their educational systems were able to enhance social and economic progress*. The use of education to achieve social and economic goals, such as equity and economic growth, is not self-evident and is not seen by everybody as desirable. Many academics, decision-makers and other relevant stakeholders in the education sector think that too much emphasis on achieving social and economic outcomes could force education to move away from its 'original' and 'genuine' humanistic goals. But, on the other hand, education has also often been criticised for being too detached from important social and economic agendas: schools for neglecting 'education for life' or universities for becoming 'ivory towers' and ignoring labour market demands or the needs of society. However, there seems to be in all modern societies a general consensus that education should somehow be connected to broader social and economic goals. Most people tend to think that it plays a major role in promoting equity and that one of its important missions is to enhance economic growth, productivity and competitiveness. In this article, we try to answer the question of how successful the education systems of CEE countries have been since the collapse of the Soviet regime in enhancing the achievement of broader social and economic outcomes.

Although in this article the 11 Central and Eastern European EU Member States are treated as a group, it is important to see the internal differences within this cluster. In the perspective of this article, the Baltic States, the four Visegrád Countries, the countries of the Western (Croatia and Slovenia) and Eastern Balkans (Bulgaria and Romania) represent four distinguishable patterns because of their geo-political positons, the ways they made their transition journey to a market economy and parliamentary democracy, and deeper roots in their unique history.

Education and Social-Economic Progress under Communism and during Transition

It is important to recall that the direct use of education to support social-economic progress was a typical feature of Communist régimes. Communist parties,

including those that were controlling education in the 11 countries covered in this article, were putting education at the direct service of the goal of transforming societies and modernising economies pursuing two competing policy goals: changing the class structure of the society and providing the economy with trained labour. Education played a key role in this process, leading to a rapid decrease of the peasantry and a parallel growth of the industrial working class, as well as of white-collar workers and more educated middle-class professionals. Schools and universities were supposed to produce the new social-political élite, recruited mainly from the 'ruling working class'. As formulated by Ivan T. Berend (2009, p. 228), a distinguished thinker on the economic history of the CEE region, 'the entire educational system (. . .) served the goal of industrialization and reflected its requirements'. One of the signs of this was that 'half of the students in higher education studied in specialized Hochschule-type institutions, and half of the total student body took evening courses and participated in part-time (distance) training while holding full-time jobs'. In certain fields, such as economics and engineering, 'students specialized in one of thirty to fifty fields and received specialized diplomas'. Hence, 'general education lost ground to overspecialized, strongly practical, and strictly vocational training which did not provide a good foundation for further education, retraining, and flexibility'.

This 'instrumental' approach to education resulted in a spectacular development in quantitative terms. As noted by the authors of an analysis on human capital production in Communist countries, 'most human capital indicators (e.g. gross and net enrolment rates, average years of schooling and literacy levels) tended to be better in the late 1980s for these countries than for, say, the members of the OECD' (Beirne & Campos, 2007). Quality was another question. The highly developed education systems of CEE countries were producing obsolete skills, demanded by their technologically backward industry. Their capacity to produce higher level skills for a technologically more advanced service or knowledge economy remained low long after the collapse of the Communist régimes (Sondergaard & Murthi, 2012). Several years after the political transformation, most of these systems could still be described as 'low cost systems, running on low skilled, poorly paid and overloaded teachers whose main job is to maintain order' and 'follow standardized curriculum scripts', and they were not 'capable or committed to teaching for and beyond the knowledge society' (Hargreaves, 2003). The nature of skills development in Socialist education systems was illustrated by a World Bank publication in the middle of the 1990s which compared the performance of some Eastern and Western countries in terms of three types of skills: (1) awareness of facts, (2) the application of facts and (3) the use of knowledge in unanticipated circumstances (see Figure 1).

Following the collapse of Communism, the typical education policy priorities in the new or newly-autonomous CEE States were connected with nation building (especially in the 'newly born' countries) and the restitution of political democracy. Among the common themes of education policy, the highest priorities were given to 'depolitising' education and reducing central control, increasing parental choice, re-establishing religiously-affiliated and classical academic schools and revitalising schools, applying progressive or alternative pedagogies (Cerych, 1997; Heyneman, 1998). Although education was seen as serving social goals, these had little in common with what started dominating education policy thinking in the Western part of Europe which was perceived by the emerging new policy élites of CEE

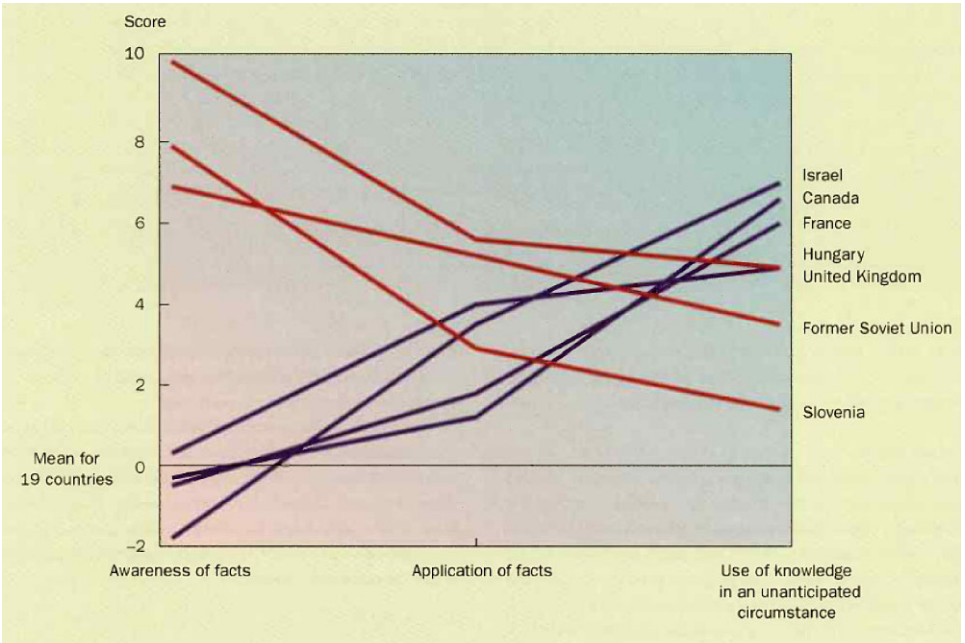

FIGURE 1. Science and mathematics test performance of children in selected transition and established market economies
Source: The World Bank (1996)

