Current Issues in Comparative Education Volume 19, Issue 1 Fall 2016

Research · June 2017

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.25639.96169

1 author:

Ji Liu
Shaanxi Normal University
69 PUBLICATIONS **251** CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Current Issues in Comparative Education

Volume 19, Issue 1
Fall 2016

First Open Theme Issue

Volume 19, Issue 1 ISSN 1523-1615 http://www.tc.edu/cice

Current Issues in Comparative Education

Volume 19 (1)/ Fall 2016 • ISSN 1523-1615 • http://www.tc.edu/cice

Fall 2016 Open Theme Issue

CURRENT ISSUES IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Volume 19, Issue 1 (Fall 2016)

Acknowledgments
Thank you to our four external reviewers for providing excellent professional reviews: Alexandra Tamiko Da Dalt, Chanwoong Baek, Peter Bjorklund Jr., and Phoebe Linh Doan.; thank you Oren for giving guidance and continued support.

Cover Design
Soomin Park and Reaz Khan

A Vibrant Field, an Evolving Journal: Editorial Introduction for Fall 2016 Open Theme Issue

Ji Liu
Teachers College, Columbia University

The field of comparative and international education has undergone significant shifts in its methods and subjects of comparison in the last century. In its formative years, early comparative research took the form of historical and cultural inquiry, which were deeply rooted in the understanding of local contexts. Later in the post-WWII era, shaped by societal need to generalize practical theories for development, comparative analysis became focused on cross-national and scientific comparisons of variables across societal contexts. More recently in the late 20th century, motivated by the incompleteness of universal metanarratives, comparativists began reflecting and became engaged in critiquing and mapping how socially accepted ideas and standards are manufactured and transmitted by various actors. These phenomena reflect the additive, open, and energetic host-nature of comparative research. Over the past 19 years, *Current Issues in Comparative Education* (CICE) has diligently supported this progress by providing a welcoming space for timely and critical discussions concerning specific ideas as well as theoretical reflections on the development trajectory in the field of comparative and international education.

In this process, members of CICE have produced over 30 issues covering a variety of important topics in the growing field of comparative and international education. One way to assess the scope of CICE's impact is to examine the different topics we have discussed. Each of CICE's past publications have helped expand our knowledge on a special issue or in a specific topic area. This is evident from CICE's very first *Are NGOs Overrated?* issue to the most recent *Innovative Methods in Comparative and International Education* issue. Another approach to understand how CICE's published work contributes to the larger field is to look at the number of citations of articles published on CICE. For instance, according to Google Scholar, Brian Street's (2003) *What's 'new' in New Literacy Studies? Critical approaches to literacy in theory and practice* from Volume 5, Issue 2, has been cited more than 1,200 times, being our most cited article to date. At CICE, we pride on our scholarly contributions to the academic community.

Beginning with this issue, CICE will provide more space for timely discussions on an array of topics by producing a series of open theme issues. These open issues welcome articles on any subject in the field of comparative and international education or in the

 Current Issues in Comparative Education 19(1), 3-5.

related disciplines (e.g. anthropology, history, philosophy, political science, sociology, and economics). With this first open theme issue, we hope to establish a precedent whereby each year CICE produces one issue with an open theme in the fall and another special theme issue in the spring. The editorial board hopes hope that this new strategy will allow the journal to remain a staple of timely research, and at the same time, also allow quality and depth of research to remain a leader in our field.

For our first open theme issue, we received a record number of manuscript submissions. We find this broad interest as both a conviction to the high quality of CICE's contents and as kind support for our new open theme strategy. In the remainder of this issue, CICE presents seven research projects that our reviewers and editors recommended. These studies, as we intend in all our future open theme issues, cover a broad spectrum of topics and offer a wide range of perspectives.

Using a case of pre-primary teacher training in Tanzania, **Bethany Wilinski, Cuong Huy Nguyen,** and **Jessica Landgraf** highlights the salience of culture and context in program implementation and evaluation. Wilinski et al.'s study is connected to the larger global discussion on preparing qualified teaching professionals and offers important insights for early childhood policy making in developing regions. **Tim Monreal** illustrates how International Baccalaureate (IB) creates a unique space for international education in public schools. Monreal's research not only presents an interesting examination of IB's proliferation in the U.S., but also articulate a novel perspective in analyzing the use and framing of space in schools. **Rebecca Ipe** uses participatory methods to map the educational experiences of girls from low-income households in urban India and uncovers the often overlooked student perspective of education attainment. By providing an insightful account of first-generation formal schooling attendees, Ipe's study also contributes to the broader literature on the relationship between schooling and social mobility. **Jin Choi** and **Thomas Sojer** offers a fresh discussion on aesthetic education in their research article. Juxtaposing eastern and western philosophical, cultural and historical roots, Choi and Sojer explore aesthetics as a complementary approach to formal education. **Anne Campbell** investigates the alumni networks of U.S.-sponsored academic returnees in Georgia and Moldova. Campbell's findings suggest that alumni networks in these contexts function can often positively influence communities and act as catalysts for social activism.

This open issue also includes two studies submitted by current education policy practitioners. **Prashant Jayapragas** outlines the successful experiences of Singapore's Leaders in Education Program (LEP), an intensive school leadership bridging program. From a policy and practitioner perspective, **Jayapragas** reviews critical features of LEP in the context of leadership development and offers recommendations moving forward. **Yoko Mochizuki** presents a timely discussion on education for sustainable development

(ESD) and global citizenship education (GCED). Specifically, Mochizuki argues that the marriage between these two concepts might weaken the transformative potentials that they each possess individually.

Finally, each issue of CICE cannot be made possible without the collective efforts of our reviewers, editors, authors, and most importantly, our readers. With the publishing of our first open theme issue and launch of our new journal strategy, we will continue to take pride on being a respected source for timely and cutting-edge scholarly debates in comparative and international education. It is certain that we will continue pushing forward the boundaries of our field and engaging broader academic and practitioner communities.

Ji Liu *is a Ph.D. Doctoral Fellow in International Comparative Education and Economics at Teachers College, Columbia University, and Editor-in-Chief for Current Issues in Comparative Education.*

Email: jl4103@tc.columbia.edu; for CICE business please contact cice@tc.columbia.edu.

Global Vision, Local Reality: Transforming Pre-Primary Teacher Training in Tanzania

Bethany Wilinski
Michigan State University

Cuong Huy Nguyen
Michigan State University

Jessica M. Landgraf
Michigan State University

Global attention to early childhood education (ECE) has led to an increased focus on ECE teacher training as a critical component of providing young children with access to high-quality ECE programs. In this paper, we ask how Tanzanian stakeholders at different levels of implementation experienced and responded to efforts to build capacity in pre-primary education (PPE) through the introduction of a new PPE diploma program. We examine how national and local stakeholders' responses to the policy were mediated by perceptions of early years teaching, economic realities, and the availability of human and material resources for PPE teacher training. We employ Weaver-Hightower's (2008) ecological approach to policy analysis to make sense of how these environments and structures intersected with the enactment of the PPE diploma program. Drawing on data from the first year of a longitudinal study that employs qualitative methodology to understand the experiences of PPE diploma students, we demonstrate how perceptions about PPE teaching, economic realities and the availability of human and material resources facilitate and constrain program implementation in ways that have implications for its success.

Introduction

Early childhood education (ECE) has featured prominently in global and national development agendas in recent years as result of evidence that investment in young children leads to multiplier benefits for individuals and societies (Hayden & Lee, 2009; Neuman & Devercelli, 2012; Neuman, Josephson, & Chua, 2015; Soudée, 2009; Thomas & Thomas, 2009). Benefits of participation in ECE programs range from improved educational achievement and attainment to increased workforce productivity (Barnett & Masse, 2007; Gormley & Phillips, 2005; Heckman, 2011; Rolnick & Grunewald, 2003; Schweinhart et al., 2005; Shaeffer, 2015). Now, for the first time, the global development agenda has included an explicit focus on young children (The Consultative Group on

 Current Issues in Comparative Education 19(1), 6-25.

Early Childhood Care and Development, 2016). Target 4.2 of Sustainable Development Goal 4 states, "By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education" (United Nations, 2015, p. 21). Tanzania, the focal country for this study, has been the site of considerable investment in ECE reform over the past decade (The World Bank, 2012). Most recently, the Tanzanian government has articulated a vision for making one year of pre-primary education compulsory and for expanding PPE access (The World Bank, 2016; United Republic of Tanzania, 2014). As part of this effort, the Tanzanian government has introduced a new diploma training program for PPE teachers, with a goal of building capacity and addressing the current shortage of qualified PPE teachers (The World Bank, 2012).

As a site of ongoing investment in ECE and in which the government has demonstrated political will for ECE reform, Tanzania is an ideal context to understand how an initiative that has been set on a global stage intersects with local realities. In this paper, we ask: As a global vision for ECE reform is enacted locally, how do stakeholders at different levels of implementation make sense of and respond to these efforts? How do environments and structures that intersect with the diploma program mediate its enactment and stakeholders' experiences with the program? Although there is growing demand for PPE and evidence that PPE participation in Tanzania is on the rise (UNICEF, 2016), achieving national ECE goals requires a sustained effort to "recruit, retain, and support qualified personnel" (Neuman et al., 2015, p. 7). As such, there is a critical need to identify the factors that facilitate and constrain PPE teacher recruitment, training, and retention. In this paper we demonstrate how efforts to build capacity in the Tanzanian PPE workforce have great potential to attract candidates and reframe perceptions of early years teaching. At the same time, these efforts may be undermined by the social, cultural, and material realities of PPE teacher training. Understanding the local implications of PPE reform efforts in Tanzania is of particular importance because Tanzania has been identified as a focal country for the World Bank's new Early Learning Partnership (The World Bank, 2016). As such, Tanzania will see considerable investment in its ECE sector in coming years. Results from this study provide important contextual information that can inform this new effort to build stronger ECE systems in Tanzania.

In the sections that follow, we situate this analysis of PPE teacher training within the growing movement to reform ECE teacher training and then describe the specific context of ECE in Tanzania. We then describe how we use Weaver-Hightower's (2008) policy ecologies as a methodological tool and theoretical framework to make sense of what happened when a global vision for ECE reform came into contact with local realities. In the findings section, we demonstrate how perceptions of ECE teaching, economic realities, and the availability of human and material resources shaped how students and policymakers made sense of and experienced the new PPE diploma program. We argue

that a deep understanding of the complex ways policy initiatives intersect with local realities is needed if goals of transforming the ECE workforce are to be achieved.

Background: A Global Focus on ECE Teacher Training

Advocacy for improved ECE quality and access has come with growing attention to teachers and the quality of their pre- and in-service education (Shaeffer, 2015). The 2015 Education for all Global Monitoring Report focused specifically on the ECE workforce as a critical component of ECE quality:

> *The quality of childcare for very young children remains a serious issue. The knowledge, skills, status, and pay for early childhood teachers must be addressed…It is agreed that ECCE professionals are more effective in supporting children's development if they have at least some specialized education and training (UNESCO, 2015, pp. 45, 55).*

Similarly, a recent report from the International Labour Organization pointed to the need to focus on improving the quality of ECE teacher preparation in order to ensure ECE program quality: "High-quality ECE provision is dependent on adequate investments in initial ECE personnel education and training that ensure preparation for all ECE personnel comparable to that of primary school teachers with equivalent professional status and responsibilities" (International Labour Organization, 2014, p. 10).

Calls to improve ECE teacher training respond to the reality that many ECE teachers receive very little training, if any, and the fact that education requirements for ECE teachers in many places are relatively low compared to primary and secondary school teachers (Shaeffer, 2015). The situation in Tanzania reflects this trend. In 2013, only 40% of pre-primary teachers were trained to national standards, whereas almost 100% of primary school teachers had received adequate training. In addition to this, the qualification requirements for PPE teaching were lower than primary school teaching (Neuman et al., 2015). In light of growing recognition that that ECE teaching requires specialized knowledge and training, many national reform efforts, including Tanzania's, include a requirement that ECE professionals participate in a formal training program leading to a higher credential than previously required (International Labour Organization, 2012; Shaeffer, 2015). While there is evidence that teacher preparation matters for program quality (Behrman, Fernald, & Engle, 2014; Engle et al., 2011; Rao et al., 2012) and a growing body of evidence that ECE teachers' practice and professional experiences ultimately affect learning and other outcomes associated with ECE participation (Mtahabwa, 2009; Neuman et al., 2015; OECD, 2012; Shaeffer, 2015), much less is known about how reforms that aim to build capacity in the ECE teaching force intersect with local realities and perceptions of ECE teaching. An understanding of how

policy intersects with local realities is particularly important because, as Neuman and Devercelli (2012) point out:

> *National ECD policies are often comprehensive and ambitious documents. While the content may be informed by community-level consultations, technical support and awareness activities may be needed to translate policy into action on the ground and to ensure relevance to local realities (p. 32).*

This analysis of Tanzania's PPE diploma program demonstrates that the implementation of an ambitious policy requires not only technical support but also a deep understanding of the environments and structures it insects with as it is implemented. This study contributes to an identified need for "information…on [ECE] teachers, including their training and professional development, classroom practices, and working conditions in low- and middle-income countries" (Neuman et al., 2015, p. 12). Existing empirical evidence on ECE reform in developing countries focuses primarily on how training, professional development, status, and working conditions contribute to program quality. This study moves beyond a focus on program quality to investigate the conditions that facilitate and constrain a national goal to build capacity in the PPE teaching workforce. As such, it contributes to an understanding of what is needed to recruit and retain PPE teachers (Neuman et al., 2015). In the next section, we provide an overview of the Tanzanian ECE context and the new PPE diploma program.

The Tanzanian Context

ECE was first included in Tanzania's national education policy in 1995, when the Education and Training Policy (ETP) required that a PPE classroom be established in every primary school in the country (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995). This mandate led to the expansion of PPE throughout the country. Currently, about 34% of age-eligible children attend PPE, though large disparities between urban and rural areas exist (UNICEF, 2016). Because the 1995 ETP included a mandate but not funding for PPE, classes were financed in large part by family contributions. In addition to a lack of funding and a formal mechanism for regulation and oversight, the government did not systematically assign teachers to PPE classes. As a result, some PPE classes were taught by veteran primary school teachers who had received a 10-day ECE training course and others were staffed by paraprofessionals with limited or no formal ECE training. This situation is likely to change under the 2014 ETP, which makes one year of PPE compulsory and establishes a formal mechanism for the funding and oversight of PPE (United Republic of Tanzania, 2014). Making PPE compulsory requires what the Minister of Education and Vocational Training in 2013 described as "a massive employment exercise" ("Tanzania: Qualified pre-primary teachers urged to submit applications," 2013). A key initiative in this "massive employment exercise" is the new PPE diploma program, designed to provide specialized training to future PPE teachers. The first cohort of PPE

students began this three year course of study at six teacher training colleges (TTCs) around the country in October 2014. The new PPE diploma program, which replaces the former two-year certificate program, is the context for this study.

Importantly, the government's goal to train a large number of PPE teachers (approximately 16,000, according to a government official) intersects with an economic climate characterized by relatively high rates of unemployment. According to Tanzania's National Bureau of Statistics the unemployment rate on the mainland in 2015 for persons age 15 and up was 10.3% (National Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Within this overall rate, considerable variation exists, with rates as high as 21.5% in the nation's largest city, Dar es Salaam. Unemployment in other urban areas is 9.9% and 8.4% in rural parts of the country (National Bureau of Statistics, 2016). A different report put the unemployment rate for 15-24 year olds at 13.4% (Katebalirwe, 2014). A 2014 report provided insight into the relationship between education level and unemployment, noting: "In general unemployment is relatively high the less educated a person is. For instance, unemployment rate for secondary graduates stands at 11% compared to 3.7% for the university degree holders" (Economic and Social Research Foundation, 2015, p. 63). A recent study of higher education and joblessness in Tanzania also pointed to the reality that unemployment in Tanzania may not be explained solely by a lack of jobs. Instead, Ndyali (2016) noted: "The higher youth unemployment rate in the country does not always mean the absence of jobs but the ability of youth to acquire the available jobs" (p. 117). Ndyali referred to studies indicating a mismatch between what students learn in school and the demands of the labor market. In light of the current employment situation in Tanzania, PPE is a promising reform that holds the promise of creating new public sector jobs. As such, Tanzanian youth may see PPE teaching as an attractive option, even though "teaching in Tanzania is largely perceived as employment of last resort," (Bennell & Mukyanuzi, 2005, p. 14). This tension between perceptions of teaching and the reality that the PPE diploma created a new pathway to secure employment in a context of high unemployment is one of the themes explored in this paper.

Policy Ecologies

This study is framed by Weaver-Hightower's (2008) ecological approach to policy analysis. Policy ecologies is an analytic tool and theoretical framework focused on uncovering the complexity of policymaking and implementation. It is a way to "theorize and account for the many interconnections that create, sustain, hold off, or destroy policy formation and implementation" (Weaver-Hightower, 2008, p. 154). Policy ecologies is a mechanism for understanding why policies are taken up in particular ways and how actors, relationships, environments and structures, and processes shape policymaking and implementation. A policy ecology, according to Weaver-Hightower (2008) is comprised of "every contextual factor and person contributing to or influenced by a policy in any capacity, both before and after its creation and implementation" (p. 155). This framework assumes that policy

is political and calls for a situated understanding of policy creation and enactment. Policies are created and implemented in particular social, political, cultural, and historical contexts comprised of actors, relationships, environments and structures, and processes. The task of the policy analyst is to examine the complexity of this situation: "[Policy ecology] encourages analysts to look more deeply into policy processes, beyond the 'big players' in the foreground. It also encourages a broader look at the effects of policy and policy processes because it suggests that the ripples of a single policy or process can be felt widely" (Weaver-Hightower, 2008, p. 157)

In this paper, we focus on the environments and structures that comprise the context in which Tanzania's PPE diploma program is implemented. Specifically, we examine how perceptions about PPE teaching, economic realities, and the availability of human and material resources intersected with the implementation of the new PPE diploma program, and how this shaped the ways global ideas about ECE teacher training were taken up locally.

Methodology

Findings discussed in this paper come from the first year of a longitudinal qualitative study that examines Tanzanian pre-service pre-primary teachers' (PPE diploma students) experiences over five years, from 2015 to 2020. The study follows the first cohort of Tanzanian PPE diploma students through the diploma program and into their first post-graduation teaching placements. We focus on PPE diploma students' experiences as situated within a broader social, cultural, and political context that informs the ways the PPE diploma is taken up and experienced locally. As such, we employ vertical case study methodology (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009). Vertical case study is characterized by a "concomitant commitment to micro-level understanding and to macro-level analysis" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, p. 96). In this study we pair data from national-level interviews and documents with an analysis of on-the-ground realities in three TTCs where the PPE diploma program is being implemented.