countries as not only irrelevant in their own national context, but even as something that, paradoxically, raised reminiscences of the Communist régimes which were remembered as subordinating education to the goals of transforming social structures and modernising economies. Most of the new democratically-elected CEE education policy leaders wanted to liberate education from political pressures, including those connected with the demands for social progress and economic development. Educational policy-makers of the early 1990s in the CEE region were often attracted by pre-Communist solutions (such as the restitution of selective academic gymnasia in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia or the reopening of respected old schools owned by churches in all CEE countries), or were caught by the immediate necessities of crisis management, such as struggling with the lack of resources, high inflation or the massive collapse of company-based VET centres. As a prominent analyst of educational transitions in the CEE countries noted, the typical attitude of education policy élites was a 'nostalgic return to the "continuity" of history, which was "broken" by the communist regimes' (Radó, 2011).

Most of the inefficiencies and 'structural anomalies' (Heyneman, 1998) inherited from the Communist past remained intact during the first phase of the transition period. Over-specialised VET schools continued to produce a qualified labour force for industry, but the industry which used to use this labour force was disappearing. Education and training systems were still serving explicit external social and economic needs, but often these needs were fictional. It is important to stress, however, the internal differences within the CEE group in this respect. Whilst, for example, national authorities did not do much to save secondary

vocational schools from losing their financial basis in some countries (e.g. Poland) which led to a rapid drop in enrolment of 14–18-year-old pupils in this educational track, in other countries this sector was well protected by the State (e.g. in the Czech Republic or Hungary). The first efforts to restore the lost links between education and social-economic modernisation in the CEE region came from the outside. During the decade that followed the collapse of Soviet régimes, the World Bank became the key actor in supporting educational development for social and economic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe. It provided loans for educational reforms that aimed at supporting the transition from a planned to a market economy. Access to these loans was strongly conditional. As an analyst noted in a report published in 2000, 'the Bank has no business in countries that are resistant to change in the education sector' (Berryman, 2000, p. 97). Seven of the 11 CEE countries launched education sector development programmes using World Bank loans: up to 2005, they spent 810 million USD on 20 education sector programmes.[1] In the years after 1989, the World Bank played a key role not only in providing financial resources for education reforms, but also expert knowledge to design them. What it was bringing to the CEE region was not only money, but also ideas. The typical developmental interventions — such as the establishment of labour market-oriented vocational training and retraining centres, the modernisation of curricula and secondary school leaving examinations or improving the skills of teachers through the creation of professional development systems — aimed at enhancing the capacity of education and training systems to support 'structural adjustments' in the economy and alleviate the social consequences of the move from a planned to a market economy. The impact of the large World Bank-funded development programmes was so strong that in some countries very little difference could be observed between the planning documents of loan agreements and the content of national reform strategies adopted by national governments or parliaments. As one of the well-known analysers of educational transition in the CEE region noted, 'the influence of external resources was so great that some countries (e.g. Romania and Bulgaria) even ran the risk of educational policies becoming incoherent, owing to their excessive dependence on external donors' (Birzea, 2008).

The World Bank, however, was not the only source of development ideas and actions supporting the adjustment of education systems in the CEE region. Similar interventions were supported by the national governments of some Western countries through bilateral aid programmes or by private charities and other development organisations. The national development agencies of countries such as the UK, The Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden or Japan and the US were launching several targeted aid programmes to support the integration of the Roma population, fight against poverty, build management capacities or modernise curricula. The official state-supported programmes were accompanied by interventions funded by various private development agencies, charities and non-profit development organisations. Of these, the Soros Foundation was probably the most important. In some countries, the resources invested in the education sector development interventions by the Soros Foundation in the second half of the 1990s were significantly greater than what state authorities could spend on these in the education sector. All these donor-supported programmes played a key role in turning the attention of national education policy élites back to the role of education in supporting social and economic progress. International donor

agencies not only brought financial resources, but they also had a significant impact on the thematic focus of development interventions which increasingly shaped domestic policies in the national education systems of CEE countries.

Prior to the accession of these countries to the EU, the role of the EU was similar to that of the donor agencies. It used the pre-accession funds, especially the PHARE programme, to 'export' its policies, first in the VET sector, and then in policy areas directly related to employability and social cohesion. The EU programmes aimed at modernising the VET sector were coordinated by the European Training Foundation, the external education development agency of the EU, which became an important source for 'policy learning' for many CEE education policy decision-makers and played a key role in their 'European socialisation'. The OECD, at least in the case of those CEE countries which became members of the Organisation several years before EU accession (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia), played a similar role. These countries joined the OECD in the period when it adopted its global lifelong learning strategy (OECD, 1996). In all these countries, OECD membership strengthened those domestic policy players who looked at education as an investment in human capital and as a key driver of economic growth and social inclusion.

The Impact of EU Accession

The question of how successful the education sector was in the last decade in this region in compensating for social inequities and how effectively it promoted economic development can also be formulated this way: *how successful was the EU in achieving these goals in its Eastern periphery*?

Probably no nation state has ever shown stronger political commitment to link its educational development to broader social and economic developmental goals than the EU. This commitment has undoubtedly been stronger at the level of the community than at that of its Member States: this is why the EU has often been criticised for pursuing 'instrumental' education policies (Field, 1998). In the words of a Norwegian researcher studying the role of qualifications frameworks in the development of the European Higher Education Area 'technical instrumentalism is based on the assumption that the imperative of the curriculum is to support the needs of the economy' as opposed to 'neo-conservative traditionalism' based on the 'assumption that the curriculum is a given body of knowledge that should be transmitted to the students' (Karseth, 2008). The use of learning outcomes in curriculum design and delivery, based on the competence needs of the world of work, can be interpreted as a typical manifestation of this 'instrumentalism'. This has been a key element of the modernisation of higher education supported first by the intergovernmental Bologna Process and later by the EU higher education modernisation agenda, inviting Member States to 'enable higher education institutions to adapt to changing circumstances in order to enhance their quality, attractiveness and relevance to society and the economy' (The Council of the European Union, 2005).

The European education policy goals of increasing the relevance of education for society and the economy were conveyed to the new CEE Member States first, and probably most effectively, by the Bologna Process, the implementation of which started in all of them before their accession to the EU. In the field of higher education, the Bologna Process was the first major impulse for the countries of the CEE region to open their education systems to the impact of the learning

outcomes based European qualifications reform. A similar impulse reached the schools sector with the adoption of the European recommendations on key competences for lifelong learning (The Council of the European Union, 2006). Later on, the European qualifications reform also exercised a major impact on the development of education and training systems in all EU Member States, including the CEE region. Since 2008, the development of National Qualifications Frameworks has been inciting all CEE countries to increase the relevance of the content of teaching for society and the economy in all subsystems of formal education.

The accession of the CEE countries to the EU took place during a period when, as part of the Lisbon Process, not only the necessity to 'use' education as an instrument of modernisation received strong political support at community level, but also the repertoire of instruments to be used to influence educational development in the Member States was spectacularly enriched. The coordination of national education policies, which includes the alignment of key strategic goals with community goals and the use of increasingly similar implementation instruments to achieve these, became a reality in the years of the 'great Eastern enlargement'. Perhaps the most important goal of creating mechanisms to coordinate national education policies in the EU was to support the implementation of the emerging lifelong learning policy which stressed the importance of connecting better education systems to the broader goals of European social, employment and economic policies.

The new European instrument to coordinate national education policies in the absence of 'hard' legal tools, the 'soft' Open Method of Coordination (OMC), was invented when CEE countries started their accession process and it was applied to the education sector when this process came close to completion. It was designed to support not only the achievement of common policy outcomes, but also the development of common ways of designing and implementing sectoral policies (Hodson & Maher, 2001; Gornitzka, 2006; Alexiadou, 2007). One of its impacts in the new CEE Member States was the emergence of policy instruments that could directly enhance the link between education and social-economic policies.

It has always been difficult to distinguish between policies 'downloaded' from the European to the national level and those 'uploaded' from the national to the European level (Börzel & Risse, 2000; Bache & Marshall, 2004; Bache, 2006), but in the case of Central and Eastern Europe the downloading model was the typical one. The OMC has become one of the channels to internalise EU policies and turn them into national programmes. In the field of employment and social policies, the new CEE Member States started applying the OMC a few years before their formal accession, i.e. they started implementing EU education policies as part of employment and social policies. National education policy-makers did not always notice that when their employment and social ministers 'imported' various EU policy solutions, these contained large education sector components. The creation and implementation of national lifelong learning strategies, for example, was part of the EU employment strategy which emerged following the adoption of the Amsterdam Treaty, bringing the social and employment areas into the European policy repertoire. The use of education sector measures to achieve broader social inclusion goals was a natural component of the new 'post-Amsterdam' social policy of the EU. Applying the OMC in the field of employment and social policy meant

for the new CEE Member States that they started setting national education policy goals derived from the common EU employment and social policy, which was naturally connecting education to broader social and economic goals. They also started setting national benchmarks using the common European indicators and taking the European benchmarks as reference points, as well as designing national action plans and reporting on how they achieved their goals. The use of education policy measures to implement employment and social policies was a feature of the accession process that was achieved before formal accession.

The establishment of European educational benchmarks for the orientation, coordination and monitoring of national education ran parallel to the accession of the CEE countries to the EU. In fact, the decision to create education sector indicators at European level was taken with the involvement of CEE countries years before their accession (European Commission, 2000). Most of the CEE countries were already members of the Union when education ministers decided to extend the use of OMC to the education sector and accepted that countries should produce biannual reports on their educational achievements following the guidelines of the European Commission. This process developed into a relatively advanced mechanism of systematic monitoring called the Education and Training Monitor, with the yearly publication of detailed evaluation reports by the Commission on the education policy performance of the Member States.

The impact of EU policies on education in the new CEE Member States was the most spectacular in the way they have been using the EU development sources (the Structural Funds) to modernise their educational systems. In the period 2007–2013, the eight CEE countries, then members of the EU, could spend 176 billion Euros from the Structural Funds, and the available European Social Fund (ESF) budget for them was 26.6 billion Euros (KPMG, 2014). Non-infrastructural programmes aimed at modernising education systems could be financed from ESF. The amount of resources provided by ESF for educational development had no historical precedent in the CEE region.

The CEE countries became members of the EU when the regulations of the Structural Funds were deeply modified so as to be able to use them for systemic reforms in the education sector. Parallel to their accession to the EU, each country started designing national development plans, including operational programmes for human resource development. The analysis of these programmes reveals significant similarities: the goal of reforming education in order to make it better serve social integration and economic needs appeared in all of them (Fazekas, 2014a). This can be illustrated by the human resource development operational programme of the Czech government entitled 'Education for Competitiveness' (see box). It envisaged the development of 'key competencies' to improve the employability of school leavers in the labour market and of tertiary education graduates in the knowledge economy, the strengthening of the adaptability and flexibility of human resources through the development of further education and the building of a lifelong learning system.