For this paper, we draw on data from the first year of fieldwork, conducted from June to August 2015 by the first author. Fieldwork consisted of individual interviews, focus group discussions, and questionnaires. Interviews were conducted with national policymakers (4 total) and NGO representatives (4 total), and focus group discussions were conducted with tutors and PPE diploma students in three government TTCs, which we call Rehema, Tumaini, and Amani. A total of 12 tutors and 45 diploma students in their first year of the program participated in focus group discussions. Of students who participated, 62% were male and 38% were female. A questionnaire was also administered to all first year PPE diploma students in all three TTCs (250 respondents total). Interviews with policymakers, NGO officials, and tutors were conducted in English, while focus groups with diploma students were conducted in Swahili with assistance from a local translator. All interviews

were audio-recorded, transcribed, and translated into English by a native Swahili speaker. Table 1 provides an overview of data sources analyzed in this paper.

Table 1. Data Sources

Activity	No. of Participants
Interviews – National policymakers	4
Interviews – NGO officials	4
Focus Group Discussions – Tutors	12
Focus Group Discussions – PPE diploma students	45
Questionnaires	250

All three authors contributed to data analysis. We worked collaboratively, using the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA to facilitate analysis. The research team engaged in several cycles of coding, beginning with open coding, where we read transcripts and developed an initial set of inductive codes (Saldana, 2016). We then looked for patterns in the data and condensed our initial codes into codes that captured larger themes related to students' and tutors' experiences. During this second cycle, we developed analytic memos to begin drawing out assertions about the data (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Finally, we applied Weaver-Hightower's (2008) ecological metaphor to the data by developing a set of a priori codes derived from the policy ecologies approach. We used these to recode the data, with a particular focus on codes related to environments and structures because our initial analysis pointed to the critical ways context mediated policy enactment and students' experiences with the policy. In the sections that follow, we describe how perceptions of early years teaching, economic realities, and the availability of human and material resources shaped how stakeholders made sense of and experienced the PPE diploma program.

Findings

Tanzania's PPE diploma program was developed in response to a nationwide lack of trained PPE teachers. When the 2014 ETP made a year of PPE compulsory, the government recognized that it would also need to ensure that existing and newly-developed PPE classes were staffed by qualified teachers. As a policy solution, the PPE diploma program was relatively straightforward—more teachers would be trained and deployed to PPE classrooms across the country, ensuring access to high-quality PPE for all Tanzanian children. Yet, even in the first year that the PPE diploma was enacted, it became clear that response to the program would be far more complex. In this section we describe how the PPE diploma program intersected with particular environments and structures in Tanzania (Weaver-Hightower, 2008), and how this shaped stakeholders' experiences with and responses to the initiative.

Perceptions of Early Years Teaching Although part of the goal of the PPE diploma was to increase the number of trained PPE teachers, the PPE diploma program also signaled a broader stance that teaching ECE required specialized training. This directly contradicted public perception that ECE teaching was something anyone could do. NGO official Steven Tatu explained:

> *The challenge we have [is that many places lack] qualified teachers. And in most cases teachers who are teaching pre-primary are what we call paraprofessional. They are not trained at all. And yet someone is just appointed from the community, whether Standard Seven or Form Four dropout. Just appointed to go to teach. So the challenge is they lack some skills to teach.*

Similarly, Neema Victor, an ECE specialist at the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), stated:

> *I think pre-primary teachers in Tanzania, the number are very few. They are very few…We don't have enough teachers for these schools. And most of those teachers are not qualified to be teachers. As we said before, they just take [a primary school teacher]. So they teach the child in preschool as they are teaching in primary school because most of them don't know about children's development, stages of development, how they can support them. So, we are still working on that. We are still behind on that.*

The notion that PPE teachers needed formal training specific to early childhood contexts was a response to the commonly-held assumption that anyone could teach PPE, because teaching PPE simply involved playing with children. In addition to this, officials of TIE articulated a recognition that PPE teaching was different even from primary school teaching. The previous model of taking primary school teachers, providing them with a short training course, and putting them in PPE classrooms was no longer viable. Providing PPE teachers with specialized training would also serve another purpose: raising the status of teaching young children. Evance Mwita, an official from the National Council for Technical Education (NACTE), the body that oversaw the PPE diploma program, explained:

> *[T]he reason [for creating the pre-primary teacher training curriculum] is that there have been teacher training schools, especially for early childhood education, that take…Form Four failures. They say "Okay, you have failed to get any other course. Can't you even study this early childhood education?" Thinking that providing early childhood education requires a person who is not knowledgeable. So we want to change that kind of thinking.*

Mwita and others expressed a need to raise awareness about ECE, so that the public would come to recognize it as a profession that required training and expertise. We explore how public perceptions of ECE teaching intersected with diploma students' motivation and rationale for joining the diploma program later in this section.

The reality that most current PPE teachers lacked the proper qualifications was what led some students to join the PPE diploma program. They envisioned themselves as the first cohort of PPE teachers who would be properly trained for the work. Victor Mbuguni, a student at Tumaini TTC, explained:

> *The big thing that led me to take this PPE diploma is lack of teachers who have this kind of education…It's a challenge because we don't have well trained PPE teachers. So I thought it was important for me to join, that way I can teach these kids because I will have the knowledge to know a child from birth to when they are starting school.*

Other students expressed a similar understanding of the current state of PPE teaching. For example, Frida Mwiteni said, "In Tanzania we don't have PPE teachers. The teachers who are teaching now don't have qualifications to be [PPE] teachers." For these students, the PPE diploma presented an opportunity to change this situation—they would play a critical role in ensuring that young children were taught by qualified PPE teachers.

These ideas about teacher qualifications were linked to students' belief that PPE would play an important role in transforming Tanzania's education system. They described PPE as an important foundation that would lead to improved learning, which required a capable and trained teaching force. Rehema TTC student Neema John explained:

> *The main purpose is to strengthen that foundation so that the child will grow as they were raised. If you taught him well, even if they go to University they will be able to express themselves. If they have a bad foundation, even if you go to University, they will say what kind of University student is this? They cannot express themselves or solve problems. So if you build that good foundation, later on a child will be able to help himself and the environment that is surrounding him.*

While the PPE diploma was evidence of a national commitment to ensuring that PPE teachers would receive specialized training, and while policymakers and diploma students alike saw the need for a specialized course of training, the notion of PPE teaching as a profession ran counter to widespread public perceptions of early years teaching. Because of this, diploma students faced the challenge of justifying their decision to become a PPE teacher to their families and communities.

Participants at the national and local level described a general perception among Tanzanians that people only went into teaching because they were otherwise unsuccessful—they had not done well in school and thus had no other option but to become a teacher. This perception of teaching was reinforced by the fact that the requirements for entry into teacher training college were lower than other more respected professions. TTC tutor Audax Tibu explained, "The teaching profession is considered to be a low rank profession…Teaching is for people who maybe haven't performed well in the examinations." If teachers in general were afforded little respect, the situation was even worse for ECE teachers, for several reasons. First, as Tibu explained, there was a societal perception that teaching ECE was not a skilled profession:

> *Talking of playing with children. Now a person who has gone to school playing with children. See? It's the mentality. That's very negative. See? So, they think that teaching young children is so easy. To the extent that it doesn't need the person who has to go through a diploma program. That's the mentality.*

The perspective that teaching young children did not require formal training was reinforced by the reality that most PPE teachers did not possess formal training. Diploma students spoke of these teachers as "grandmas" from the community—women who would come to sit with the young children.

The low status of PPE teaching was exacerbated by the fact that the Tanzanian government did not regulate pre-primary classes or provide funding for PPE classrooms or PPE teacher salaries. PPE teachers were poorly paid in comparison to primary school teachers, and participants noted that PPE classes were under-resourced, exemplified by the fact that they were often conducted under a tree instead of in a classroom.

Due to this lack of funding and regulation of PPE, even primary school principals often failed to see the value of PPE. Steven Tatu relayed an example from a meeting with primary school principals, in which they explained that they did not feel a sense of responsibility for PPE classes located at their schools. Tatu explained that the principals said: "Because we are not answerable even to the district level for pre-primary…Even if [the district team] comes to visit, they don't [look at] pre-primary. If we say that we have pre-primary, they say 'Okay, but let us go to other classes'." Although this situation is likely to change now that the government has promised to pay PPE teachers' salaries and the 2014 ETP delegates oversight of PPE classes to district education officers, this example illustrates the low status of PPE teaching, even within the education system.

The low status of PPE teaching was felt acutely in the TTCs when it came to recruiting students to the PPE diploma program. TTC tutors described negative perceptions about

PPE teaching as a barrier to reaching enrollment goals in the PPE diploma program. Jenson Lawrence, a tutor at Amani TTC, explained that the school had seen a significant decline in enrollment from the first to the second cohort of diploma students. He explained that students in the PPE program may feel inferior to primary level diploma students:

> *I think there is a bad perception or negative perception of this course. Most of the students are not willing to take this course of early childhood education because they think that they are inferior to take this course were others are taking the primary diplomas.*

Indeed, many diploma students described the low status of PPE teaching as a barrier to their participation in the diploma program. Some had stories of families and communities actively discouraging them from pursuing the PPE diploma:

> *[T]he truth is, [my parents] advised me not to go [study PPE] because of the negativity in the community about early childhood education. It's not respected in the community. So when I got this opportunity to come here, people said "Do not go there. You are not going to be respected. We will not respect you anymore and your ability, too, will go down because of that course you are going to take." (Khalid Athuman)*

While Khalid's example was very specific, others described negative perceptions of PPE teaching in more general terms:

> *The challenge facing me from the society I come from is that people underestimate the value of pre-primary education and think of it negatively. (Aloyce David)*

> *My dad thinks that the one who is going to teacher training college is the one who has nowhere to go, they have failed everywhere, that's their last option. (Upendo Nkya)*

> *At times I sort of regret being here because of the lack of respect pre-primary teachers get as a part of the society. (Francis Boniface)*

PPE diploma students like these three received mixed messages about the value of PPE and the importance of PPE teaching. On the one hand, their families or communities might discourage them from pursuing the diploma—we even heard of students who told their communities they were studying to teach primary school, in order to avoid having to admit to studying PPE. At the same time, TTC tutors actively worked to convince students of the importance of ECE and the value of the PPE diploma. This awareness-raising

campaign appeared to be working—many diploma students explained that they envisioned a role for themselves in educating their communities about the importance of ECE.

Economic Realities Although PPE teaching was a career path that required constant justification, it remained an attractive one for many. The promise of secure employment after graduation drew students that initially had no interest in teaching young children to the program. NGO official Steven Tatu explained:

> *[Others] do want to be pre-primary teachers. And this is because [teachers are] among the professionals which are directly employed by the government. So those students who feel that there is a challenge of employment, they're just showing up because they're sure after that they would be directly employed by the government. Because [in other professions], if you graduate, you have to find a job by yourself. And it can take you even maybe five years without employment [before you find a job].*

The PPE diploma, though perhaps not the first choice for many students, was considered a good option because it held the prospect of secure public sector employment. Diploma student Samuel Morice explained:

> *My parents advised that I come study PPE. They encouraged me that the best part about it is that there is certainty of getting employed and that I would still get a chance to do a degree and masters later on.*

Another student, Hilda Jerome, said she came to Rehema to study PPE because "that's what's in the market right now." Although she had not planned to study PPE, she was aware of the new demand for PPE teachers created under the mandate for compulsory PPE. TTC tutor Audax Tibu explained the situation in this way:

> *You have completed your Form Four but you have nowhere to go. What do you do? You have to go for what is available for you…Some [students here] don't feel like [being PPE teachers]. But because they're being forced by the situation, they apply…because of the chances that they can get.*

Some students asserted that the promise of employment outweighed their concern over the low status of PPE teaching. Amani TTC student Kelvin Frank said: "My parents really encouraged me although they knew this education level is really low. But, they were sure I would get employed after completing college." Students heard this trope not only from their families, but from the tutors and principals at the TTCs, who spoke of "counseling"

and motivating students to stick with the PPE diploma. Amani TTC Tutor Ephraim Rugambwa provided this example:

> *Something which…motivated [the students]…was a speech given by the principal of this college, where he…assured them that employment would be available after graduating this course.*

For many diploma students, teaching PPE was not a first career choice, but it was one that could lead to secure employment. This provided significant incentive in a landscape of high youth unemployment (Katebalirwe, 2014).

Human and Material Resources Student experiences in the PPE diploma program were also mediated by the availability of human and material resources to support the program. Stakeholders at the national and local level were concerned that many instructors teaching in the PPE diploma program did not possess formal training in ECE. For example, of 34 tutors at Rehema TTC, only four had a bachelor's degree in ECE. Tutors at all three TTCs expressed their desire for training in ECE, but said they were unaware of any impending government efforts to do so. Amani TTC tutor Joyce Samuel explained:

> *The government has forgotten to prepare the tutors who are going to teach the teachers of pre-primary education. For example, here at our college you have only the one whose professionalism [sic] is about pre-primary education, but you have been told to teach teachers who are going to teach pre-primary education. [We have had] no seminars, no in-service training.*

Government officials were aware of this situation. In fact, when asked what to look for at the TTCs, an official told the first author to pay attention to how many tutors were trained in ECE. Although there were no immediate plans to address the issue, it could be argued that the government was taking the long view—today's PPE diploma students would go on to higher levels of education and eventually become the next generation of ECE leaders in Tanzania. Joseph Makela, the head of early learning TIE, described such a vision:

> *We need also to think about our own context and our own reality, and see how we can imagine things, how we can combine things, and whatever. We're using a lot of international theories; of course, I am not saying that they are bad, but I think we need to do research and to see how we can develop things from our own context.*

By creating a pathway to higher education, the PPE diploma could contribute to the realization of this vision, and to the production of new knowledge and practices specific to the Tanzanian context.

Teaching and learning in the PPE diploma program was also affected by a lack of material resources. Tutors explained that their libraries lacked books about ECE and said they struggled to find materials to support their teaching:

> *I think the challenge we have is that our library does not have the books which relate to this course…And another challenge is that we haven't any internet access, therefore we use our phones [to try to find materials]…[That is a] big challenge for us…We are trying to search materials from any corner…We are given syllabus, but no material. This is a big challenge. (Ephraim Rugambwa, Tutor)*

Tutors at all three TTCs spoke of this reality—that they had been given a copy of the PPE diploma syllabus, but little else to support their work training new PPE teachers. They also described the need for model classrooms in TTCs—spaces where diploma students could practice teaching in a setting that mirrored a PPE classroom—and supplies that could be used by diploma students to make their own teaching materials. Although the government had devoted resources to developing the PPE diploma program, there remained a significant need for human and material resources to ensure its success.

Implications

The Tanzanian government has a vision for the future of early childhood education in the country. The steps it has taken to achieve its ECE goals includes the development of the PPE diploma program, which addresses the fact that many current PPE teachers do not possess specialized ECE training. When the PPE diploma was introduced, however, it came into contact with environments and structures that mediated its implementation and the ways stakeholders made sense of and experienced the program (Weaver-Hightower, 2008). We have demonstrated in this paper that political will to train PPE teachers exists, and that the promise of stable employment makes PPE teaching an attractive option for many young Tanzanians. At the same time, political will has not yet translated into an infusion of resources for TTCs, and negative perceptions of ECE professionals pose a challenge to recruiting and retaining PPE diploma students.

The inherent tension of the PPE diploma program raises questions about how it will affect the ECE landscape in Tanzania. Because the PPE diploma is being positioned as a pathway to secure employment, it has attracted many students. Yet, given the negative perceptions of PPE teaching that exist in Tanzania, we question whether this reform effort will be sustained. If PPE teachers are continually faced with the need to defend their career choice, will they persist in the diploma program and in their work as classroom teachers? Or, will they ultimately be discouraged from PPE teaching as a result of societal perceptions? These questions can only be answered once the first cohort of PPE diploma students graduates and enters the teaching force. It will be critical to trace PPE diploma graduates'

post-graduation career paths in order to determine whether the PPE diploma program achieves the goal of providing PPE classrooms with trained teachers.

This study also points to a contradiction between realities on the ground and the introduction of the PPE diploma. In many places, the work of PPE teaching is currently being done, though not by teachers with a diploma in PPE. The way policymakers and students made sense of the PPE diploma program and the need for qualified PPE teachers did not address an obvious question: What would become of the teachers and paraprofessionals currently doing the work of PPE teaching when this new cohort of trained PPE teachers was deployed? The government's PPE reform efforts focused primarily on training new PPE teachers and not on building capacity within the current PPE teaching force. Some capacity-building efforts were being undertaken by NGOs, but absent from our discussions about the PPE diploma was any recognition of what would happen to current PPE teachers if they were replaced by PPE diploma graduates. In future research it will be important to explore the effects of the PPE diploma program for the existing PPE teaching force.

The material realities of TTCs and the education system, writ large, also pose a challenge to the success of the PPE diploma program. Diploma students are being told by TTC tutors that PPE is a viable and respected career choice. At the same time, students are receiving implicit messages about the value ascribed to PPE by the government—many of their instructors lack formal ECE training and TTCs lack books and other resources that would facilitate their preparation for PPE teaching. Such challenges will not disappear as students enter the teaching force. PPE teaching is marked by: large class sizes, limited books and teaching aids, lack of classroom space, and classrooms that are not conducive to teaching young children (Mligo, 2016; Mtahabwa, 2009). Will this new cadre of teachers, armed with knowledge of child development and an enthusiasm to lay a strong foundation in young children, persist in the face of this reality?

What is promising is that, in spite of all of these constraints and limitations, diploma students at all three TTCs appeared committed to the diploma program and voiced their belief in the importance of ECE. Whether they were students who arrived at college committed to working with young children, or among those who had been convinced of the value of ECE and PPE teaching by their tutors and principals, students spoke of the importance of PPE as the foundation of future learning and the need for increased respect for ECE professionals. Even among those who were initially skeptical of PPE teaching, or for whom teaching PPE was a career of last resort, we sensed enthusiasm for being part of this reform effort.

As awareness of issues related to the ECE workforce heightens, and as ECE teacher training receives increased attention in the push to achieve global ECE goals, an

understanding of the complex ways policies intersect with local realities is paramount. This example of Tanzania's PPE diploma program points to the critical role existing structures and environments play in determining how a policy will be received and implemented in a given context. This study also raises several important questions for future research, including: What is the reality of PPE teaching in Tanzania? Do PPE diploma graduates actually teach PPE classes? What causes teachers to stay or leave the PPE teaching profession? These are among the questions we plan to address in future years of the study, and which must be addressed in order to develop ECE teacher training reform that acknowledges and responds to local realities.

Authors' Notes: This research was conducted by the first author, who has over a decade of experience living and working in Tanzania and speaks Swahili with advanced proficiency. All names of people and places are pseudonyms. This project was supported by Michigan State University College of Education Tanzania Partnership Program funding.

About the Authors:

Bethany Wilinski is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Teacher Education at Michigan State University and the coordinator of education sector activities for MSU's Tanzania Partnership Program. Dr. Wilinski is a former teacher who taught primary school in Northwest Tanzania for two years and has been involved in teacher professional development and curriculum development in Tanzania for nearly a decade. Dr. Wilinski's international and domestic work is focused on how teachers, families, and children experience early childhood education policy.

Cuong Nguyen is a PhD candidate in the Department of Teacher Education at Michigan State University. He is interested in philosophy of education, comparative education, and second language education. Cuong has presented at AERA, CIES, Bergamo Conference, Asian Studies Development Program Conference, and Engaging with Vietnam Conference.

Jessica Landgraf, a former infant/toddler and preschool teacher, is an Educational Policy PhD student at Michigan State University. Internationally, she is focused on early childhood education policy development and implementation in the context of developing countries. Domestically, Jessica is interested in the politics of early childhood education policy enactment.

Contact: Bethany Wilinski at *bethanyw@msu.edu*, Cuong Huy Nguyen at *nguye308@msu.edu,* and Jessica M. Landgraf at *landgr16@msu.edu*

References

Barnett, W. S., & Masse, L. N. (2007). Comparative benefit-cost analysis of the Abecedarian program and its policy implications. *Economics of Education Review*, *26*(1), 113–125. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2005.10.007

Bartlett, L., & Vavrus, F. (2014). Transversing the vertical case study: A methodological approach to studies of educational policy as practice. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *45*(2), 131–147.

Behrman, J. R., Fernald, L., & Engle, P. (2014). Preschool programs in developing countries. In P. Glewwe (Ed.), *Education Policy in Developing Countries* (pp. 65–105). Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.

Bennell, P., & Mukyanuzi, F. (2005). *Is there a teacher motivation crisis in Tanzania?* Brighton, UK.

Economic and Social Research Foundation. (2015). *Tanzania human development report 2014: Economic transformation for human development*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.

Engle, P. L., Fernald, L. C. H., Alderman, H., Behrman, J., O'Gara, C., Yousafzai, A., … Iltus, S. (2011). Strategies for reducing inequalities and improving developmental outcomes for young children in low-income and middle-income countries. *Lancet*, *378*(9799), 1339–53. http://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(11)60889-1

Gormley, W. T., & Phillips, D. (2005). The effects of universal pre-K in Oklahoma: Research highlights and policy implications. *The Policy Studies Journal*, *33*(1), 65–82.

Hayden, M., & Lee, Y. (2009). Early Childhood Care and Education: Worldwide Challenges and Progresses. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, *11*, 3–5.

Heckman, J. (2011). The economics of inequality: The value of early childhood education. *American Educator*, (Spring 2011), 31–35, 47.

International Labour Organization. (2012). *Right beginnings: Early childhood education and educators*. Geneva, Switzerland.

International Labour Organization. (2014). *ILO policy guidelines on the promotion of decent work for early childhood education personnel*. Geneva, Switzerland.

Katebalirwe, T. D. (2014). Addressing youth unemployment through TVET: Policy perspective in Tanzania. Arusha, Tanzania.

Ministry of Education and Culture. (1995). Education and Training Policy. Dar Es Salaam: Ministry of Education and Culture.

Mligo, I. R. (2016). Teachers' perceptions and concerns about the implementation of the 2005 preschool curriculum in Tanzania. *Early Years: An International Journal of Research and Development*, 1–15. http://doi.org/10.1080/09575146.2015.1115825

Mtahabwa, L. (2009). Early child development and care in Tanzania: challenges for the future. *Early Child Development and Care*, 1, 179, pp. 55–67. http://doi.org/10.1080/03004430600923436

National Bureau of Statistics. (2016). *2015 Tanzania in figures*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Ndyali, L. (2016). Higher Education System and Jobless Graduates in Tanzania. *Journal of Education and Practiceducation*, *7*(4), 116–121.

Neuman, M. J., & Devercelli, A. E. (2012). Early childhood policies in Sub-Saharan Africa : Challenges and opportunities. *International Journal of Child Care and Education Policy*, *6*(2), 21–34.

Neuman, M. J., Josephson, K., & Chua, P. G. (2015). *A Review of the Literature: Early childhood care and education (ECCE) personnel in low- and middle-income countries*. UNESCO: Paris, France.

OECD. (2012). *Starting strong II: Early childhood education and care*. Paris, France.

Rao, N., Sun, J., Pearson, V., Pearson, E., Liu, H., Constas, M. A., & Engle, P. L. (2012). Is Something Better Than Nothing? An Evaluation of Early Childhood Programs in Cambodia. *Child Development*, *83*(3), 864–876. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01746.x

Rolnick, A., & Grunewald, R. (2003). Early childhood development: Economic development with a high public return. Minneapolis, MN : Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis.

Saldana, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers, 3rd edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Schweinhart, L. J., Montie, J., Xiang, Z., Barnett, W. S., Belfield, C. R., & Nores, M. (2005). *Lifetime effects: the High/Scope Perry Preschool study through age 40*. Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press.

Shaeffer, S. (2015). *The promotion of decent work for early childhood education personnel: The professionalization of a neglected profession*. UNESCO, ILO: Geneva, Switzerland.

Soudée, A. R. (2009). Incorporating indigenous knowledge and practice into ECCE: A comparison of programs in The Gambia, Senegal, and Mali. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, *11*, 15–23.

Tanzania: Qualified pre-primary teachers urged to submit applications. (2013, June). *Tanzania Daily News*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Retrieved from http://allafrica.com/stories/201306041028.html

The Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development. (2016). *Global report on equity and early childhood*. Leiden, Netherlands.

The World Bank. (2012). *Tanzania early childhood development*. *SABER Country Report*.

The World Bank. (2016). Early learning partnership countries. Retrieved from http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/education/brief/early-learning-partnership-countries

Thomas, C. M., & Thomas, M. A. M. (2009). Early childhood care and education in Zambia: An integral part of educational provision? *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, *11*, 6–14.

UNESCO. (2015). *Education for all 2000-2015: Achievements and challenges*. UNESCO: Paris, France.

UNICEF. (2016). 27 April 2016: Government of Tanzania launches Fursa kwa Watoto to improve the quality of pre-primary education in Tanzania. Retrieved from: https://www.unicef.org/tanzania/media_18168.htm

United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development*. Retrieved from: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld/publication

United Republic of Tanzania. (2014). *Education and Training Policy (Unofficial English translation)*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Vavrus, F., & Bartlett, L. (2006). Comparatively knowing: Making a case for the vertical case study. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, *8*(2), 95–103.

Vavrus, F., & Bartlett, L. (Eds.). (2009). *Critical approaches to comparative education: Vertical case studies from Africa, Europe, the Middle East, and the Americas*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weaver-Hightower, M. B. (2008). An Ecology Metaphor for Educational Policy Analysis: A Call to Complexity. *Educational Researcher*, *37*(3), 153–167. http://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X08318050

Is There 'Space' for International Baccalaureate? A case study exploring space and the adoption of the IB Middle Year Programme

Timothy Monreal
University of South Carolina

Henri Lefebvre (1991) wrote, "[representational] space is alive: it speaks" (p. 42). This article explores how we might 'listen' to space in education by examining the role of space in one school's decision to adopt the International Baccalaureate's Middle Years Programme. It builds upon recent scholarship that applies spatial analysis to international education. Using a case study of one school, data was organized to Lefebvre's (1991) tripartite conception of space. The findings and analysis reveal that spatial factors played a significant role in one school's rationale for choosing the IB MYP. In adopting the program, the school (re)produced a distinctive, exclusive space. The research offers a model to visualize space in education, and it concludes by articulating additional paths for critical spatial research in education.

Introduction

The rapid expansion of the International Baccalaureate (IB) verifies that international education is no longer reserved solely for international schools. An international education (tied to the IB) is increasingly common for public and national private schools. The year 2014 saw the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) authorize its 5,000th program reaching 1.3 million students (IBO, 2015a). To counter criticism that United States' schools dominate the IB (Brunnell, 2010), the IB has focused on expanding its international reach. IB agreements within countries like the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia (IBO, 2015a) helped push the representation of Africa, Europe, The Middle East and Asia-Pacific to 39% of all 5,907 programmes offered as of November 2016 (IBO, n.d.-a). Hill (2010) predicted by 2020 there will 10,000 schools with IB programs serving 2.5 million students (p. 41).

Many of the schools that join the IB seek to promote global understanding, global citizenry, and a world-sharing ethos (Philips and Schweisfurth, 2014). IB's (2015, n.d.-b) stated mission is "... to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect." In addition to these altruistic aims, schools see the IB as a prestigious brand (Resnik, 2012) associated with superior levels of education (Paris, 2003).

 Current Issues in Comparative Education 19(1), 26-42.

It can be used as an impetus for curricular reform and improving academic excellence (Fox, 1998). One school even cited a desire to increase student diversity and achieve 'racial balance' (Spahn, 2001).

In choosing the IB schools must balance the benefits and sacrifices of making the transition to a more internationally focused education. Each school makes decisions based on particular perceptions, feelings, and infrastructures. These factors, taken together as the space of a school, are imperative in understanding why an institution feels compelled (or qualified) to adopt the IB. In this paper, I use a critical spatial framework to explore one school's choice to adopt an IB Middle Years Program (MYP). Researchers have called for greater spatial understanding in education (Larsen & Beech, 2014). As space is socially produced (and reproduced) (Lefebvre, 1991), it is crucial to determine its influence on education landscapes. Specifically, I sought to answer the following research questions: How does space impact a school's rationale for adopting the IB? What type of education space does the IB produce (or reproduce)?

I begin with a brief history and overview of the IB. I then discuss previous literature about why schools chose the IB. I build the case for using space as a theoretical framework and follow with a description of the case study methodology explaining how I organized the data to Lefebvre's (1991) tripartite conception of space. In doing so, I offer a model to visualize space in education. Finally, I present and analyze the data showing that spatial factors played a significant role in one school's rationale for choosing the IB MYP. The conclusion articulates paths for further spatial research in education.

The International Baccalaureate

History of IB The guiding vision of the IB can be traced back to Kurt Hahn. Hahn, a German of Jewish origin, theorized that an education with a more global perspective could be a tool for peace squashing the national and racial prejudices that lead to war (Spahn, 2001). The International School at Geneva serving children of the staff of the League of Nations proved to be an early model. Marie-Thérèse Maurette (1948), who worked at The International School and shared Hahn's belief in using an international education to fight against "violent, egotistical nationalism", urged an emerging UNESCO to take charge in supporting similar aims. Thus, when Alex Peterson created IB's initial curriculum design in the 1960s it was not far removed from a prevailing hope in international education and institutions. The IB was officially founded in 1968. Peterson became the organization's first deputy general (IBO, 2015b; Spahn, 2001).

The first IB program offered was the Diploma Programme (DP) designed solely for secondary education institutions. From the outset, IB moved beyond its visionary and pedagogical foundations, based on international understanding and critical thinking, to

ensure the DP served practical university enrollment objectives (Hill, 2010). Tensions between an idealistic international education and a practical, competitive diploma continue to play out today (see Brunnell, 2010; Fox, 1998; McGregor, 2009; Paris, 2003; Resnik 2008, 2009, 2012). In 1994, an official Middle Years Programme (MYP) was added for ages 11-16, followed by the Primary Year Programme in 1997, and the Career-related Programme in 2012 (IBO, 2015b).

As this case study sought to understand the rationale for one school's decision to choose the IB MYP, a more detailed explanation of this program is warranted. The MYP is a more 'holistic' program than the DP because the curriculum is wider, and whole schools participate rather than individual students (Brunnell, 2011; Stobie, 2007). The MYP is flexible enough to fit most national, regional, and local standards, while still providing schools a recognizable, unique curriculum (IBO, n.d.-c). The MYP consists of eight subject groups: language acquisition, language and literature, individuals and societies, sciences, mathematics, arts, physical and health education, and design. Students also engage in Approaches to Learning (ATL), community service, and a large culminating project (IBO, 2014). On its website, the IBO (n.d.-d) described the MYP as encouraging "students to make practical connections between their studies and the real world, preparing them for success in further study and in life." There are currently 1,149 MYP schools in 101 countries (IBO, n.d.-e).

Why Choose the IB? The normative and ideological aims of the IB often take a back seat to traditional academic concerns, especially in the United States. Perceptions of academic rigor, high standards, prestige, and excellence are key reasons U.S. schools chose an IB international education (Brunnell, 2011; Fox, 1998; Spahn, 2001). In *America and the International Baccalaureate in the United States, a study of three schools*, Spahn (2001) concluded, "a large majority of the schools were attracted to the IB because of its high academic standards but its international aspects were of secondary importance" (p. 113). Individual student rationale mirrors that of schools. Paris (2003) found students elected to pursue an IB DP because it was a competitive advantage, prestigious, and highly regarded. The IB carries a certain brand and cachet that students and schools are eager to trumpet (Resnik, 2012). In a study investigating why schools chose the IB MYP, Sperandio (2010) found that across diverse schools specific commonalities emerged. Schools with similar philosophies and missions chose the 'pre-IB' program in order to challenge students academically and socially. Schools felt the MYP was inline with the high expectations of the school community (Sperandio, 2010). Furthermore, the non-prescriptive, yet detailed, curriculum framework of IB MYP helped schools transition to a more student-centered and inquiry-based pedagogy (Sperandio, 2010).

At a macro level, many scholars have explained why schools choose an international education and an IB curriculum. McGregor (2009) argued that there is an inherent tension

between neo-liberal policies and transformative education. The more radical philosophical undercurrents of the IB, personified by Kurt Hahn, conflict with market forces working to recreate obedient workers. Dealing with this tension, international education is consumed by neo-liberal demands. Resnik (2012) pointed out that parents see a future market benefit for their child when they receive an international education. An international education helps placement in prestigious universities and builds crucial skills needed in a global economy. A multicultural, global education becomes a valuable tool to reproduce class advantage. Former IBO deputy general, Jeff Beard (2015), spoke to the 'value' of an international education:

> *But a trawl of the world's top employers' websites, and discussion with higher education recruiters, places new emphasis on capabilities that have become known as '21st-century' skills. These are skills that relate to new ways of working and thinking in our rapidly changing global society. (p. 53)*

Theoretical Framework

I utilized a critical spatial framework to study one U.S. school's rationale for choosing the IB MYP. I chose a critical spatial framework to better understand space's impact on key education decisions, in this case, the rationale for adopting an international education represented by the IB. Although the process of globalization reveals increasingly complex concepts of space, spatial thinking remains an unharnessed tool in international and comparative education. Recently, Middleton (2014) pointed to a 'spatial turn' in education scholarship. Robertson (2010) presented 'tracking' and 'decentralisation' through a spatial lens. Vavrus (2016) showed how the social production of space contributed to educational disparities in Tanzania. As this scholarship suggests, a deeper engagement with the concept of space is necessary to move beyond traditional boundaries like local-global, time-space, and place-space (Larsen & Beech, 2014; Robertson, 2010).

In many ways, space provides an additional, and deeper extension, of place. Space acknowledges that people, ideas, feelings, processes, networks and modes of production exist outside geographical borders (Larsen & Beech, 2014). While material place immobilizes social relations, globalized space stretches out social relations (Robertson, 2010). Space may not have visible boundaries, but it is nevertheless lived and experienced. Thousands of miles apart refugees from a country feel tied to their culture. Across time zones people 'like' similar posts through a computer screen. People within the same city join opposing political groups. Perhaps space is underrepresented in international and comparative education because it is not understood. Lefebvre (1991) seemed to understand this tendency, "Is this space an abstract one? Yes, but is also 'real' in the sense in which concrete abstractions such as commodities and money are real" (p. 27).

Lefebvre (1991) offered a conceptual triad to illustrate how space is socially produced. Space is at once perceived, conceived, and lived. Perceived spaces are most closely linked to tangible place. Lefebvre (1991) referred to perceived space in terms of spatial practice, our consistent interaction with particular locations such as buildings and monuments (p. 33). Middleton (2014) described perceived space "as habitual *spatial practices* - walking well-trodden paths to school, switching on computers, reaching for books" (p. 10).

The second piece of the triad, conceived space, is also called representations of space. "Conceived spaces are abstract, mental (legal or bureaucratic) *enclosures*...representations of space are the codified visualizations: architectural blueprints of a school building, flowcharts, the boxes on timetable charts" (Middleton, 2014, p. 11). Related to schools, conceived spaces may include district maps or attendance zones, class schedules, and school handbooks. As Vavrus (2016) illuminated, conceived spaces "play an important role in the transformation of amorphous space into a defined place with boundaries making territories of different scales" (p. 140).

The final piece of Lefebvre's tripartite theory of space, lived space, is also called representational space. Lived spaces embody the underlying emotions, feelings, and symbolism related to social relations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). Lived spaces may be the least tangible leg of the triad, but the most alive. Lived spaces represent the human energy inherent in a space, its emotive energy and stirring dynamism. Lived spaces are what make a house, 'a home'. Middleton (2014) said, "We 'live' spaces by attributing meaning to them: emotional, spiritual, historical, cultural or genealogical" (p. 11).

It is through the lens of Lefebvre's triad model of space that I critically examine one school's rationale for adapting the IB MYP. The critical lens is important because space is not passive. Space is socially produced and reproduced. Lefebvre (1991) noted, "(social) space is a (social) product" (p. 26). Lefebvre (1991) was clear that space serves the needs of hegemonic groups. He wrote, "The 'object' of interest must be expected to shift from *things in space* to the actual *production of space*" (p. 37). Might a school, and its unique notion of spatial experiences and relations, catalyze this shift? How might the IB fit into this shift?

Methodology

I adopted a case study methodology because my 'insider' position (Brayboy & Doyle, 2000) as a practitioner-researcher (classroom teacher/doctoral student) allowed for the collection of myriad forms of qualitative data. Throughout the course of the research I worked hard to recognize my unique positionality. I strove to balance my commitments to equitable education, social justice, and critical research with respect to the practices of my school and school community. I strove to be honest and transparent with my research.

One way I did this was by conducting member checks with participants to increase trustworthiness and transparency of the data and analysis (Glesne, 2015; Saldana, 2015).

I interviewed four of the five school administrators including the principal, the vice principal (VP) of curriculum and instruction, the VP of student services, and the IB coordinator. The interviews were semi-structured and all administrators were asked similar questions. As administrators carry a heavy burden in implementing the IB and facilitating stakeholder buy-in (Spahn, 2001; Williams, 2007), I believed their thoughts and opinions would be most crucial. The administrators I spoke to have either been at the school since the beginning of the IB process or were hired specifically to aid implementation.

I also used document analysis (Merriam, 1998) to interpret data on how the rationale for IB MYP was communicated to staff, students, and the community. Documents included administrator presentations, parent letters, project kick-off videos, program applications, brochures, student packets, monthly updates from the IB coordinator, and a principal podcast. Given my employment as a classroom teacher, I was also influenced by many informal conversations, emails, and comments. The varied forms of data increased triangulation and helped me to understand the space of the school community, and its decision to 'go IB'.

The start of my employment at the school coincided with year three of the IB MYP adoption process. Although not fully authorized, the IB emerged as a major school focus point from the administration. Teachers shared ideas for IB units and explained trips to past and future IB conferences. School learner traits were modified to correspond with the IB learner profile (see IBO, 2013). The 'language hall' featured the new learner traits (e.g., inquirers, balanced, communicators, etc.) painted on the wall. On my initial tour of the school given to me by the principal, he pointed out two new globe sculptures on the grounds.