The Czech priorities were very similar to those formulated in the human resource development programmes of all other CEE countries which included priorities related to inclusion, access and equity. One of the eight priority axes of the 2007–2013 Bulgarian human resource operative programme was 'improving the access to education and training' which included goals such as the re-involvement of the children, especially those from ethnic minority groups

Box

Education developmental priorities in the Czech human resource development operational programme in 2007

- 'Development and quality improvement of initial education with emphasis on improvement of key competencies of school leavers to increase their employability in the labour market and motivation for further education
- Innovation of tertiary education system so as to ensure a link to research and development activity, to increase the flexibility and creativity of graduates employable in a knowledge economy, to make the research and development conditions more attractive, and to create a comprehensive and effective system to support the innovation process as a whole
- Strengthening the adaptability and flexibility of human resources as the basic factor of the economy's competitiveness and sustainable development of the Czech Republic through the further education system development
- Establishment of a modern, quality and efficient system of lifelong learning through the development of the system of initial, tertiary and further education, including the mutual interconnection of these individual components of the lifelong learning system.'

Source: Czech Republic (2007)

and children with special educational needs (SEN), into the early phases of the educational cycle' or 'the reintegration of dropouts from the educational system' (Republic of Bulgaria, 2007). The Latvian programme included the goal of 'improving accessibility of lifelong learning for adults and youth, including groups at risk of social exclusion' (Republic of Latvia, 2009). The Slovenian programme envisaged 'horizontal measures' which would 'reflect in the reduction of the educational deficit, in greater participation of individuals in education and training, in improving their functional literacy' (The Republic of Slovenia, 2007). One of the five priorities of the Slovakian programme was to provide 'support to education of persons with special education needs', including measures aimed at 'raising the educational level of members of the marginalised Roma communities' and at 'raising the educational level of persons with special educational needs' (The Slovak Republic, 2007).

It is important to stress that the similarity in development goals of CEE countries, as reflected in their programmes to be financed by the European Social Fund, does not necessarily mean that they have all been equally committed to putting their education systems at the service of economic competitiveness and social inclusion. The inclusion of common European education goals in national education development strategies was often motivated by the will to have access to the EU development funds and the adherence to these goals remained formal. Furthermore, ESF-funded development actions have not always been in harmony with the overall national policy environment, i.e. they could have pushed education systems in a different direction than, for example, domestic legislative actions. The

weak administrative or management capacities of CEE countries, together with their limited capability to ensure co-financing, have significantly reduced their 'absorption capacity' (Hapenciuc *et al.*, 2013), i.e. even if their commitment was there, the development goals could not always be achieved and the impact of the interventions was less strong than expected. According to data from the analysis of a consulting company in the 2007–2013 period, only 63% of contracted ESF funds were spent by the eight CEE countries, with Latvia achieving the highest (92%) and Slovenia the lowest (20%) spending rate (KPMG, 2014). But even if the resources were spent as planned, they often could not produce the expected outcomes because of the lack of effective support, the absence of effective development management or simply because of excessive time pressure that forced them to achieve the development goals in a much shorter time than what would have been needed for real and serious implementation.

It is equally important to stress that policy declarations and even the strategic documents providing basic frameworks for the use of EU development resources must be interpreted with caution in the CEE region because of the phenomenon called 'double speech', i.e. 'the policy of sending different messages home and to the EU' (Pál, 2013). As a Romanian political scientist noted: 'double speech is common in the new democracies' (Pavel, 1995). This practice could be strategic or purposeful, but it could also be the consequence of a kind of 'loose management' of EU-related affairs. This can be illustrated by the way CEE countries have often managed the OMC processes. The authors of a study on the implementation of EU lifelong learning policies through the OMC processes in Slovenia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic analysed the operation of the so-called 'clusters', i.e. the working groups which were established by the European Commission to support the design and implementation of community policies in the field of education. The members of these working groups were delegated by the governments of the Member States and were supposed to represent national views and interests at the European level and to convey the common European views and knowledge to their home country. According to the authors of the study, in all three countries, the cluster members were given 'great autonomy' and in the Czech Republic and Slovenia coordination was minimal or non-existent. The members of the Commission-led clusters were given 'total independence' in the way they used the knowledge and experiences they acquired: they were using the information gained at the EU level 'in their own work' and they were 'not obliged to distribute it in any established way to the relevant experts or policy makers' (Štremfel & Lajh, 2010).

Despite the limitations caused by low level absorption capacities, the weaknesses of domestic policy coordination, the management failures and the lack of genuine commitment by some important stakeholder groups, the impact of EU policies has been significant, sometimes even spectacular in the CEE countries. The constant dialogue with the EU in the framework of the OMC process, the regular feedback on policy performance, the continuous involvement of key decision-makers in various European networks and, above all, the common framework of planning development interventions co-funded by the EU have been pushing all CEE countries to reinforce the links between their education systems and the broader common social and economic goals as they appeared first in the Lisbon Strategy and, later, in the EU2020 strategy fostering 'smart, inclusive and sustainable growth'.

Evaluating the Outcomes

When broaching the issue of whether the countries of the CEE have been successful in making their education systems more effective in supporting social and economic progress, the question of '*Whose goal is this?*' arises. What societies expect from education varies greatly. As stressed at the beginning of this article, not everybody is convinced that the most important function of education is to promote equity or support economic growth. One of the key conflicts of national education policies, reflected, among others, in education-related debates during elections is the functions that education should assume. But social-political expectations are never coherent: following the 2010 parliamentary elections in Hungary, for example, the central-right winners put the stress on moral and religious education, lowered the length of general basic education and dramatically reduced the number of state-funded student places in higher education. At the same time, they started providing support to science and technological education in order to satisfy the needs of national industry for skilled labour and pursued the implementation of development interventions supporting the social integration of the Roma minority.

In general, the educational expectations of CEE societies are different from what we can observe in the core of Europe. One illustration of this was recently provided by a Eurobarometer survey on the 'European Area of Skills and Qualifications'. People were asked what they thought were the most important skills education should provide. While people in the 'old' Member States tended to think that they were those that could be used in different jobs (such as problem solving or working with others), the dominant view in the 'new' Member States was that subject-specific specialised skills were the most important (see Figure 2).