In analyzing the data, "I engaged in multiple readings, meditations, and annotations of the data" (Misco, 2010, p. 194). I looked for commonalities and salient points. As these commonalities and salient points emerged, I matched them to one of Lefebvre's (1991) three triads of space (perceived, conceived, or lived space) using protocol coding (Saldaña, 2015). In order to organize and conceptualize the data, I created a model based on Lefebvre's triad to visualize space and IB. A circle represents each individual triad. Within each circle, I list the commonalties found in the data related specifically to the respective triad. The three circles, or triads of space, overlap in certain areas to show the interlocking nature of space.

Jeffrey Middle School – Context Jeffrey Middle School (JMS) is a sixth through eighth-grade public middle school located in the Midlands region of South Carolina, United States. In

an application for another program, JMS described itself as "nestled in the heart of one of the fastest growing suburban towns in the nation." The rapid growth of the town caused the school to split twice (producing two additional schools) within its 30-year history as a middle school. The two new middle schools are located in close proximity to Jeffrey.

The school prides itself on a history of outstanding academic achievement. The school has many regional, state, and national distinctions. One of these recognitions is a 'Blue Ribbon School'. The aforementioned application stated:

> *Our flourishing community values high-quality education. A long history of high educational expectations drives parents, teachers and community members to strive for excellence each day. Many of our teachers attended our school and embody the emphasis on giving back to a community that takes pride in collective success.*

Residential property values have benefited from a strong school reputation, and the community is invested both economically and socially in maintaining its esteem.

JMS supports a broad academic program for its 800 students. Students take four core classes: English language arts, science, social studies, and math. Students rotate different 'exploratory' classes including theater, orchestra, chorus, dance, STEM lab, design, physical education, art, service learning, global connections, and other options. Each student is required to take a second-language class for all three years. The languages offered are Latin, Spanish, French, and German; this is also a requirement for the IB MYP (IBO, 2014). In addition to a diverse set of classes, there is a full complement of sports programs and after-school clubs. For the purpose of this article, school and administrator names have been changed.

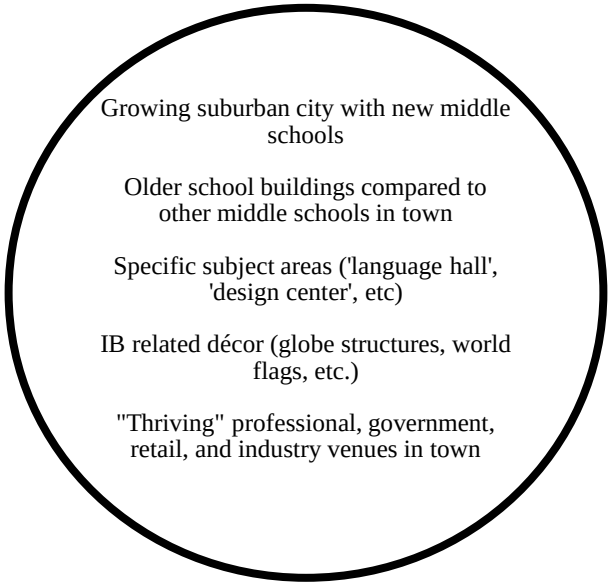
Analysis, Findings, and Discussion

Perceived Space The spatial practice of the school community revealed a consistent interaction with buildings and places. Similar to Vavrus (2016), I found "perceived space marked by certain physical features and reinforced through habitual practices" (p. 146). Highly visible alterations to the school influenced by the IB presented JMS an opportunity to reclaim and reinvent their physical space. New IB related décor included three globe sculptures, world flags lining the cafeteria, IB learner trait posters, and various foreign language greetings painted on the halls (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – IB related décor

The IB provided an opportunity to change the physical layout of the campus to reflect school and community expectations. Through the IB-inspired redesign of physical space, new habitual spatial practices (Middleton, 2014) were created to facilitate the broad curriculum. Specific physical spaces were devoted to parts of the 'holistic' program. For example, walking through campus, a student (or another stakeholder) may pass the 'language hall', glance at happenings in the 'design center', or hear sounds drifting from music and chorus classes. The VP of student services explained, "we want students to be artists, engineers, potters, and dancers when they leave." The IB 're-branding' of the school (Resnik, 2012) worked in tandem with these curricular and pedagogical shifts. As the principal said in a school video, "an IB school means, basically, when we get that title as an IB school our students do more, bigger, picture stuff than other schools around."

Figure 2 – Perceived space at JMS

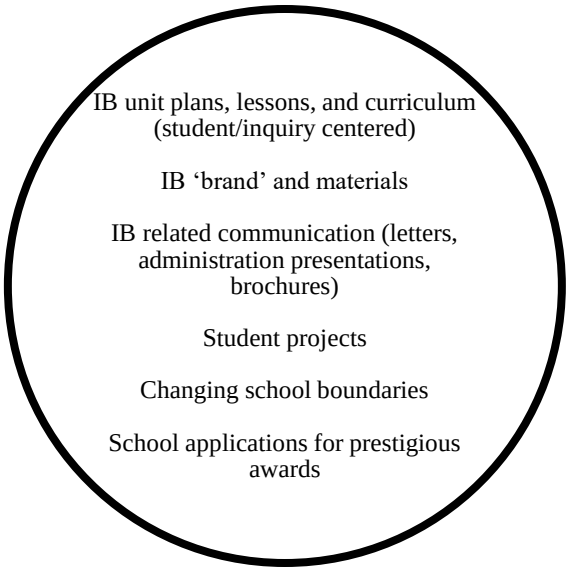


"Than other schools around" is an important phrase because the growth of the town produced a profound change in the school community's sense of perceived space. The IB provided a path to bring the campus' perceived space in line with that of a "flourishing" suburban town with multiple (and competing) schools. Three of the four administrators spoke about the two new middle schools in town that serve parts of Jeffrey's old attendance zone. JMS' physical buildings are much older than its counterparts'. It is normal to hear students and teachers wish for the glass enclosures, large common areas, and sports facilities of their cutting-edge 'rivals'. A glance at the three schools' websites proved an interesting comparison to this point. The newest middle school in town features a large picture of its school building as the banner image for its home page. Jeffrey, on the other hand, featured rotating images of student groups with a link to the IB MYP featured prominently in the navigation. Ginny, the VP of curriculum and instruction, spoke directly to this competition in her interview, "We [the community] compare itself to the other schools." The principal reiterated, "another school was recently built and this community wanted to rise up." The comparison between buildings and competition between schools is accentuated by habitual trips around town, and community activities at the different school sites like sporting events. The adoption of the IB allowed the school to create a unique perceived space, one not solely defined by older school buildings.

Conceived Space Organizing salient points to representations of space showed the school's strong desire to codify nebulous concepts, practices, and pedagogies like inquiry-based and student-centered instruction. "We can't teach at them anymore. We need to move from memorization to inquiry. The IB helps this process" (interview, VP of student services). All administrators that I interviewed shared a similar sentiment that the IB presented tools for improved pedagogy and instruction. It was clear administrators felt that school education was changing, and the IB offered a path to move forward. In the words of the principal, "the IB gives a blueprint or roadmap for college and career where other schools must figure it out by themselves."

IB was a vehicle to implement desired, or demanded, changes. The IB coordinator stressed, "The IB allows for vast improvement. It is about inquiry and big questions. Every child can succeed and benefit from this." Using the IB curriculum to concretize a desired shift in space is inline with Larsen and Beech's (2014) definition of conceived space as "more abstract notions in space as used in media, maps, town planning, and so on, which operate in ways to represent and make sense of space" (p. 201).

Figure 3 – Conceived space at JMS



The IB brand and materials not only provided key structure, but also a reliable brand to nascent representations of space. To reiterate the IB brand, teachers received new t-shirts with globe logos each year, and globe clip art featured prominently on most school communication. IB lessons, unit plans, and curriculum were seen as key supports to help produce well-rounded, creative students with a global perspective. The IB coordinator spoke highly of the curriculum, "this [IB MYP] is credible because it is global, and this successful program says we are on the cutting edge."

Communication provided another opening to conceive space. The principal was consistently praised for pro-active communication. In letters, presentations, and even a podcast, the principal expressed the benefits of choosing the IB. He took care to explain all matters of the newly conceived space including block schedules, different classes, new assessments, and "outstanding" pedagogy. From a brochure sent home to all parents about the IB, the principal explained, "students at JMS learn the South Carolina Academic Standards in all courses through inquiry-based approaches that help them take the lead in their own learning."

A letter introducing the IB MYP summative eighth-grade project provided further opportunity for the principal to explain the positive features of the IB. The letter stated, "many of the kids are already doing amazing work in the community…The project may be built around something the student is already working on, like scouts or a church youth projects." The summative project injected the conceived space of the school (and the IB curriculum) into the community. The project made abstract notions about the IB curriculum come alive

Like the principal's words above, administrators believed the school to be extraordinary before the IB. Communication allowed stakeholders to see that the IB (just like the summative project) was additive. IB adoption helped make the school, the students, and the space "cutting-edge" and "innovative"; words multiple administrators used to describe IB curriculum. With this rationale, the IB MYP helped the school (re)produce space.

Lived Space Spaces of representation (or lived space), "the space that is lived, felt, and experienced" (Larsen & Beech, 2015, p. 201), highlighted a shared school and community culture of excellence. "The community has huge expectations for the kids. They have expectations above and beyond standard public school" (interview, IB coordinator). All administrators used similar words to present JMS as a space with high community expectations, a marked history of academic achievement, and the ability to take on additional demands. JMS' confidence in choosing the IB MYP is clearly rooted in a belief that it has a special, distinctive space. Even though the principal spoke the following words, I heard nearly identical statements from all those I interviewed: "The IB is not to repair anything that is broken. Our students demonstrate high achievement. We could take on extra elements. Other schools may have a hard time." An attitude of resolute confidence resonated throughout the entire school. The principal continued, "This school and community want to be an exemplar as the state transforms education." The administration believed the school community was uniquely prepared to accept the challenge of the IB MYP.

Figure 4 – Lived space at JMS

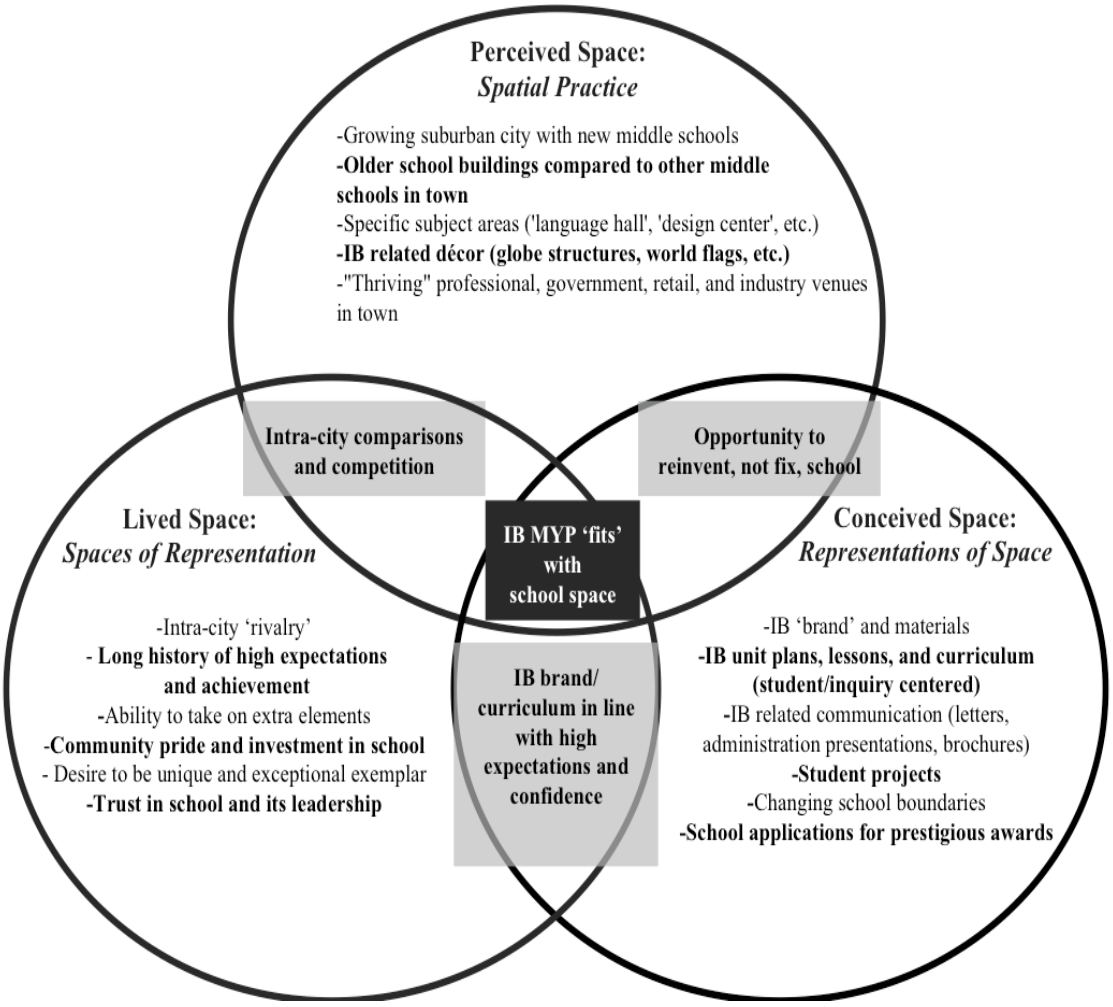
A trusting relationship between school and community is at the center of JMS. The community supports the school's aims financially with PTO fundraisers and grants. The community also plays an active role in IB summative eighth grade projects. This provides the school with abundant resources to implement "an incredibly expensive program" (interview, principal). The principal acknowledged the school resources enabled a certain level of access.

Although the principal believed in international education's (IB curriculum) ability to build empathy and understanding, he worried about inequalities that emerge if one school community has the means to support programs others do not. During a member check, the principal continued to struggle with this tension. Ultimately, he hoped the IB would help the school be more mission driven, rather than elitist. Ginny, the VP of curriculum and instruction, shared a hopeful view as well, "kids here need to see outside themselves."

Both the school and the community strive to be an exemplar of education eminence. They take pride in their prestigious reputation. Once again, the intra-city 'rivalry' between middle schools was noted. The principal referenced a "race to the top" as parents expected more from the school program in lieu of a new building. He said parents demanded "equity". The common perception of IB as a rigorous, high-quality program proved key in gathering support. The IB was a recognizable distinguisher and differentiated JMS in positive ways. The VP of student services said, "it [IB MYP] gives the school a positive identity." The adoption of the IB reinforced the notion that JMS occupied an exclusive space. The school and community felt that it was deserving of a distinguished brand like the IB. This feeling lay at the heart of the school's lived space and connected the desire to (re)produce its distinctiveness space through the IB. The notion that an international education program like the IB helps to reinforce an exclusive, privileged school space able to (re)produce idiosyncratic advantages is a line of inquiry that warrants further research.

Overlapping Space It was nearly impossible to categorize all the data into three neat triads. When the three triads came together, areas of interconnectedness developed. It can be argued, as does Lefebvre (1991), that space is inherently multi-layered. This proved to be correct in the case study. Points of overlap are visualized in Figure 5. Intra-city comparison between schools produced the most overlap. The lack of a new school building appeared to impact JMS' sense of space, generating feelings of inferiority. Perhaps more specifically, JMS felt the relative excellence of their exclusive space to be threatened as the age of the school building called into question its role as the exemplar in the community. IB acted as a counterweight to those feelings, helping to create a newly (re)produced space. The school clearly took pride in the prestigious IB brand and its "cutting edge curriculum" (interview, IB coordinator).

Figure 5 – Visualizing Lefebvrian Space: A Model



As mentioned previously, JMS did not adopt the IB MYP because something needed to be fixed. Instead, the IB was attractive because it added to the strong reputation of the school. In the words of the principal, "The IB application and auditing process reinforces and reflects the high standards of the community." JMS believed it had the spatial infrastructure to be a successful IB school. They had a lived space based on exceptional academics, high expectations, trust, and community support. In the words of the VP for student services, "they had responsible students with support from home, and the expectation of achievement at high levels."

The flexibility of the IB MYP was attractive to the administration. They could mold it as they saw fit. The IB coordinator said, "We are still figuring out the IB. We never really wanted to fit into the IB. We want the IB to fit into the things we already do well, and the things we want to do." In many ways, it appeared that the contemporary and historic

space of JMS complemented the IB brand. The IB allowed the school to make changes without the potential negative consequences or concerns that can come from a program or regime shift. The adoption of the IB was used creatively by the school to (re)produce a distinctive and exclusive space. As the diagram shows, the unique space of JMS proved to be a 'perfect fit' for the IB MYP.

Conclusion

Schools chose the IB, and the IB MYP, for a variety of reasons. Agreeing with much research to date (Brunnell, 2011; Fox 1998; Paris, 2003; Spahn, 2001; Speradino, 2010), a case study of one school's rationale for adopting an IB MYP revealed perceptions of academic rigor, pedagogical innovation, high standards, prestige, and excellence. The school believed that the IB was an appropriate vehicle for improving an already successful school. A critical spatial framework using Lefebvre's triad showed that the produced space of JMS provided a crucial impetus and a unique confidence to adopt the IB MYP. Spatial factors played a significant role, among others, in JMS' rationale for choosing the IB MYP. Not only did the school perceive itself to have the necessary space to successfully adopt a demanding new program, the adoption of the IB might reproduce current educational advantages. The IB helped the school to maintain an exclusive and privileged space. More research on space and education, in addition to this exploration, is necessary to determine space's complicity in systems of correspondence and reproduction.

There are additional ways to expand the research presented here. Extended case studies using a similar methodology can learn from parents, teachers, businesses and other local/global actors. It became clear in analyzing the data that a project explicitly aimed at comparing different schools, program rationales, and spatial factors would be insightful. Additionally, there is a need for education research to explore space's intersection with various forms of oppression including race, gender, class, national origin, sexual orientation, language, and dis/ability (Pacheco & Velez, 2009). The extent that spaces are 'raced' is at the heart of Critical Race Spatial Analysis (CRSA). Velez, Solórzano, and Pacheco (as quoted in Pacheco & Velez, 2009) defined CRSA as "an explanatory framework and methodological ...that works to examine how structural and institutional factors influence and shape racial dynamics and the power associated with those dynamics over time" (p. 293). Although not the aim of this paper, it was apparent that certain administrator statements could be elaborated through a CRSA framework. One might ask what is to be inferred when an administrator says something like "this community has high expectations for the kids. They are above and beyond standard public school expectations." CRSA adds an intriguing layer onto Lefebvre's triad model used in this paper and helps lay the groundwork for spatial justice in education. Continuing the call for spatial thinking in education, I use Lefebvre's (1991) own words, " [representational] space is alive: it speaks" (p. 42). I close by asking, "Are we listening?"

Acknowledgements: Thank you to Dr. Kara Brown for her support in the publication of this article. I also thank the reviewers for the feedback that was crucial to improving the article.

About the Author: Timothy Monreal is a Ph.D. student in Foundations of Education at the University of South Carolina, Columbia. ***Contact:*** Timothy Monreal a*t tmonreal@email.sc.edu*

References

Beard, J. & Puntis, A. (2015). Preparing today's students for tomorrow's world. *International Schools*, 18(1), 52-55. Retrieved from: http://www.johncatt.com/downloads/is18_1/offline/download.pdf

Brayboy, B., & Deyhle, D. (2000). Insider-outsider: researchers in American Indian communities. *Theory into practice*, 39(3), 163-169.

Bunnell, T. (2010). The International Baccalaureate in the United States: from relative inactivity to imbalance. *The Educational Forum*, *75*(1), 66–79.

Bunnell, T. (2011). The International Baccalaureate Middle Years Program after 30 years: A critical inquiry. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *10*(3), 261-274.

Fox, E. (1998). The emergence of the International Baccalaureate as an impetus for curriculum reform. In M. Hayden and J. Thompson (Eds.*), International education: Principles and practice* (65–76). London: Kogan Page.

Glesne, C. (2015). *Becoming qualitative researchers: an introduction, 5th edition*. Boston: Pearson.

Hill, I. (2010). History of the IB and issues for the future [PDF]. Presentation by Ian Hill, Deputy Director-General, IB Asia-Pacific Regional Conference, Singapore. Retrieved from http://blogs.ibo.org/alumni/files/2010/04/IanHill.pdf

IBO. (2013). *IB Learner Profile*. Retrieved from http://www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-tookit/flyers-and-artworks/learner-profile-en.pdf

IBO. (2014). *The IB Middle Years Programme*. Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/globalassets/publications/become-an-ib-school/ibmyp_en.pdf

IBO. (2015a). *Annual Review: 2014*. Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/globalassets/publications/annual-review-2014.pdf

IBO. (2015b). *The IB: an historical perspective*. Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-tookit/presentations/1503-presentation-historyoftheib-en.pdf

IBO. (n.d.-a). *Facts and Figures*. Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/facts-and-figures/

IBO. (n.d,-b). *Mission*. Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/mission/

IBO. (n.d.-c). *Who can offer the MYP?* Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/programmes/middle-years-programme/what-is-the-myp1/who-can-offer-the-myp/

IBO. (n.d.-d). *What is the MYP?* Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/programmes/middle-years-programme/what-is-the-myp/

IBO. (n.d.-e). *Key facts about the MYP*. Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/programmes/middle-years-programme/what-is-the-myp/key-facts-about-the-myp/

Larsen, M., & Beech, J. (2014). Spatial theorizing in comparative and international education research. *Comparative Education Review*, *58*(2), 191–214.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

McGregor, G. (2009). Educating for (whose) success? Schooling in an age of neo-liberalism. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *30*(3), 345-358.

Merriam, S. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education. Revised and expanded from*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Middleton, S. (2014). *Henri Lefebvre and education: space, history, theory*. London and New York: Routledge.

Misco, T. (2010). Moving beyond fidelity expectations: Rethinking curriculum reform for controversial topics in post-communist settings. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *38*(2), 182-216.

Pacheco, D., & Velez, V. N. (2009). Maps, mapmaking, and a critical pedagogy: Exploring GIS and maps as a teaching tool for social change. *Seattle Journal for Social Justice*, *8*(1), 273-302.

Paris, P. (2003). The International Baccalaureate: A case study on why students choose to do the IB. *International Education Journal*, *4*(3), 232-243.

Phillips, D., & Schweisfurth, M. (2014). *Comparative and international education: an introduction to theory, method, and practice* (2nd e.). London: Bloomsbury.

Resnik, J. (2008). The construction of the global worker through international education. In J. Resnik (Ed.), *The Production of Educational Knowledge in the Global Era* (pp. 147–157). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Resnik, J. (2009). Multicultural Education - Good for business but not for the state. *British Journal of International Education*, *57*(3), 217-244.

Resnik, J. (2012). The denationalization of education and the expansion of the International Baccalaureate. *Comparative Education Review*, *56*(2), 248-269.

Robertson, S. (2010). 'Spatializing' the sociology of education. In. M. Apple, S. Ball, & A. Gandin (Eds), *The Routledge International Handbook for the Sociology of Education* (15-26). London and New York: Routledge.

Saldaña, J. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.

Spahn, B. A. (2001). *America and the International Baccalaureate: Implementing the International Baccalaureate in the United States, a study of three schools.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Sperandio, J. (2010). Why schools worldwide choose the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Program. *Journal of School Choice*, *4*(2), 137-148.

Stobie, T. (2007). Coherence and consistency in international curricula: A study of the International Baccalaureate diploma and Middle Years Programmes. In M. Hayden, J. Levy, & J. Thompson (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of research in international education.* (140-152) London: SAGE Publications.

Vavrus, F. (2016). Topographies of power: A critical historical geography of schooling in Tanzania. *Comparative Education*, *52(*2), 136-156.

Williams, J. (2013). Dilemmas and challenges in IB Middle Years Programme (MYP) implementation. Retrieved from: http://www.ibo.org/contentassets/4ccc99665bc04f3686957ee197c13855/executivesummary_williams_final.pdf

"I Want to Help Girls Like Me": An Exploration of the Educational Aspirations of Teenage Girls in Kolkata Slums

Rebecca Ipe
University of Oxford

This qualitative study used participatory visual research in order to develop an understanding of the educational experiences of urban poor adolescent girls in Kolkata and to elicit their capabilities. The sample comprised urban poor girls who were undergoing formal education at a religious, philanthropic primary school in Kolkata. Findings from the drawings and interviews reveal the girls' ambitions to be future providers and breadwinners for their families, roles socially accepted as the preserve of men in India's male-dominated society. Ultimately, longitudinal research on these 'first-generation' girls may shed more insight into understanding educational pathways of girls from urban slums and provide more comprehensive understandings of social mobility.

Introduction

Educated girls are still a rarity amongst the urban poor populations where deprivation and inequality are starkly evident and education is a luxury in the struggle for survival (UN-Habitat, 2003, Ernst et al., 2013). This paper defines the urban poor as those living in informal settlements (also known as slums). Slums or informal settlements are characterised by makeshift housing erected on municipal land, a lack of basic services such as piped water and electricity, and grinding poverty. Informal settlements are an inescapable feature of major urban cities in low and middle income (LMIC) countries, and are expected to increase in population in the next few decades: "It is projected that in the next 30 years, the global number of slum dwellers will increase to about 2 billion" (UN Habitat, 2003, p. xxvi). The word 'slum' carries negative connotations which falls short of the complexities of the neighbourhoods described. From a critical reading of the texts generated on the subject of slums two attitudes emerge: righteous horror, evoked by UN reports which mercilessly detail the worst conditions of slums or the romantic "flower in the filth" phenomenon which popular media such as Slumdog Millionaire (Boyle, 2009) or Born into Brothels (Boo, 2012) typify. Certain uses and arrangements of words and actions that we may call cultural may be especially strategic sites for the production of consensus (Appadurai, 2004). This paper, therefore, takes a deliberate stance in using the

 Current Issues in Comparative Education 19(1), 43-53.

phrase 'urban poor' and relying on 'informal settlements' to describe these neighbourhoods.

Despite the ubiquity of informal settlements, there are gaps in the academic literature concerning education provision and equitable outcomes for urban poor children (Lewis, 2008). Many out-of-school children live in informal settlements, which are often bypassed in national surveys, indicating that the number of out-of-school children may be higher than estimated (Carr-Hill, 2012). In India, informal settlements are further divided into 'notified' (officially recognised) and 'non-notified slums'. 'Notified slums' may typically have better quality housing and municipal services while 'non-notified slums' are considered illegal and in constant danger of eviction. Studies conducted in informal settlements paint an almost uniform picture of hardship and deprivation (Subbaraman, 2014; Ernst et al., 2013; Marx et al., 2014). Moreover, 'notified slums' often battle similar adverse living conditions as 'non-notified slums' (Auerbach, 2013). Ethnographic and empirical research has revealed families can live in informal settlements for decades (Thorbek, 1994; Tsujita, 2013). This not only disrupts the assumption that their residency is temporary, but it also indicates bleak prospects for upward social mobility. Research shows that the urban poor desire their residencies in the informal settlement to be temporary and perceive that education for their children is the only way to avoid a life of permanent poverty (Cameron, 2010; Tsujita, 2013). However, the demands of poverty and various inescapable elements associated with urban poverty, such as violence and economic instability (Abuya et al., 2012; Ohba, 2013), pose major barriers to accessing and completing education. Ethnographic work in South Asian informal settlements shows that they are often governed by traditional, patriarchal norms of culture, which bind women to their homes through notions of honour and respectability (Thorbek, 1994).

Urban poor women must adhere to these cultural norms while navigating an ever-changing social landscape, where the effects of globalisation offer opportunities to imbibe new ideas and find potential employment. Susanne Thorbek's years of ethnographic research in a Sri Lankan informal settlement revealed how notions of honour constrained women to the point where communal strife was rife and women rarely had opportunities to band together to work out solutions to community issues. According to Gail Kelly, "in traditional societies early marriage is a major impediment to expansion of schooling among girls, especially at upper-primary or secondary years." (Kelly, p. 19). Yet, research amongst poor communities in India suggests that girls' access to education is growing, thanks to government incentives such as conditional cash transfers and a social revolution that has risen in tandem with the rise of a well-educated middle class and information technology workforce. However, recent research points out that girls' education remains a complex issue amongst poor communities who battle with the tension of keeping the girls home to serve the family's needs versus sending them to school for returns that may never materialise. Jeffery et al.'s (2005) anthropological work in a rural village in India

revealed that girls were encouraged to pursue primary education, as that was seen to raise their "value" in the marriage market. Tsujita's (2013) survey of informal settlements in Delhi noted that many young women were either homemaking or working in factories; few of them possessed anything more than primary education. Yet, if the proliferation of low-fee paying schools in informal settlements is anything to go by, parents are willing to invest what little they have in perceived quality education for their children (Tooley & Dixon, 2007). Studies repeatedly document the urban poor as perceiving education as the pathway out of poverty. As Lancy Lobo (1995) observes in her survey of informal settlements in India, "almost the entire workforce living in the city slums depend mainly on a variety of lower category, less paid and footloose jobs" (p. 32). With these menial, often peripatetic jobs being the main form of employment among urban low-income families, education is seen by parents as a way of breaking into the competitive white-collar workforce that promises better wages and more economic stability.

This study aims to probe the educational experiences of adolescent girls living in informal settlements in Kolkata, India. So far, there is a distinct lack of research on this subject. Studies on urban poor girls' experience of education tendto focus on violence and the risks associated with schooling or on low-fee private schools (Kabiru, 2013; Oduro et al., 2013). Previous exposure to and experience in urban poor Indian communities had shown me that girls lack power in their communities and are often regarded as liabilities thanks to the exigencies of dowry, which although officially outlawed by the Indian government, is still widely practised today. I was especially interested in the 'deviants,' girls who defied this popular stereotype and who managed to obtain higher education despite great adversity. This study's definition of positive deviance stems from studies by nutritionists Zeitlin et al. (1994) who labeled deviants as those with low SES who demonstrated outcomes that exceeded expectations.

My research was motivated by wondering whether slum girls who were currently being educated possessed a greater sense of their capabilities and how they identified these capabilities. A capability is "a person's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being; (it) represents the alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be" (Sen, 1993, p.30). The capability approach as described by Amartya Sen eschews utilitarian approaches to educational development and "sets out to be sensitive to human diversity; complex social relations, a sense of reciprocity between people; appreciation that people can reflect reasonably on what they value for themselves and others; and a concern to equalize, not opportunities or outcomes, but rather capabilities" (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007, p.3). Most women in informal settlements are shrouded with the language of oppression and shame, and have a narrow span of activities and roles that are prescribed to them by the dominant patriarchal culture under which they operate. The capability approach, with its emphasis on existing abilities rather than future economic attainment, thus provided an ideal theoretical backdrop for this study

The Urban Poor of Kolkata

Kolkata contains close to 300,000 informal settlements, home to 1,409,721 of the city's population (Chaudhuri, 2015; Kundu, 2003). According to information from the 2011 national census, this is about a third of the city's urban population. Hinduism is the predominant religion at around 70 % of the population, with Islam following it at 20%. Other religions such as Christianity (0.88%) and Jainism (0.47%) figure at less than 1%. The cycle of poverty trapping urban poor Kolkatans has raised media interest (Niyogi, 2012,) as a quarter of its population lives below the poverty line. Many of the urban poor do not possess identification cards because of their 'unauthorised' residence, thereby lacking voting power and the ability to attract government attention.

Through volunteer networks in Canada, I had located a religious, philanthropic school in Kolkata that catered exclusively for children in poor areas. This school is run by a Christian organisation funded by donors in high-income countries such as Canada and Sweden. Due to time constraints arising out of my master's degree, I finally chose this school after emailing several schools in India, as this school was willing to let me do research in the timeframe I had requested. All research sessions were conducted in an empty classroom the headmistress had allotted me, with an interpreter present at all sessions. This was in keeping with the school's ethics requirements. The school is a religious philanthropic school, which has been running in the area for two decades, and prides itself on its trustworthiness. While the headmistress is an Indian Christian and the school is run on funds raised through churches in the West, the teaching and administration staff reflects India's religious diversity and the interpreter/teacher was a Hindu. Apart from mandatory chapel services in the morning before classes, the school does not contain extensive religious instruction such as a madrasa. While Christians make up less than 1% of Kolkata's population, the city has a long history of Christian charities working amongst the urban poor, most notably in the legacy of Mother Teresa.

Participatory Visual Research to Elicit Capabilities

As a Canadian-Indian, I was conscious that I held power thanks to my education and my residence in a high-income country. However, in my experiences in volunteering with Indian girls from poor urban communities, I knew that they could be full of surprises, unwilling to fit in the "Third World Woman" stereotype beloved by international development organisations (Dogra, 2011). To elicit these capabilities, I opted to use participatory visual research among adolescent girls from urban slum areas. Participatory research has had a history of being used in poor, rural communities (Chambers, 1997) and has revealed important facets of the lived experiences of hard-to-reach, itinerant populations such as street children, and homeless populations in post-conflict contexts (Mizen & Ofusi-Kusi, 2010; Packard, 2008; Lykes, 2010). Notably, participatory visual research has come to the fore with its perceived accessibility and participant-driven

aspects of the process. Proponents of participatory visual research argue that it provides participants with a space to share their opinions and worldviews, especially those whose opinions are not usually solicited by their communities or the wider society (Coronel & Pascual, 2013).

> *"Participatory and collaborative research can have the potential to alter the larger institutional environment within which a newly realized "voice" can emerge. Further, the participants can use their "voice" to engage in critical discussions and help challenge dominant and hegemonic discourses, even if only in certain contexts and at certain times" (Shah, 2015, p.71).*

Apologists for visual research contend that such methods possess the power to "unlock" the door to the data secreted in participant minds and that researchers can "dig" more deeply into the unconscious activities of the brain' (Gauntlett, 2007, p. 185). Whether visual research methods do possess such quasi-magical powers is debatable: Buckhingham (2009) accuses such exaltations of visual methods as "naïve empiricism." Gallo (2001) cautions against the seduction of transformation: the lived experiences of marginalised populations as expressed through visual image may well only serve as emotional triggers rather than steps towards policy change.

More and more education researchers, however, are turning to participatory visual research in hopes of gleaning data that can shine insight into children's experiences, especially their lived experiences of school and the educational landscape, in hopes of improving upon education policy (Allan, 2012; Groundwater-Smith et al., 2014). Participatory visual research holds special promise for finding how the micro level (i.e. schoolchildren, teachers, principals) is affected by the macro level (education policy and processes of social change such as globalisation). My use of visual research methods is not an attempt to probe the recesses of my participants' brains to mine "hidden" deposits of data. Rather, my research methodology is informed by an "understanding of images as tools with which communicative work is done" (Rose, 2014, p. 27). The visual data that my participants would give me were to function as windows into their experiences and lenses that magnified the issues they perceived important and wanted to explain to me.

Fieldwork and Data Collection

I conducted fieldwork for two weeks in a school located in the Chinatown area of Kolkata. The neighbourhood contains diverse informal settlements and the school has been present for more than two decades. I had located the school as one that was focused exclusively on serving low-income children from the area. The headmistress of the school functioned as a 'gatekeeper' to my research participants and we had been in email correspondence prior to my visit. I opted for convenience sampling, as I had limited time and resources at

my disposal. The headmistress indicated the girls whom she thought would fit my study and from there we narrowed the group down to five. Two of the girls were thirteen and three were fifteen. I had decided to use the draw-and-write method, which has been used by several researchers in mostly developed country settings (Sewell, 2011; Einarsdottir et al., 2009; Elden, 2012). Nossiter and Biberman (1990) argue that drawings "focus a person's response" as well as inducing "respondent harmony and parsimony" (p. 15). I intended to ask the girls a series of questions and they would draw out their responses. We would then go through these drawings in a group interview session. These interviews would be semi-structured and would revolve around the drawings, stimulating active discussion and participation rather than the question-answer-question of a more structured interview. These interviews, using the drawings as a springboard, were meant to elucidate the thoughts and opinions of the girls. I hoped that this method would encourage the girls to lead the conversation to topics they deemed important so that "the marriage of visual methods and ethnography seems natural" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 410). While group interviews may produce peer-influenced responses, they were deemed the safest option to cooperate with ethical requirements. Also, an interpreter who was also a teacher was present.

I prepared certain exercises in order to at once amplify and triangulate the drawings. I used three main art exercises:

i) I asked them to draw their present community on a piece of paper. After they had done this, I then asked them to draw their imagined/ dream community.

ii) I showed them the picture of the two hands (Fig.1.1) where they have to draw their life in the past and their life as they would like to live them in the future.

iii) I put out a set of Dixit™ cards2 and asked them to choose a card which best represented their imagined future.

Dixit is a board game containing cards that have fantastic and whimsical images on them. Players must choose appropriate phrases or sentences that match their card's image as close as possible. The appeal of these cards lies in their connotative possibilities: an image on a card can represent different things/narratives to different people. These exercises were conducted over the period of fieldwork as it takes time to draw and the girls would often have to leave for class without finishing their drawings. After they had completed the first exercise and talked about their drawings, we would move on the next exercise they would not feel burdened by spending time away from their classes. In addition, the headmistress selected girls who had struck her as 'bright', which might distort the resulting data as these are girls whom their teachers believe to possess a high level of capability. Hindi and Bengali are the primary languages spoken in Kolkata and the teacher who acted as a translator was fluent in both as well as English. As an American-

born Indian, my first language is English and my mother tongue is only spoken in South India. I have a working knowledge of Hindi and can carry on everyday conversations. However, I decided an interpreter would be invaluable as she could ensure nothing would be lost in the interviews. In addition, I cannot speak Bengali. The teacher translated each question of mine for the girls as I asked them. During the interviews, the girls chose to speak to me in English and subsided into Hindi or Bengali only when they struggled in finding the appropriate words. They appeared proud of their knowledge of English and wanted to practice their language learning with me. Certain words they used such as 'peon' or 'steamer' speak of the colonial heritage of the English language in India, as these are words I have never heard in conversations in the English-speaking countries I have lived in. The presence of the interpreter may also have contributed to a possible bias, as the teacher was a respected figure and the girls may have felt constrained by her presence. On the other hand, this particular teacher informed me that she was often an impromptu counselor for the girls as they went to her with their troubles and her interest in their educational trajectories had motivated her to act as interpreter.