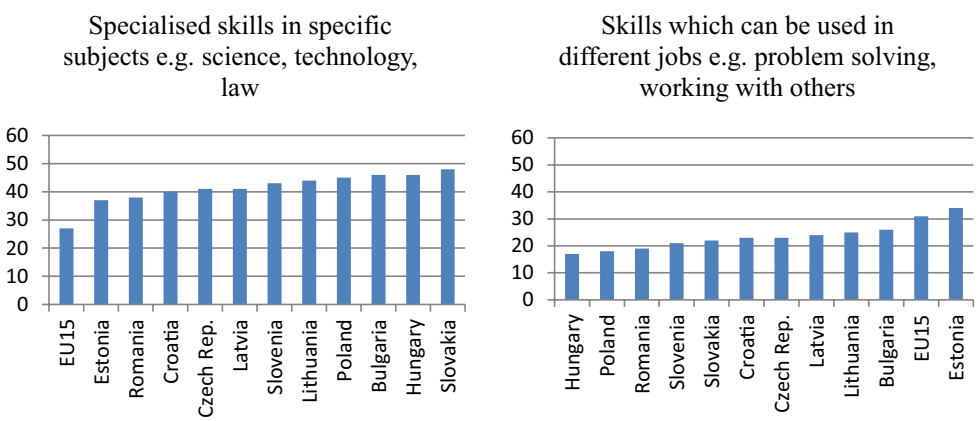

FIGURE 2. Skills people think education should provide (CEE and EU15 countries, 2014)
Eurobarometer question: '*In your opinion, which of the following are the most important skills that education provides?*' (maximum 3 answers)
Source: European Commission (2014a)

The shift of the stress from traditional subject-related knowledge to what we often call 21st century skills has been less prominent in the Eastern periphery of the EU than in its core. This is also reflected in the results of international student achievement measurements such as the OECD PISA survey which moved, in the

last one or two decades, from asking students to recall memorised knowledge to inviting them to solve complex problems taken from real life. In the last round of data collection focusing on mathematics, most of the CEE countries performed under the OECD average in both absolute scores and specific indicators related to equity outcomes. For example, the percentage of 'resilient students', i.e. those disadvantaged children who show high performance, was above the OECD average in only two CEE countries (see Table I).

TABLE I. PISA results in CEE countries (mathematics, 2012)

Country/ economy	**Mean mathematics performance**	**Strength of the relationship between mathematics performance and socio-economic status** (Percentage of variance in mathematics performance explained by students' PISA index of economic, social and cultural status)	**Percentage of resilient students** (Percentage of disadvantaged students who perform among the top 25% of students across all participating countries and economies, after accounting for socio-economic status)
Estonia	521	8,6	9,5
Poland	518	16,6	8,4
Slovenia	501	15,6	5,9
Czech Republic	499	16,2	5,9
OECD average	***494***	***14,8***	***6,4***
Latvia	491	14,7	6,4
Slovak Republic	482	24,6	3,9
Lithuania	479	13,8	5,6
Hungary	477	23,1	4,1
Croatia	471	12,0	5,1
Romania	445	19,3	2,8
Bulgaria	439	22,3	2,1

Source: OECD (2013)

According to an analyst of education policies and policy outcomes of the Balkans and the CEE region, different patterns must be distinguished within the CEE group in terms of equity outcomes (Radó, 2008). While Estonia and increasingly Poland seem to come closer to the Nordic and Western models, Bulgaria and Romania show the typical features of the Balkan countries. The same analyst also drew attention to the differences between the equity outcomes patterns: when measured by enrolment or access indicators, the Central European region seems to perform better than several Western European countries, but when we look at learning outcomes, as measured, for example, by the PISA survey, the low equity performance of this region becomes very visible. This is related to the low capacity of CEE countries to implement equity policies that go beyond simple structural measures and try to reach the deeper layers of classroom level pedagogical practices which are at the root of low equity outcomes.

The use of learning outcomes in curriculum design and delivery was mentioned earlier as one of the visible manifestations of efforts to make education more relevant for society and the economy. We can use the evaluations of the progress of the Bologna Process to make assumptions on how this affected the education systems in the CEE region, taking as a relevant indicator the way credits are

allocated in higher education. One of the most substantive evaluations of the Bologna Process (Westerheijden *et al.*, 2010) distinguished between five development levels in credit allocation patterns, from credits allocated to individual courses 'without any specific rationale' as the lowest level to the practice of allocating credits 'based on estimation of the average student workload' and the use of 'defined and written learning outcomes' as the highest. Of the 11 CEE countries, Estonia and Poland were placed at the highest level and the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovenia at the next level.

The use of competence-based learning outcomes in curriculum design and delivery has also received a particularly strong impetus in the other subsystems of national education systems with the implementation of the European Qualification Framework (EQF) following its adoption in 2008. By 2013, with the exception of Hungary, Slovakia and Romania, all CEE countries had developed their National Qualifications Frameworks (NQF) and linked them to the European framework and by 2015 this had been done in all CEE countries. The development of NQFs, especially in the framework defined by the 2008 EU recommendation (The Council of the European Union, 2008), seems to be one of the major drivers that increased the relevance of education for social and economic development. In some countries, this was done through a stronger involvement of national actors and higher level domestic ownership, in others the level of involvement and ownership remained lower. A Cedefop report on the implementation of EQF published in 2013 mentioned Croatia, Poland and Romania as countries where the NQF had been used 'as a tool for changing and improving national education, training and lifelong learning systems and practices' (Cedefop, 2013).