A list of questions that I used is attached to the appendix of the article. The questions were used to both gather vital statistics and function as narrative springboards. I also tailored questions to the flow of the conversation. For example, if a girl mentioned that she wanted to be a headmistress, I asked her why she chose this career and what she intended to do with it. If a girl said she liked a particular aspect of her community (which she had included in her drawing) I asked her to elaborate, which often led to a further discussion.

Analysis, Findings, and Discussion

As the headmistress would not allow me to record the interviews, I had to write everything that was said to me in a notebook. I then transferred these notes to a laptop computer immediately after the interviews and used them in my analysis. In addition to writing down the dialogues, I also noted observations of the girls as they were drawing, observations of the school and its programs and interviewed the headmistress and staff to understand more about the history and social processes of the school. I participated in school activities and lived in the school (which had guest accommodation) for the duration of my stay. The names of the girls have been anonymised to ensure privacy.

Spatial inequality occupies the high moral ground when discussing the sociopolitical aspects of urban slums (Ernst et al.,2013) As part of my ethical stance, I deliberately avoided all mention of the word "slum." The word "community" was therefore deliberately chosen as a fairly neutral term to refer to the physical space where the girls lived.

Views of Slum Communities from the Inside While the girls were aware of the financial needs of their communities, their descriptions of their communities were balanced, neither overwhelmingly positive, nor negative. I argue that this finding is important in the field of educational research, as children's conceptualisations of space often run counter to expectations generated by quantitative descriptions of childhood poverty. Lomax's (2012) participatory visual research amongst children in an estate in the United Kingdom depicted the children's views of their neighbourhood through photographs they had taken. They chose to focus on green spaces and friendships, demonstrating an awareness of the stigma attached to council estates, and taking photographs that reflected the positive aspects they felt went unacknowledged by popular media.

As Lomax (2012) notes, "visual creative methods make visible children's perspectives in ways which disrupt adult-centric discourses offering an important corrective to media, policy and academia about children's lives" (116). Mirroring the children in Lomax's study, the girls emphasized the green spaces in their drawings as the "oases" in their communities. Sonali (Fig. 1.1) described the park (with the "pond" beside it) as the main area of play for the children in her neighbourhood. She explained that she and her friends loved fishing in the lake, especially during the holidays. Sonali's drawing is done in mostly brown pencil, but she uses green and blue to depict the natural spaces and shrubs in her neighborhood, which indicates that these are important to her. A similar phenomenon occurs in Sneha's drawing, which is mostly monochromatic but makes use of green to represent grass. For Priyanka, natural areas turned out to be segregated: she talked of a field near her home which she could not play in because, "the boys play football there so I cannot go." Conversely, there was a "huge rock" in her community where the women and children would gather in the evenings to talk and spend time with one another. Priyanka said that this was her favourite part of her community and that she liked playing with the other children while the mothers and other women talked.

Fig.1.1 The left hand represents the 'past' while the right depicts the imagined 'future.'

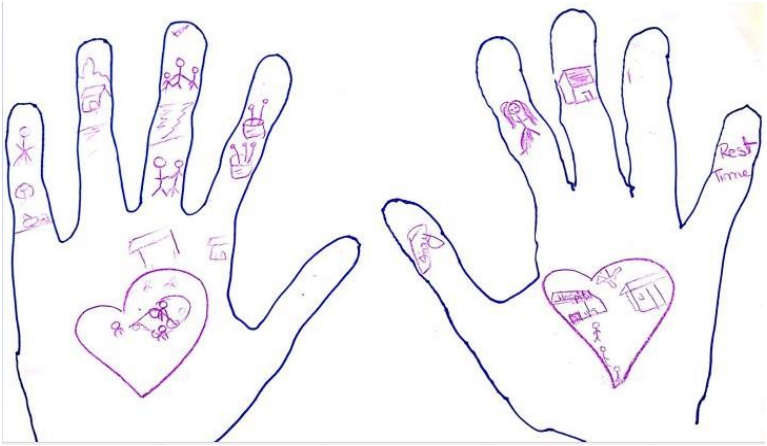


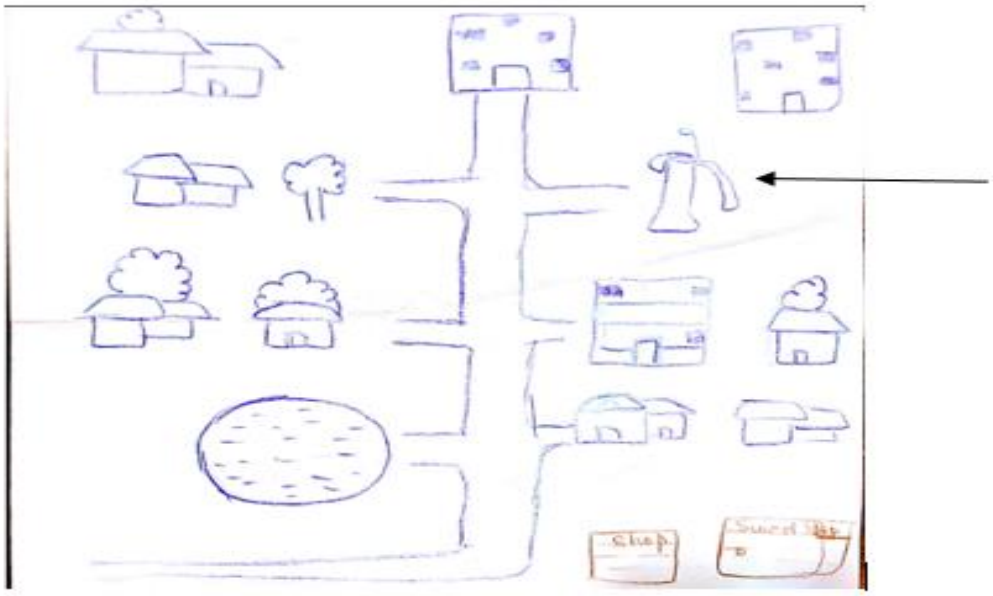
Fig 1.2 Sonali's drawing of her present community. Note the green and blue to represent the 'natural' areas of her community.

Based on her explanation, physical spaces were measured off into socially acceptable places to inhabit. As a girl, she felt that she was thus barred from entering a space occupied by boys, while she was allowed to be in a place marked out by women's gathering together and women's conversation. Such spatial segregation may point to the reasons why women have little power in their communities. Narrowly prescribed spaces and roles can essentially lead to a community fractured by gender hierarchy where men occupy spaces of power and decision-making and women are relegated to areas marked "safe" (i.e. without the presence of men) and anodyne. A green space was an area to play and enjoy being a child but it was not without boundaries demarcated on lines on gender.
This emphasis on the importance of green spaces arose in their "dream communities." Each girl spoke of the desire to have a garden or a park near them and Sneha, who had declared that there was nothing she liked about her present community, became quite enthusiastic when describing her dream community and said she would like her own garden with swings and a seesaw and lots of greenery. For each of the girls, green spaces represented not only the freedom of just being children but were also important for their sense of aesthetic. Green beautiful spaces were all described by the children as necessary for their well-being and each of them spoke of there being "proper" green spaces (unlike the makeshift green spaces which arguably are not intended as oases of calm in the city) in their imagined futures. These desires for areas of play and renewal echo Nussbaum's list of functionings, especially in terms of play, imagination and the senses (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 76-78).

The Water Tap: Deprivation and Conflict The water tap is almost a ubiquitous feature of an Indian informal settlement. Each of the girls drew the water tap or "pump" in their

drawings as an important salient feature of their community. However, they voiced their displeasure with the tap, noting that waiting in line for water (which usually came on for two hours in the morning) was not healthy to community life. Sonali said that there was often a lot of fighting for water and that conflict was sometimes sparked by people cutting in line. While the water pump was an important feature in the girls' lives, they also perceived it as problematic and crippling to not only their daily functioning, but also to the welfare of the community. The concept of 'all facilities" (explored in-depth later) included the girls' dream of twenty-four-hour access to water in their future homes, a water supply that would not have to be shared with neighbours. Indeed, Sonali adamantly expressed a wish for no neighbours, citing perennial conflicts as a motivator for this wish.

Fig. 1.3 The arrow points to the 'water tap', a ubiquitous and contentious feature of urban slums.



Visions of the Future: The Imagined Communities of the Girls Rather than focusing on their future community, the desire for "my own house" was strongly expressed by all the girls. Social mobility was encapsulated in the dream for a house of one's own: a departure from slum living where residents encroached illegally on municipal land. Sonali explained that she intended her family to come and live with her in her house. This intention was echoed by the other girls, who all expressed a desire to have their natal families live with them in the house. In a country where cultural conventions place the man as the figurehead and breadwinner of the family, I was surprised by how the girls had conceived of themselves as being the future providers of their families. Each girl aimed for jobs that can only be achieved through further education: engineer, doctor, air hostess, school principal, pastor.

When discussing the concept of 'all facilities' (repeated several times during our conversations) they explained that there should be good shops and medical facilities wherever they lived. Sneha commented, "there should be a proper doctor helping all members." Incidentally, Sneha fell off the bed and fractured her elbow mid-way during the research and when I questioned her, she told me that she had not seen a doctor because there was no doctor in her community. She had instead gone to the chemist's shop where they had fitted her out with a cast. A lack of medical facilities for these girls was thus seen as a handicap that should be righted and given that they could not change their area at present, they were determined to move into an area where proper facilities existed.

Fig 1.4 The drawings of the girls' imagined community demonstrate a desire for space and the ability to own a home large enough to house all their family members.

Travel and Mobility as Indicators of Independence The girls spoke of travel and exploration as opportunities to develop and display their agency. When Sneha was discussing her drawing, she pointed to the ship she had drawn and said she wanted to go on a "steamer" ship. "Steamer" is the word she used and to her it represented exciting new lands and possibilities of adventure. She also added that when she was grown up, she wanted a motorbike which she could ride about in the evenings. In India, motorbikes have long been the preserve of men, with women being told that motorbikes are not feminine. Indeed, the names of popular motorbikes such as "Bullet" suggest a hard-nosed conceptualisation of masculinity that sits at odds with the standards of femininity that women are expected to conform to. Poor women in India tend to have extremely restricted mobility: a free-moving woman is seen as a "loose" woman (Chakraborty, 2010). That the girls expressed such desires suggests that they wanted to move past social norms put such restrictions on women and occupy spaces and places traditionally deemed for men.

Their selected vocations were regarded as instrumental to this bending of gender restrictions. Sonali selected the job of a headmistress and talked at length of how such a position would enable her to be both independent and able to make a difference to poor girls like her. In the interviews Sonali appeared strongly intrinsically motivated. She explained that girls in her native state of Orissa were often married off from the ages of 13 (she was 13 at the time of the study) and she intended to show them that alternate futures were possible. She spoke at length of the importance of education and told me that she wanted to have her own personal library in her dream home. For Sonali, education would not only help her achieve her goals but would also be the catalyst for other girls "like me" to achieve their goals. Sonali presented her future self as mentor and motivator for those girls; her own experience of hardship would make her ideally placed to understand and help girls in similar situations.

Fig. 1.5 Sonali's vision of her future. She liked the snow as it represented exotic locales and travel and presented an image of how she wanted to be an independent and motivating role model for girls like herself.

Likewise, Aishwarya exhibited strong ideas about communal responsibility. The card she selected (image below) was how she pictured herself as "a light in this world." She wanted to show people the light of Jesus in the world. Aishwarya's goal of becoming a pastor was also unusual, given that in the Indian Christian tradition, men are predominantly pastors. Aishwarya's past was streaked with tragedy: her father had fallen from the second storey of a building and had suffered brain damage. As he was recovering, her grandmother had died, which prompted her to start attending church. The church grew extremely

meaningful for her as she processed these events and she told me that she wanted to minister to other poor children like herself.

Fig. 1.6 Aishwarya's depiction of herself as an agent of change.

Such strong personal motivations and drive has rarely been elicited by researchers working with marginalised children, especially girls from urban slums. Indeed, research on girls and children from marginalised communities tends to document low or compromised aspirations (Tafere, 2010; Pasquier-Doumer et al, 2013). The headmistress and translator/teacher expressed surprise at the girls' aspirations, informing me privately that they had no idea that the girls possessed such high aspirations. This may represent a deviation from the literature thus far, although the girls' relative youth may protect them from the realities of poverty that tend to compromise high aspirations down the line. Current research has noticed a shift in educational aspirations in girls in poor circumstances, although scholars such as Patricia Ames (2013) argue that these aspirations are not formed individually but are "intertwined with intergenerational agreements, family projects, and shared understandings of the changes needed to improve the life of young women". Time and resource constraints prevented me from interviewing the girls' families to understand their role in their daughters' aspirations but each of the girls provided details of their families' support, whether it was through paying for private tuitions (which the school staff were ideologically opposed to, claiming that private tutors were exploiting these poor families) or through verbal encouragement.

Breadwinners and Agents of Change Each girl expressed a strong bond with family members (three out of five girls mentioned their grandparents as especially beloved) and

positioned themselves as responsible for their family's futures. This taking on of the role of the "breadwinner" is a surprising finding, especially when none of the girls mentioned marriage as a possibility. Given that the girl's family has to pay a dowry to the groom's (a custom still widely practiced despite governmental bans), if a girl marries an adequately well-off man, she will be seen to have married wisely as her husband's family might be able to help out her own should trouble arise. Kabeer's (2003) work indicates that parents use education as a method of driving up their daughter's social capital in order to make her a more eligible "catch" rather than as an investment into her career or intellectual progress.

The surprisingly high aspirations expressed by the girls can be taken as a positive sign for future development in informal settlements. Rather than conforming to stereotyped expectations of children from these areas, each of the girls situated themselves as agents of change in the lives of their families and future role models for girls such as themselves. Their reasoned and detailed explanations suggested a high level of capability. To what extent their education was responsible for developing their capabilities is hard to decipher and not the focus of this study. However, each girl saw education as instrumental in achieving their aspirations, especially for girls such as Sonali who was motivated to provide education to underprivileged girls as a way of offering alternatives to restricted futures.

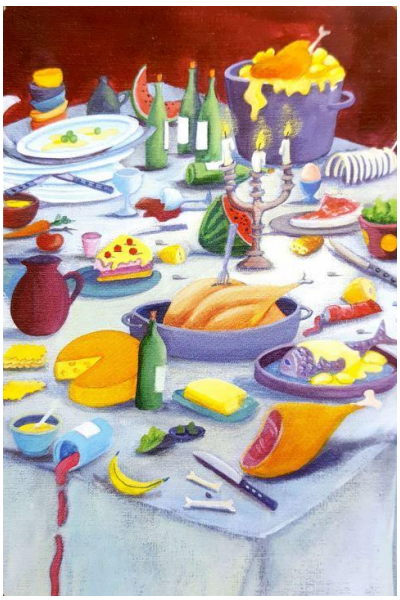
Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has functioned as an exploration rather than a sustained probe into the capabilities of girls in Indian slums. Participatory visual research was found to be the ideal research instrument for this study as it minimised potential harm and focused on the experiences of the girls themselves. The girls stated that they had liked the novelty of research process and had enjoyed talking about their educational ambitions. The headmistress (and later the regional director for the charity in Canada) expressed their desire for the girls' ambitions to be realised and indicated they wanted the school to continue to the upper secondary level as well as plant more schools in India for hard-to-reach children.

The findings indicate that contrary to research conducted amongst underprivileged children, these girls expressed high motivations and positioned themselves as future agents of change, desiring to occupy previously male-dominated spaces and to challenge patriarchal norms in their society. As they were all the first generation in their families to complete primary schooling, it would be interesting to conduct further research on 'first-generation' children to tease out factors contributing to their resilience. A longitudinal study on these girls holds much promise for educational researchers tasked with finding solutions to urban poverty.

Thus far participatory visual research has mostly been conducted in education settings as 'one-off' sessions. Repeated participatory visual research amongst the same research participants over the years as they navigate the national educational system can provide a "visual chronology" of their experiences and capabilities. It may also provide richer data on the experiences of first-generation children as they seek to achieve their aspirations.

Fig.1.7: Anushka's imagined future: "Wherever I am, I want there to be lots of food." Policy makers must be prepared to tackle issues such as poverty, hunger and the struggle for survival in order to ensure equitable educational access and outcomes for girls from urban slums.



Acknowledgements: The author wishes to thank Julia Park and Kelsey Inouye for their feedback and critical commentary on earlier drafts of this paper.

About the Author: Rebecca Ipe received a Master's degree in Comparative and International Education at the University of Oxford. Her research interests lie in educational inequalities, poverty, and gender.

References

Abuya, B. A., Admassu, K., Ngware, M., Onsomu, E. O., & Oketch, M. (2015). Free Primary Education and Implementation in Kenya. *SAGE Open*, 5(1). Retrieved from http://sgo.sagepub.com/content/5/1/2158244015571488.abstract

Allan, A. (2012). Power, Participation and Privilege - Methodological Lessons from Using Visual Methods in Research with Young People. *Sociol. Res. Online*, *17*(3). JOUR. http://doi.org/10.5153/sro.2662

Appadurai, Arjun. (2004).The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition" IN Rao, V., & Walton, M. (Eds.), *Culture and public action* (pp.59-84). Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Social Sciences.

Ames, P. (2013). Constructing new identities? The role of gender and education in rural girls' life aspirations in Peru. *Gender and Education*, *25*(3), 267–283. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2012.740448

Auerbach, A. M. (2015). India's urban constituencies revisited. *Contemporary South Asia*, *23*(2), 136–150. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2015.1028026

Boo, K. (2012). *Behind the Beautiful Forevers [electronic resource]: life, death, and hope in a Mumbai undercity*. BOOK, Brunswick: Scribe Publications.

Boyle, D., Beaufoy, S., Colson, C., Mantle, A. D., Digby, M., Dickens, C. W. S. (Christopher W. S., … (Firm), F. (Eds.). (2009). Slumdog millionaire [videorecording]. VIDEO, S.l.]: [S.l.] : Pathé Productions.