The shift towards competence-based education, which can be described as a particularly effective way to open education to the wider world of society and the economy, started in some CEE countries before the development of NQFs, and it has been achieved in a parallel way in general and professional/vocational education. This has been illustrated by the national level implementation of the key competences recommendation of the EU in school education (Gordon *et al.*, 2009). According to a Eurydice report, some CEE countries have developed national strategies covering all competence areas (Czech Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania), and some (e.g. Hungary, Estonia and Slovenia) launched larger development projects to enhance the process at school level (Eurydice, 2012). These development interventions have sometimes led to significant changes in the classroom level behaviour of teachers, making learning more oriented towards real life, especially when pedagogic innovations have been implemented in the context of broader school development programmes that increase the knowledge management capacities of schools (Fazekas, 2014b).

The Eurobarometer survey revealed further interesting patterns, particularly in expectations towards education. When people were asked about what they saw as 'the most important aspects of education', those in CEE countries tended to see 'the teacher's ability to engage and motivate the students' and 'learning environments that stimulate students' creativity and curiosity' as less important than the EU average and they saw 'learning methods that use computers, the Internet or digital content' as more important. These differences are even stronger if we compare the CEE countries with some high performing Nordic/Western European countries. A slight difference also appeared concerning the importance of 'the teacher's ability to ensure an orderly learning environment'. It obtained higher scores in the CEE

countries and 'practical work experience with a company or organisation' obtained higher scores in high-performing Nordic/Western Countries (see Figure 3).

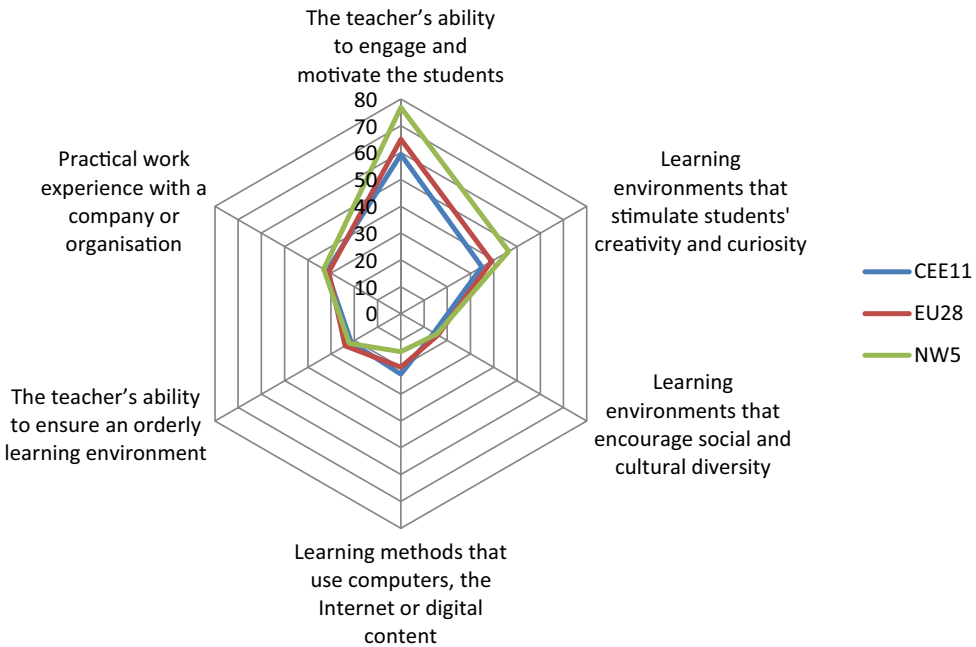

FIGURE 3. Expectations towards education (CEE, EU28 and selected Nordic/Western European countries, 2014)
Eurobarometer question: 'In *your opinion, which of the following are the most important aspects of education?*'
Source: Eurobarometer (2014)

The Education and Training Monitor allows for the comparison of the performance of CEE Member States with the rest of the Union using indicators that are relevant from the perspective of this article. As far as school education is concerned, one of the most important performance indicators used by the European Commission is based on the PISA survey, showing the percentage of low achieving pupils in the fields of reading, maths and science. It shows that in 2012 five CEE countries performed above the EU average and six below it (see Figure 4). We can also use this indicator to show how much attention is given to the goal of reducing school failure and promoting equity in education and the outcomes of the efforts made in this area.

Another illustration of the performance of CEE countries in relation to the focus of this article is the qualitative indicator concerning provisions to strengthen graduate employability in higher education. According to data from the Education and Training Monitor, CEE countries operated, on average, 2 of the 5 provisions listed in this evaluation scheme in 2014 (see Table II). This is far lower than the average 2.9 value of the other EU Member States (European Commission, 2014b).

Another relevant indicator is entrepreneurship education in schools. A Eurydice survey published in 2012 (Eurydice, 2012) analysed the occurrence of entrepreneurship-related learning outcomes in the national 'steering documents' of the school sector. It divided learning outcomes into three groups: attitudes

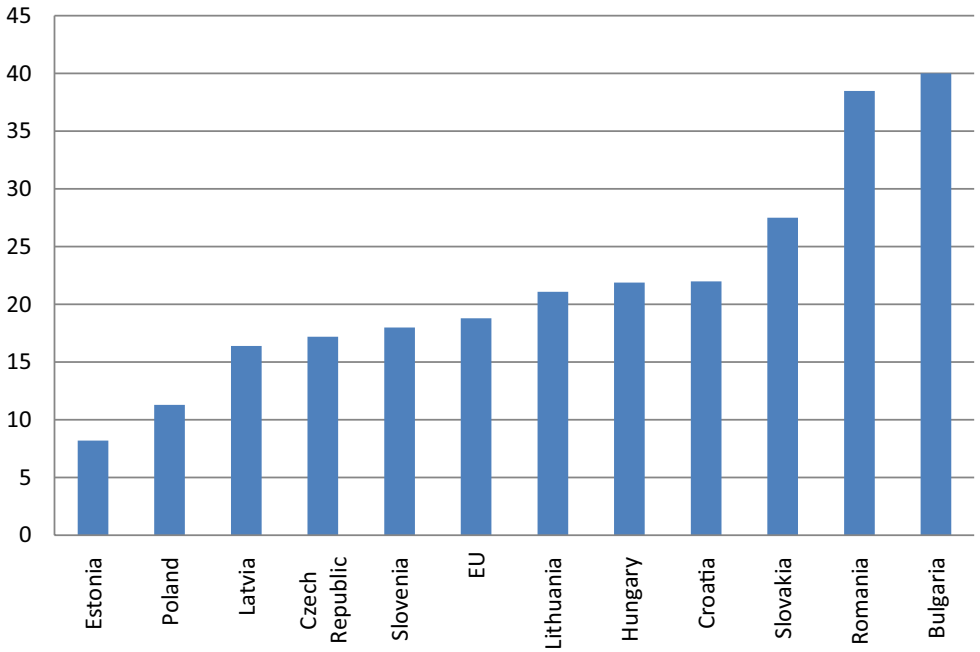

FIGURE 4. Percentage of low-achieving pupils (PISA reading, maths and science average scores — 2012)
Source: European Commission (2014b)

(related to self-awareness, self-confidence, initiative, risk-taking, creativity, critical thinking, and problem-solving), knowledge (on career opportunities and the world of work, economic and financial literacy) and skills (such as communication, presentation, planning, team work, exploring entrepreneurial opportunities, and designing business projects). The data showed that in the group of CEE countries the highest number of entrepreneurship-related learning outcomes (including the ISCED 1, 2 and 3 levels) appeared in national steering documents in Poland (21), Slovenia (14), and Estonia (11), followed by Bulgaria (8) Latvia (8) and Romania (7) and that the lowest values were observed in the Czech Republic and Slovakia (6), with missing data for Hungary and Croatia. This value was 1 for Germany, 7 for Finland and France, 8 for England and 9 for Austria. In this respect, the education systems of the CEE group as a whole show a relatively good performance.

The existence of financial education may also be seen as an indicator of education systems being open to serving social and economic goals, especially since the 2008 financial crisis. According to the OECD PISA survey on financial literacy in which the Czech Republic, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Slovenia, and the Slovak Republic took part, the performance of CEE students was much the same as their fellows in Belgium (Flemish), France, Italy and Spain who participated in this survey (with average scores of 498 for Eastern and 494 for Western students). This could be related to the fact that 53% of the students from the CEE countries reported receiving financial education in school as against 43% of their Western fellows (OECD, 2014). But it should be noted that the nature of what is called financial literacy may be quite different in the two regions. According

TABLE II. The occurrence of provisions to strengthen graduate employability in higher education

	Regular labour market forecasting	Required involvement of employers in planning and decision making bodies	Required involvement of employers in external QA	Regular graduate tracking surveys	Career guidance at HEIs for all students
Czech Republic					
Estonia	+		+		+
Croatia				+	
Latvia	+	+	+		
Lithuania		+			+
Hungary				+	+
Poland			+	+	+
Romania	+				+
Slovenia		+	+		+
Slovakia					+

Source: European Commission (2014b)

to another study on financial literacy which preceded the PISA survey, there was a significant difference between the competences of Eastern and Western students: while those from the CEE region performed better in absorbing factual knowledge, those from Western Europe performed better in attitudes and behavioural indicators (see Figure 5). The countries that participated in this pilot study were the

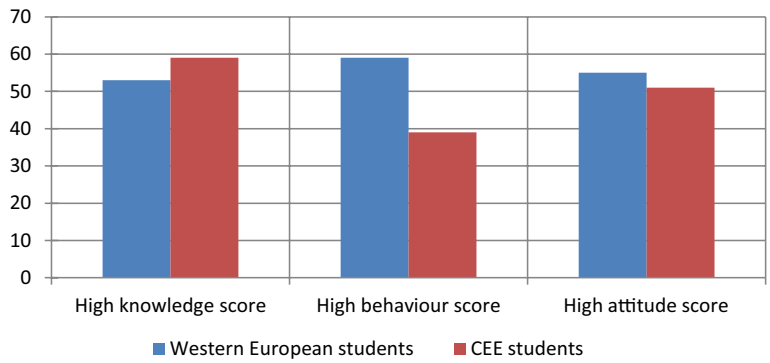

FIGURE 5. The proportion of students in lower and higher financial literacy competence groups in selected Western and Central-Eastern European countries according to types of competences (%)
Source: Atkinson & Messy (2012)

Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary and Poland from the CEE region and Germany, Ireland, Norway and the UK from Western Europe.

The question of how educational systems perform in enhancing social justice and economic development can also be linked to that of their progress towards the realisation of the 'lifelong learning paradigm'. When, at the beginning of the last decade, the EU formulated its lifelong learning policy as part of its broader employment strategy, its aim was to influence the development of education systems so that they served more effectively broader social and economic goals. This is why the Member States were invited 'to develop and implement comprehensive and coherent strategies' for lifelong learning, 'reflecting the principles and building blocks' of the Communication of the European Commission entitled *Making a European area of lifelong learning a reality*, with the involvement of 'all relevant players, in particular the social partners, civil society, local and regional authorities' (The Council of the European Union, 2002). These 'principles and building blocks', such as the validation of competences acquired outside the formal education system, stress the links between education and the broader social-economic context.