Buckingham, D. (2009). `Creative' visual methods in media research: possibilities, problems and proposals. *Media, Culture & Society*, *31*(4), 633–652. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1177/0163443709335280

Cameron, S. (2011). Whether and where to Enrol? Choosing a Primary School in the Slums of Urban Dhaka, Bangladesh. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *31*(4), 357–366. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2011.01.004

Carr-Hill, R. (2010). The poor may always be with us but we don't know how many or where they are. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*. GEN. http://doi.org/10.1258/jhsrp.2010.009155

Chakraborty, K. (2009). "The good Muslim girl": conducting qualitative participatory research to understand the lives of young Muslim women in the bustees of Kolkata. *Children's Geographies*, *7*(4), 421–434. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/14733280903234485

Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose reality counts?: putting the first last*. BOOK, London: London : ITDG.

Cities and climate change : global report on human settlements 2011. (2011). BOOK, London: London : Earthscan.

Chaudhuri, S. (2015) Urban poor, economic opportunities and sustainable development through traditional knowledge and practices, Global Bioethics, 26:2, 86-93, DOI: 10.1080/11287462.2015.1037141

Coronel, J. M., & Pascual, I. R. (2013). Let Me Put It Another Way: Methodological Considerations on the Use of Participatory Photography Based on an Experiment with Teenagers in Secondary Schools. *Qualitative Research in Education*, *2*(2), 98–129. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.4471/qre.2013.20

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. BOOK, Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage.

Einarsdottir, J., Dockett, S., & Perry, B. (2009). Making Meaning: Children's Perspectives Expressed through Drawings. *Early Child Development and Care*, *179*(2), 217–232. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/03004430802666999

Elden, S. (2013). Inviting the Messy: Drawing Methods and "Children's Voices." *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research*, *20*(1), 66–81. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1177/0907568212447243

Ernst, K. C., Phillips, B. S., & Duncan, B. "duke." (2013). Slums Are Not Places for Children to Live:Vulnerabilities, Health Outcomes, and Possible Interventions: Vulnerabilities, Health Outcomes, and Possible Interventions. *Advances in Pediatrics*, *60*(1), 53–87. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.yapd.2013.04.005

Gallo, M. L. Immigrant workers' journey through a new culture: Exploring the transformative learning possibilities of photography. *Studies in the Education of Adults* (2001). 33 (2), 109-117

Gauntlett, D. (2007). *Creative explorations : new approaches to identities and audiences*. BOOK, London: London : Routledge.

Groundwater-Smith, S., Dockett, S., & Bottrell, D. (2015). *Participatory research with children and young people*. BOOK, London: SAGE Publications.

Kabeer, N. (2003). *Gender mainstreaming in poverty eradication and the millennium development goals [electronic resource] : a handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders*. BOOK, London : Ottawa: Commonwealth Secretariat : International Development research Centre.

Kabiru, C. W. (2013). Growing Up at the "Margins": Concerns, Aspirations, and Expectations of Young People Living in Nairobi's Slums. *JOURNAL OF RESEARCH ON ADOLESCENCE*, *23*(1), 81. JOUR.

Kelly, G. P., & Elliott, C. M. (1982). *Women's education in the Third World [electronic resource] : comparative perspectives*. BOOK, Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kundu, N. "The Case of Kolkata, India" in University College, London., & United Nations Human Settlements Programme. (2003). *Understanding slums: Case studies for the Global Report on Human Settlements 2003*. New York: UN-HABITAT.

Lobo, L. (1995). *Encounter with urbanism : coping mechanisms in a slum*. BOOK, Surat: Centre for Social Studies.

Lomax, H. J. (2012). Shifting the focus: children's image-making practices and their implications for analysis. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, *35*(3), 227–234. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/1743727X.2012.713932

Lykes, M. B. (2010). Silence(ing), voice(s) and gross violations of human rights: constituting and performing subjectivities through PhotoPAR. *Visual Studies*, *25*(3), 238–254. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2010.523276

Mannay, D. (2015). *Visual, narrative and creative research methods : application, reflection and ethics*. BOOK, London: Routledge.

Mizen, P., & Ofosu-Kusi, Y. (2010). Unofficial truths and everyday insights: understanding voice in visual research with the children of Accra's urban poor 1. *Visual Studies*, *25*(3), 255–267. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2010.523278

Niyogi, S. (2012, September 12). Kolkata's Poor Poorer Than the Rest. *The Times of India.* Retrieved from www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com

Nossiter, V. and Biberman, G. (1990) 'Projective Drawings and Metaphor: Analysis of Organizational Culture' , *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 5(3): 13–16 .

Nussbaum, M. C. (2006). *Frontiers of justice : disability, nationality, species membership*. BOOK, Cambridge, Mass. : The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Ohba, A. (2013). Do low-cost private school leavers in the informal settlement have a good chance of admission to a government secondary school? A study from Kibera in Kenya. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *43*(6), 763–782. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2012.733536

Packard, J. (2008). "I"m gonna show you what it's really like out here': the power and limitation of participatory visual methods. *Visual Studies*, *23*(1), 63–77. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/14725860801908544

Pasquier-Doumer, L., & Risso Brandon, F. (2015). Aspiration Failure: A Poverty Trap for Indigenous Children in Peru? *World Development*, *72*, 208–223. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.03.001

Rose, G. (2014). On the relation between "visual research methods" and contemporary visual culture. *Sociological Review*, *62*(1), 24–46. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12109

Sen, A. (1992). Inequality reexamined. BOOK, New York : Oxford: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sewell, K. (2011). Researching sensitive issues: a critical appraisal of "draw-and-write" as a data collection technique in eliciting children's perceptions. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, *34*(2), 175–191. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1080/1743727X.2011.578820

Shah, P. (2015). Spaces to Speak: Photovoice and the Reimagination of Girls' Education in India. *Comparative Education Review*, *59*(1), 50–74. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1086/678699

Tafere, Y. (2010). Changing educational aspirations of children living in poverty in Ethiopia. GEN.

The challenge of slums : global report on human settlements, 2003. (2003). *Global report on human settlements, 2003*. BOOK, London: London : Earthscan.

Thorbek, S. (1994). *Gender and slum culture in urban Asia*. (B. Fredsfod, Ed.). BOOK, London: London : Zed.

Tooley, J., & Dixon, P. (2007). Private Schooling for Low-Income Families: A Census and Comparative Survey in East Delhi, India. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *27*(2), 205–219. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2006.08.002

Tsujita, Y. (2013). Factors that Prevent Children from Gaining Access to Schooling: A Study of Delhi Slum Households. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *33*(4), 348–357. JOUR. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2012.08.001

Walker, M., & Unterhalter, E. (Eds.). (2007). *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education*. BOOK, Basingstoke: Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan.

Aesthetic Education: a Korean and an Austrian Perspective

Jin Choi
Seoul National University, Korea

Thomas Sojer
University of Innsbruck, Austria

Korea and Austria: two very different schooling systems, and different approaches to educational reform. Yet for both, the renaissance of aesthetics has great potential. This paper analyses the arguments in Korea and Austria for aesthetic education. For each country, we identified a distinctive philosophical approach to meeting the individual needs and challenges of each country's schooling system through aesthetic education -- yielding some fascinating insights and resemblance: in the context of Korea, the American philosopher Jenefer Robinson is taken into account. By contrast, the situation of Austria is connected with the thoughts of the French philosopher Simone Weil. A comparison of these subtle distinctions in thought reveals the intercultural perspective of each country. The final aim of this paper is to highlight the common substance of both approaches and to suggest it as a basis for further intercultural cooperation for the revival of aesthetics within the field of comparative education.

"La beauté parle à tous les cœurs"
(Beauty speaks to all hearts)
Simone Weil, *Œuvres completes*

Introduction

In times of paralyzing functionalist tendencies within schooling and movement toward the standardization of learning and educational processes, a growing number of educational scientists seek alternative concepts of education. In July 2016, a Ph.D. student from South Korea and a Ph.D. student from Austria, both in the field of philosophy of education, met at an international symposium held by the University of Birmingham, on the topic of specific challenges in each country. It became obvious that on the one hand, Korean education lacked the capacity to teach moral principles relevant to today's society, while on the other hand, Austrian education had become devoid of individuality. Independently, we were searching for philosophical concepts, which address these questions. To our pleasure, we found two concepts that, as utterly different as they were from each other, answered each case: the Korean need for morality and the Austrian

 Current Issues in Comparative Education 19(1), 63-75.

necessity for more individuality, with a plea for an increase of aesthetic education. In the context of Korea, the American philosopher Jenefer Robinson sees aesthetic education as a way to train one's emotions to encourage moral development. The French philosopher Simone Weil urges teachers to nurture a habit of attention to creating a general climate for individual expression. Discussing the current situations of our countries and each country's philosophy of offering aesthetic education as a common solution, we explored the potential for aesthetic education beyond the two countries and philosophical schools. Ensuing from these concepts, this paper affirms the crucial importance of aesthetic education as an alternative to formal education.

The Korean Answer: Aesthetic Education for Moral Education

Aesthetic education in Korea is being proposed as the answer to the question, "How can we become ethical and considerate human beings?". Aesthetic education is being offered as an alternative framework for moral introspection in handling an ethical problem in Korea. The rapid modernization of Korea has not been without its tensions and was accompanied by the confusion over traditional and modern values[1]. The lethargy and helplessness into which modern Koreans tend to fall in the face of ethical dilemmas cannot be reduced to the struggle between Confucian morality and Western rationality; rather, it can be understood as an inner conflict produced by the disappearance of any ethical or moral standards that previously guided Korean society. The confusion people experience today is more related to the forced situation in which real moral concepts are disappearing and the depth of the Korean moral sensibility, anchored as they were in Confucian precepts, has diminished.

Because of this discontinuity in ethical ethos, moral actions tend to be limited to fulfilling the given duties of a social relationship and thinking that we have done what is required of us as humans. However, in the diversified and complex society that is modern Korea, moral obligations can hardly be prescribed as only that; moreover, just being faithful to these duties is not enough to solve ethical conflicts or dilemmas that we face when we have to make important decisions in life. This is because, in the world of diversified values, different notions of 'good' coexist and qualitative values, whose order of rank cannot be known, are intricately intertwined. Discovering a 'single' appropriate action for situations of ethical problems that we commonly deal with based on a single rule seems impossible and even unethical. It is necessary for us to develop a moral consciousness as one that involves people's imagination and sublimates the ideals for life.

For this approach, I suggest the idea of a "moral imagination" as an alternative concept that can replace moral principles. Moral imagination is an awareness of one's own existential needs and requires bodily awareness, high intelligence, and imagination, not

an absolute moral concept of what is right or wrong. Therefore, I propose that aesthetic education should be a way of expanding one's moral imagination.

Specifically, Jenefer Robinson's idea of "sentimental education" is used in my proposal as an appropriate educational approach for the development of a deep-seated moral sensitivity, which is based on one's self-understanding gained through artistic experiences. According to Jenefer Robinson, the development of cognitive abilities can come from expanding one's sentimental spectrum, not merely from learning or espousing propositional beliefs about ethics or wisdom[2]. This sentimental expansion allows us to intervene and sympathize with our internal cognitive, emotional processes, and our external conditions in a more deliberate way.

The following first discourse aims, within the educational context of Korea, to investigate the educational assumption that art contributes to moral education in children. For this, arts education is posited as something that accompanies emotional changes that bring about aesthetic experiences; sentimental education is proposed as a possible measure for this.

Jenefer Robinson attempts to explain the cultivation of moral sensitivity through artistic experience in a more comprehensive and fundamental way, based on deeper understanding of the attributes of emotion. Robinson asserts that our 'emotion' is not a temporary mood, but a 'process in change' (Robinson, 2005, pp. 57-59): Our encounters with an object that draws our attention, such as a potentially dangerous encounter in the dark, demonstrates this 'process in change'. It's important to note the 'judgement', that is, the cognitive response of whether the phenomenon is to be feared of or to be ignored, happens 'after being surprised'. According to Robinson (2005, pp. 57-99), this response of surprise occurred before any judgement was made; however ephemeral, it is clearly caused by a 'non-cognitive emotional appraisal' that arose before the 'judgement as cognitive response'.

The reaction of surprise accompanies 'physiological responses'. These responses are automatically accompanied with non-cognitive emotional appraisals' such as surprise; they occur before the state of surprise becomes classified into certain states such as fear, terror or relief. As in the previous example, when we find something in the dark we may experience physiological responses, such as the quickening of heartbeat or the dilation of pupils. Robinson proposes that this whole process, from 'non-cognitive emotional appraisal' to the 'physiological responses', the 'cognitive assessment' of the situation and the classification of the affect as the psychological terms , such as 'fear' or 'terror', is what we call 'affect' or 'emotion'.

The above demonstrates that emotion involves non-cognitive emotional appraisal that accompanies physiological responses, as well as cognitive judgements. Therefore, if we feel a certain emotion through an artistic experience, any emotion we feel from an aesthetic experience may be explained by the series of processes proposed above. Robinson relies on facts discovered in the field of cognitive science to propose the functions of such 'non-cognitive emotional appraisal' and sentimental education validated by its existence.

According to Antonio Damasio, our emotions provide the natural tools for our brain and mind to evaluate the internal and external environments and adapt to them accordingly (Damasio, 2003), and are essential to keeping us alive. However, aesthetic experiences may invoke emotions within us. Of course, these emotions are not the same as those mentioned by Damasio and do not actually threaten our lives or provide a continuous and realistic sense of satisfaction. Then, how do emotions that work within aesthetic experiences arise and what educational meaning does it have?

To answer these questions, the qualities of emotion that Robinson mentioned, 'non-cognitive emotional appraisal' and 'physiological responses', become important. Robinson (2005, pp. 72-75), based on Damasio's argument, claims that the emotional process can be started without any cognitive intervention such as rational reasoning, but rather by bodily stimuli and instantaneous mechanisms of the brain and that this process itself is what constitutes the 'non-cognitive emotional appraisal'. Since our emotions start from this 'non-cognitive emotional appraisal', experiences of art may invoke emotions that accompany physiological responses. For example, even though we already know that the contents of pieces of arts are fictitious, we may already begin to show emotional responses, such as crying or feeling enraged or happy, as we recognize the events or images portrayed in the pieces of art even before we cognitively judge whether they are actual or fictional. In another example, when we appreciate a novel or movie, we may experience similar emotional responses at the same scene after a while even though we already have an (intellectual) 'knowledge' of its content. Thus, emotional responses may start from 'non-cognitive emotional appraisal' regardless of the 'knowledge' of something and may be accompanied by instinctive physiological, or bodily, responses.

While Damasio (1994, pp. 195-296) explains that emotion and the subsequent social behaviors, sympathy and such, are automatic mechanisms of control that not only humans but other animals also possess, he also claims that humans also have a non-automatic mechanism of control in order to survive in a more complex environment. This seems to be possible because our intelligence has developed so far that we do not merely possess such affects and feelings ourselves, but also have reached a level of remembrance where we 'know' that we are feeling such emotions. To rephrase, that one knows and remembers one's own affects and feelings means that one can expect others to also have

such affects and feelings, and thereby possess the ability to prepare for and control them to some extent (Damasio, 2003, pp. 50-53). Here, what is called "knowing" or "remembering" lies beyond the meaning of common sense? It means something is imprinted on the brain because emotion accompanies non-cognitive appraisal and non-cognitive appraisal accompanies physical response, and only then can it be remembered by our body unconsciously.

Therefore, I propose that art experiences or aesthetic experiences can be opportunities for emotional experiences with an 'educational intent' in the area of emotional responses that can be acquired through learning. The meaning of emotions invoked by aesthetic experience is directly related to neither threats to one's existence, satisfaction nor wellness. Although we are born with innate mechanisms of emotion for survival, individuals may learn by themselves more subtle and complicated emotional responses through acquired emotional experience. As such, it may be said that aesthetic experience can become one of these acquired experiences of emotional responses.

Such emotions are not simple ones that may be assigned to a single word such as 'sadness' or 'resignation'; rather, they comprise of layers that cannot be expressed in a single word. Encounters with art lead us to a procession of emotions that cannot be captured in simple terms. This is apparent in our experience of a remarkable piece of art that we find difficult to describe in simple terms. They provide an opportunity to monitor the emotions experienced through the aesthetic experience, discern what they are and attempt to understand them (Robinson, 2005, p. 123).

Sentimental education could allow us to feel emotions that we could not before, by developing a greater level of sensitivity to more subtle emotions that the artist employs to view the world. It would enable us to process our past experiences as well as present experiences, to judge and understand them, and to evaluate our emotions and actions in a wider and deeper context. How does sentimental education then, help us develop moral sensibilities? The answer to this question may be found in the responses of a stimulated learner – the effects of sentimental education on his or her attitudes and behaviors. The learner, now with an expanded range of emotions, would be able to utilize the range to perceive the environment more sensitively and imagine more possibilities Mark Johnson (1993) names such an imagination the 'moral imagination'. He describes moral imagination, not as a uniform application of ethical principles or rules that determine and justify moral acts as obligations, but rather as cognitive actions from 'self-knowledge'. To exercise one's own imagination based on a moral understanding of given circumstances is a process by which the individual comes to understand the rules' values and limitations. Since the educational approach of sentimental education assumes that a sense of morals originates from oneself, it complements Confucian philosophy as embedded in traditional Korean culture, which claims that one's morality is cultivated internally.

The Austrian Answer: Aesthetic education as an incubator of individuality

Since the late 1990s the Austrian educational system has been in transition. For over a decade, the need for change caused heated debates within politics and academia (Hopmann, 2016, p. 8). In the public eye, the confusing amount of different approaches abandons all persons involved in front of an impasse[3]. Being personally affected, it urges the co-author of this paper to remember an intellectual figure, a maverick whose thought the aporia speaks to. In her days, Simone Weil fought for an utter transformation of schooling and education (Vorms, 2007, p. 159). Within the context of the Austrian school debate, the paper gives great weight to Weil's idea of aesthetic education, discussing the relationship between the perception of beauty and learning. In addition to a specific principle of teaching, we also discuss Weil's aesthetics postulates a philosophical basis for the Austrian educational system on the whole.

The term beauty, in Weil's thought, is not bound to sensual judgment. Beauty is part of the three classical transcendentals, next to truth and goodness. It is crucial to understand that the question of beauty is always a question of truth and goodness, hence a question of salvation. In fact, manifestations of evil and suffering, viewed dialectically as an effect of truth, reveal a sort of terrible beauty[4]. Weil was interested in the relationship between aesthetics and science. Especially in mathematics, beauty lies in methods and results as an indication of truth, which has been affirmed by recent research (Chandrasekhar, 2013, pp. 50-52). Hence the analysis of beauty is an epistemological and moral enterprise. However, in contrast to the Korean case, the Austrian discourse focuses on epistemology and learning.