There have been various attempts to create complex indicators that would allow for the evaluation of the progress of national systems towards mature lifelong learning systems. One of these was the development of the *European Lifelong Learning Index* which is based on 36 indicators grouped into four categories following the knowledge definition of a well-known report published by UNESCO in 1996 (Delors *et al.*, 1996). The categories are *Learning to know* (e.g. participation in early childhood/pre-school education, output of secondary education or participation in postsecondary education); *Learning to do* (e.g. participation in non-formal vocational education and training or integration of learning in the work environment); *Learning to live together* (e.g. participation in active citizenship, tolerance, trust and openness or inclusion in social networks) and *Learning to be*

(e.g. participation in learning through culture, self-directed learning through media or work-life balance). This composite indicator shows the relatively low performance of the education systems of CEE countries in moving their systems towards the lifelong learning model. It is enough to have a quick look at Figure 6

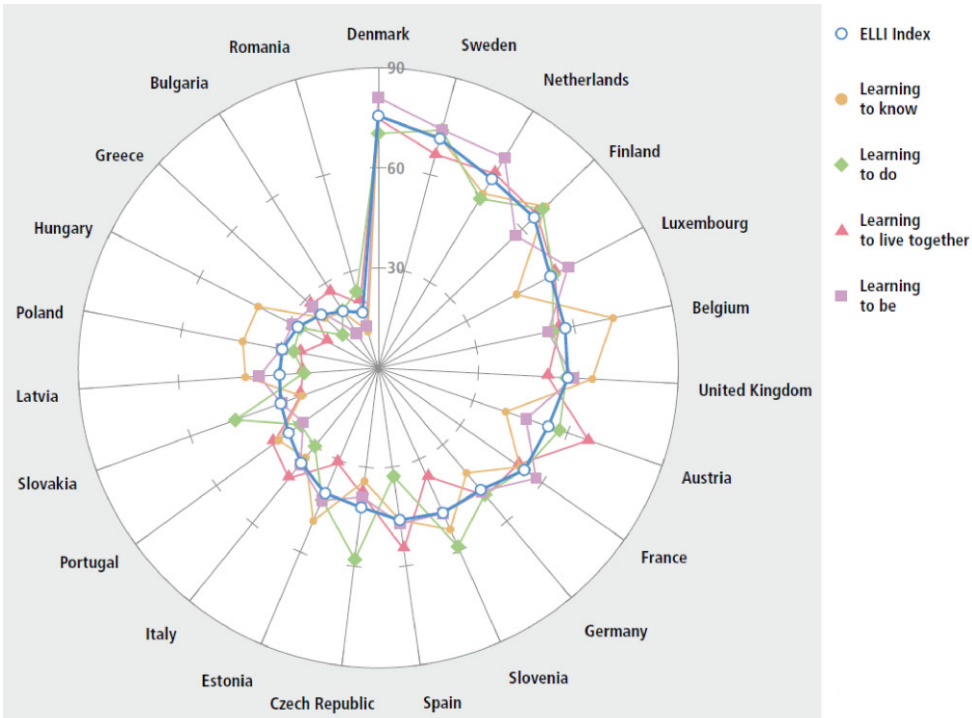

FIGURE 6. A European Lifelong Learning Index
Source: Hoskins *et al*. (2010)

to see the gap between the more advanced Nordic and Western members of the Union and most of the countries of the CEE region.

Despite the abundance of data, answering the question of how far CEE countries have been successful in making their education systems more effective in supporting social and economic progress is not easy. Education policies and development actions aimed at modernising these education systems have been strongly influenced by donor organisations supporting reforms in the first period of transition and by the EU during the preparation for and following accession. One of the goals of external support was to enhance the adaptation of the education systems of these countries to the challenges of social and economic development. In particular, this has meant the mobilisation of educational resources to improve the adaptability and employability of the labour force in the emerging knowledge economy and to enhance social integration, especially of those who are the most threatened by exclusion. Some CEE systems seem to have been more successful in this than others, but even those which are lagging behind seem to have made significant progress in some areas.

It is important to stress that, although the donor programmes before, and the EU-funded development interventions after accession strengthened the similarities between CEE systems, there remained significant differences. The origins of these

differences can be found in the institutional models linking education, welfare and employment systems: some of them inherited from the Communist past, some of them emerging from the transformation process and the specific market economy model adopted by the countries (Szelenyi & Wilk, 2010; Saar *et al.*, 2013). In this respect, the Baltic States, the four Visegrád Countries, and the countries of the Western and Eastern Balkans form four distinct patterns. This is reflected in the capacity of their education systems to serve effectively the broader goals of modernisation and social-economic development. In this respect, the Baltic States, especially Estonia, seem to be the best performers and the countries of the Eastern Balkans seem to show a lower performance level.

Conclusions

This article focused on the question of how far the 11 Central and Eastern European countries which became members of the EU in and after 2004 have been successful in improving the contribution of their education systems to social and economic progress. The analysis has revealed that they all inherited 'instrumental' approaches from their Communist past, i.e. there was a tradition of establishing direct links between educational goals and the goals of social-economic transformation. Following the collapse of Communism, this approach was abandoned by the emerging new national policy élites, but it was brought back by the development aid actions of foreign donors supporting the reforms which aimed at enhancing the transition from a planned to a market economy, as well as alleviating the social costs of these changes. The emerging new 'instrumental' approach was naturally different from the one that characterised the Communist period especially in the nature of broader social-economic goals to be supported by education.

The accession of CEE countries to the EU has greatly strengthened this trend. These countries became members of the Union when the European political élite recognised not only the growing gap between Europe and the more rapidly developing parts of the world, especially South-East Asia and North America, but also the crucial role of education in coping with social and economic challenges. The lifelong learning approach of the EU was quickly adopted by all CEE countries thanks to the new European policy coordination mechanisms and particularly to the extensive use of EU Structural Funds for educational development. However, the analysis of various indicators which can be used to assess the social and economic outcomes of education shows that the performance of CEE education systems to enhance the achievement of broader social and economic goals has remained relatively low, although some countries achieved remarkable results. A key conclusion of this article is that most CEE countries need further efforts to translate the European lifelong learning approach, which seems to be a particularly effective framework to strengthen the contribution of education to social and economic development into coherent and effective national policies and to implement these so that they produce relevant and visible outcomes.

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NOTE

1. Calculated by the author on the basis of data from a World Bank publication (The World Bank, 2006).

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