Simone Weil's reception of platonic sources concerning the concept of beauty shows an idiosyncratic character highly influenced by Negative Theology (Dupré, 2004, p. 19). She regards beauty as a mystery and miracle. Not a mere attribute of matter itself, beauty exists in relation tithe world of human sensitivity and diverges into reality, both tangible and other-worldly. Her writings show a strong reluctance to locate her thoughts on beauty in terms of established aesthetic concepts. Neither does she see a need to develop criteria. In this vein, she joins the ranks of intellectuals like Baudelaire, Flaubert, Gilson, Kant and Schiller, who suspect theories and rational schemes of being incapable of grasping beauty (Dupré, 2004, p. 20). Divorced from theory, she describes the experience of beauty as located between a disinterested interestedness and a purposeless purposiveness, concepts derived from Immanuel Kant's Critique of Judgment: real art as the incarnation[5] of beauty contains no good other than itself and never serves as a means for an ulterior end. Despite being consequently the only true end in this world, beauty is yet transcendent (Bell, 1993, p. 269).

Caught in Plato's cave, a man mistakes the shadows for reality. He settles himself in his comfortable fantasies by misusing his intelligence and capacity of reason to idolize

collective structures of violence (Kotva, 2015, p. 114). As an emblem of mankind, Oedipus possesses immense intellectual powers but lacks self-knowledge and insight, leading to an escalation of violence (Smith, 2001, p. 70). Beauty eludes a pervasive mechanism of this kind, which Weil calls gravité[6]. In an other-worldly manner, the contemplation of beauty ascends into the realm of the unknown and becomes an epistemological gateway of truth, hence unveiling a self-deceiving conception of reality (Caranfa, 2010, p. 74).

The essence of Weilian anthropology and, by implication, education too, is the escape from the cave. This is the only viable solution, vigorously averting every form of collective or system and defending the principle of subsidiarity through the sanctification of the individual (Smith, 2001, p. 69). The idea of the individual is what distinguishes men from animals and elevates him from the crowd. The capacity to be different from others constitutes humanity. It is the achievement of both, religion and art, to identify and secure the significance of individuality[7]. In increasingly secularized societies, art inherits the gateway function of religion, out of the cave, and hence becomes of major importance.
In light of the aforesaid, an increase of artistic subjects within the school curricula seems advisable. Simone Weil, however, demands exactly the opposite (Tubbs, 2005, p. 300). It is not the art one chooses that will lead him out of the cave, but myriads of hidden aesthetic epiphanies in life need to be embraced[8]. Weil's so-called attention[9] is the capacity to do so, in virtue of its needed passivity can be neither a product of will nor of intelligence (Caranfa, 2010, p. 66).

The faculty of attention is not specified for certain subjects but needs to be developed in every discipline and field as the very core of learning itself. Ensuing, the primary objective of education would not be to gain a specific set of knowledge and skills but to see reality as a whole by seeing beauty[10]. According to Weil, the same perceptive faculty can be found in the tradition of prayer. In many cases, Weil does not differentiate between studying and praying; beauty, in its soteriological dimension, is always the orientation towards god.

The question of how one can gain the faculty of attention, nevertheless remains. Weil adopts a concept of Christian mystic writers: it is god who enables man to the capax Dei[11] through desire and joy. Analogically, beauty enables the human intelligence to receive attention as a gift through desire and joy[12]. If there is anything like a theory of aesthetic education, in consideration of Simone Weil's strong reluctance to adopt a theory in general, it can be summarised by the following proposition: every discipline holds the capacity to become art. Through the continuous practice of attention in studying, the same presence of beauty originates. Due to that, the student can obtain a representation of individuality, which is essential to developing personalities and societies based on the individual rather than the collective (Liston, 2008, p. 389).

Education has lost its monopoly as a steward of knowledge. Wikipedia, Facebook, and Google Glass are only a few examples supporting a paradigm shift that embodies the omnipresence and accessibility of knowledge. It challenges the classical purpose of teaching and leaves open the question of what role education can play in today's world. Applying the intellectual framework of Weil, the virtual omnipresence of knowledge creates a deceitful cave, transforming the student into an Oedipus 2.0. The daily information explosion requires a well-skilled sense of selection. Knowledge by itself is not sufficient to deal with the challenges of the complex structures of today's multicultural world. In the context of Austria, education degenerated into a job-orientated apprenticeship. Dismissing all principles of personal development, it is in direct contravention of the Austrian enlightenment that the Habsburg had proudly implemented the national school system (Bernard, 1971, p. 12). It has been the new endeavour to transform all students into functional and productive particles within the collective of the welfare state. School and university are experienced as unavoidable stages in life, to gain credentials for a specific track of employment. Schools and universities have given up their mission to impart relevant expertise, and graduates obtain their know-how from the practice of the profession itself. The social consequences are large: although Austria finds itself in a lucky place to have the best educational system in history, OECD evaluation results have shown huge demands in terms of education, i.e. economics (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2016, p. 252) and young unemployment (Radler, 2016, p. 25).

I argue that today's educational utilitarianism lacks most of all of the above mentioned purposeless purposiveness introduced by Immanuel Kant, a quality being imminent only in things of beauty (Laird, 2009, p. 6). As a result, both teachers and students turn into a functional collective, depleting all powers of individualism. The study of John Hattie (Hattie, 2012, p. 34) affirms the teacher's personality as a major player in the learning process, or, to put it in the words of Simone Weil, the teacher has to develop the countenance of waiting for the gift of attention, and embracing the individuality of himself, of the persons and things around him. The faculty of attention as singular act fails. It only bears fruit as a fundamental tone of awareness. Impossible to be taught, it only can be imitated: If the teacher's eyes are not open for the hidden beauty outside the cave, pupils' eyes never will be (Hadaway, 2016, p. 31).

In conclusion, the current schooling system of Austria is a systematic obliteration of individuality. School should be an incubator of individuality, which would balance the contemporary utilitarian trends. As explained, a renaissance of aesthetic education, following Simone Weil, sees the merit of the faculty of attention, and has the potential to be an essential contribution towards an alternative to the formal Austrian schooling system. Iris Murdoch reminds us how far from Simone Weil we are (p. 330) at this moment. This distance arises, to a certain extent, from Weil's lack of immediate goal orientation,

which enables critics to condemn some ideas as not applicable to the actual needs of the classroom[13]. Yet, every educational scientist who argues that a school system does not need philosophical concepts but only practical methods has not understood what is at stake. The Austrian situation is due to decades of evasion and ignorance vis-a-vis the fundamental questions of human life, as we can see by their disregard for individuality in the curriculum. A process of rethinking is urgent, as schools today are to produce the leaders of tomorrow's world.

Discussion and Conclusion: Global Humanism against Educational Functionalism

The identity as a researcher demands us to always pursue intellectual honesty with an objective attitude; however, we inevitably cannot escape from certain biases attributed to our regional and theoretical backgrounds. We always unconsciously read ideas and concepts as they are framed by contingencies in one's environment (Tan, 2016). However, the same phenomenon of increased common interest in aesthetic education in the different spatial dimensions of Central Europe and East Asia as well as in the different temporal dimensions of contemporary thinkers Jenefer Robinson and Simone Weil, who lived at the beginning of the last century, indicates a tacit international resistance against the pragmatic and functionalist education that is underscored in today's trend of global neo-liberalism. Taking account each individual context in a wider perspective by not only comparing the specific cases of each country, but also taking into consideration the historical and cultural backgrounds of these cases, we still find one fascinating resemblance: this resistance may be interpreted as an opposition against the approach of evaluating the accomplishment of the educated person in a reductive and quantitative way, and may be understood to ultimately stem from the intention to reclaim humanism in education.

From the two examples of this paper, it becomes evident, considering morality and individuality as classical humanistic values of education, that there is a strong relationship between aesthetic education and humanism. However, as the Korean case shows, aesthetic education in the Asian context demands a reorientation towards traditional Asian values, not classical European values of humanism. Still, it can be spoken of a global humanism beyond the cultural-historical humanism of the occident. Aesthetics and humanism are importantly linked together when art becomes the ultimate stronghold against the functionalism of schooling. Art in its infinite variety possesses the power to unite different cultures, social groups and ages.

If aesthetic education can provide an answer for Korea's lack of moral orientation and Austria's disregard for individuality, what can aesthetic education provide for the USA, China, Australia, Brazil and South Africa? With this paper, we want to encourage teachers to renew their commitment to aesthetics as an alternative to formal educational contexts.

Although official educational reforms are supine and indebted to economic interests, every school lesson can be interrupted and opened up by a conscious break-in of the arts.

About the Authors: Jin Choi is a Doctoral student in Philosophy of Education at Teachers College, Seoul National University, Republic of South Korea; Thomas Sojer is a Doctoral student in Christian Philosophy at the University of Lucerne, Switzerland, currently working at the University of Innsbruck, Austria. Both authors contributed equally to this work. Contact: Jin Choi at zinchoi@snu.ac.kr and Thomas Sojer at thomas.sojer@uibk.ac.at

References

Bell, R. H. (1993). *Simone Weil's Philosophy of Culture: Readings Towards a Divine Humanity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bernard, P. P. (1971). *Jesuits and Jacobins: Enlightenment and Enlightened Despotism in Austria.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Caranfa, A. (2010). Contemplative Instruction and The Gifts of Beauty, Love, and Silence. *Educational Theory*, 60(5), 561-585.

Chandrasekhar, S. (2013). *Truth and beauty: Aesthetics and motivations in science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Choi, J., & Kwak, D. J. (2015). Arts Education as a form of Sentimental Education: in Search of the Educational Values of Experiences in Arts. *The Korean Journal of Philosophy of Education, 37*(1), 117-137.

Damasio, A. (1994). *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain.* München: Random House.

Damasio, A. (2003*). Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain.* Fort Washington: Harvest Books.

Dupré, L. (2004*). Simone Weil and Platonism. The Christian Platonism of Simone Weil,* Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 9-22.

Greimel-Fuhrmann, B. (2016). *Financial Literacy in Austria*. International Handbook of Financial Literacy. Berlin: Springer.

Hadaway, B. (2016*). The Education of Attention.* Waco: Baylor University Press.

Hattie, J. (2012). *Visible Learning for Teachers: Maximizing Impact on Learning.* London: Routledge.

Hopmann, S. (2016). *Country Showcase: Creating Space for Agency. The Impact of School Reform Dynamis on Austria's Leaders, Teachers, Learners and Stakeholders.* Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press.

Johnson, M. (1993). *Moral Imagination: Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics.* Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.

Kotva, S. (2015). Gilles Deleuze, Simone Weil and the Stoic Apprenticeship: Education as a Violent Training. *Theory, Culture & Society, 32*(7-8), 101-121.

Laird, S. (2009). Musical hunger: a philosophical testimonial of miseducation. *Philosophy of Music Education Review, 17*(1), 4-21.

Liston, D. P. (2007). Critical Pedagogy and Attentive Love. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 27*(5), 387-392.

McCullough, L. (2014). *The religious philosophy of Simone Weil.* New York: I. B. Tauris.

Murdoch, I. (1992). *Metaphysics as a Guide to Morals*. London: Penguin.

Radler, H. & Ban, L. (2016). *Austrian Youth Policy: Advantages and Challenges*. Vienna: Fice.

Robinson, J. (2005). *Deeper than Reason: Emotion and Its Role in Literature, Music and Art.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Smith, R. (2001). *Simone Weil. Fifty modern thinkers on education: From Piaget to the present,* London: Routledge, 69-72.

Tan, C. (2016). Investigator Bias and Theory-Ladenness in Cross-Cultural Research: Insights from Wittgenstein. *Current Issues in Comparative Education, 18*(1), 83-95.

Tubbs, N. (2005). Spiritual Teacher. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 39*(2), 287-317.

Vorms, M. (2007). À l'épreuve du monde: l'éducation au sens large. Simone Weil la philosophie. *Les Études philosophiques, 82*(3), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Weil, S. (1947). *La Pesanteur et la Grâce.* Paris : Gallimard.

Weil, S. (1950). *L'attente de Dieu.* Paris : Gallimard.

Weil, S. (1959). *Leçons de philosophie*. Paris : Gallimard.

Weil, S. (2009). *Œuvres complètes. IV,* Paris : Gallimard.

[1] The colonial and imperialist legacy of Korea impeded on the development agendas of Korea. After gaining independence from Japan in 1945 and the end of Korean War in 1953, the rapid modernization in Korea and subsequently, of the Korean education system, brought about moral breakdown in Korean society. The Western way of learning through intellectual reasoning, and rational moral reasoning implied by it, tended to stand against the moral ethos of East Asian tradition. The habituation of proper behaviors, and the cultivation of virtue with all manners (修身), are the foundation of (moral) education and the basis of a person's character, in the Korean moral imagination. Conversely, Western moral education emphasizes detached moral reasoning and stakes moral choices on it rather than habitual demeanors instructed by convention. As the new concept of morality imported from Western education began to be increasingly accepted through the modernized school system in Korea, the moral ethos that had previously been dominant in one's moral orientation toward life has diminished tremendously. Traditionally, Koreans have a belief that our moral sense first develops with one's inner nature and ends with oneself as well. This is the basic premises of Confucian philosophy. On the other hand, modern Western understanding of morality is based on the assumption that morality, or what makes one action moral, comes from outside oneself. Moral principles, such as rational principles, exist outside somewhere or objectively, and thereby we have to accept and follow the principles as demanded. This is how our moral reasoning is required, i.e., in applying the objective moral principles to our actions.

[2] Jenefer Robinson teaches and writes on topics in aesthetics and philosophical psychology, especially the theory of emotion. Her book, Deeper than Reason (OUP 2005) applied recent advances in emotion theory to issues in aesthetics, such as the expression of emotion in the arts, how music arouses emotions and moods, and how the emotional experience of literature and music in particular can be a mode of understanding and appreciation. Jenefer is President of the American Society for Aesthetics. Retrieved from: http://www.artsci.uc.edu/faculty-staff/listing/by_dept/philosophy.html?eid=robinsjm

[3] One exemplifying approach in the impasse was the School Reform petition in 2011, documented in the online journal The Vienna Review: http://www.viennareview.net/news/austria/school-reform-austria-petitions-for-change (15th April 2016).

[4] This most scandalous and offensive aspect of Weil's thought shows a unique soteriological function of theodicy (McCullough, 2014, p. 150).

[5] This paper postulates that there are two kinds of arts: art must be perceptible to the senses (music is to be heard, paintings are to be viewed, fragrance is to be scented), and yet there is a purely idealistic dimension to

art, an unspoken, unheard, odourless arts, like certain state of minds which contain the same presence of beauty as the perceptible arts, i.e. the beauty of a special moment. Still the latter always is in need of a man of flesh and blood, therefore I use the term incarnation.

[6] *Gravité* describes the increasing distance between the world and god, e.g. beauty, truth and goodness. As a results false gods appear in the forms of collectives and cause violence, suffering and war.

[7] « Et l'art est issu de la religion. C'est grâce à la religion et à l'arts qu'on a pu arriver à la représentation de l'individuel. » (Weil, 1959, p. 41) transl.: « and arts has its origin in religion. It is due to religion and arts that one can arrive at a representation of what is individual »

[8] « Non pas essayer de les interpréter, mais les regarder jusqu'à ce que la lumière jaillisse. » (Weil, 1947, p. 136) transl.: "not to try to interpret them, but to look at them till the light suddenly dawns".

[9] Weil's term Attention goes far beyond a common faculty of attentiveness. It is, most of all, a gift of mental insight, not a product of own efforts, although the disposition to receive the faculty of attention needs a lot of effort. Attention leads to individuality, because it is the faculty to embrace beauty, which emanates from gravité.

[10] « Les lycéens, les étudiants qui aiment Dieu ne devraient jamais dire: Moi, j'aime les mathématiques ! Moi, j'aime le français ! Moi, j'aime le grec ! Ils doivent apprendre à aimer tout cela, parce que tout cela fait croître cette attention qui, orientée vers Dieu, est la substance même de la prière. » (Weil, 1950, p. 72) transl.: « School children and students who love God should never say: "For my part, I like mathematics"; "I like French"; "I like Greek." They should learn to like all these subjects, because all of them develop that faculty of attention which, directed towards God, is the very substance of prayer. »

[11] Concept: the human intelligence is able to conceive of the existence of god and enter into an interpersonal relationship with him.

[12] « L'intelligence ne peut être menée que par le désir. Pour qu'il y ait désir, il faut qu'il y ait plaisir et joie. L'intelligence ne grandit et ne porte de fruits que dans la joie. La joie d'apprendre est aussi indispensable aux études que la respiration aux coureurs.» (Weil, 1950, pp. 75-76) transl.: « The intelligence can only be led by desire. For there to be desire, there must be pleasure and joy in the work. The intelligence only grows and bears fruit in joy. The joy of learning is as indispensable to study, as breathing is to running. »

[13] « Les études scolaires sont un de ces champs qui enferment une perle pour laquelle cela vaut la peine de vendre tous ses biens, sans rien garder à soi, afin de pouvoir l'acheter « (Weil, 1950, p. 80) transl.: « education contains a pearl so precious that it is worthwhile to sell all our possessions, keeping nothing for ourselves, in order to be able to acquire it »

International Scholarship Graduates Influencing Social and Economic Development at Home: The Role of Alumni Networks in Georgia and Moldova

Anne C. Campbell
Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey

Many students from low- and middle-income countries seek scholarship support to pursue higher education overseas. Often scholarship programs mandate that recipients "give back" to their home countries following their studies so scholars "apply" their experiences to aid their countries of origin. In this comparative qualitative study, 40 Georgian and Moldovan scholarship alumni who studied in the United States were asked how alumni networks assist their ability to influence social and economic change in their home countries. The comparative findings point to the value of alumni networks in terms of graduates backing each other's activism projects and feeling part of a community of like-minded individuals who seek change. Where these networks were not present, alumni desired a supportive association to assist in their attempts to influence reform. Findings suggest the development of alumni networks facilitate individual scholarship participants' efforts to "give back" to their countries of origin.

Introduction

A common goal of higher education is to prepare students for their future: to acquire appropriate knowledge, skills, and abilities for the marketplace; to earn an adequate salary; and to positively contribute to one's community and society. For students from low- and middle-income countries who pursue higher education in high-income countries [1], the home country context in which they pursue these goals may be significantly different from the environment in which they studied. In their countries of origin, students may have access to fewer financial resources and face associated challenges, such as low-quality infrastructure, more public health concerns, and higher rates of corruption.

Due to financial constraints in low- and middle-income countries, the soaring costs of tuition, and the financial demands of daily living in high-income countries, many students who pursue degrees abroad are sponsored by a third party (Institute of International Education, 2016). Donor support can come from many sources: domestic and foreign country governments, home and host universities, private foundations, international

 Current Issues in Comparative Education 19(1), 76-91.

organizations, businesses, and individual philanthropy. Despite the specific funder, a majority of scholarship sponsors mandate that sponsored students "give back" in a way that aids the home country. For example, The MasterCard Foundation Scholars Program notes:

> *The intention of Scholars to "give back" to their communities and countries is integral to achieving the goals of the Program. Scholars' commitment to make a difference in the lives of others is nurtured and encouraged in a variety of ways such as volunteerism, service learning, entrepreneurial skill development and more. (2015, p. 4)*

How "giving back" is defined ranges broadly across scholarship programs, from contractual employment to goodwill between countries. Despite this variety, scholarship programs are widely viewed as tools for national development, evidenced by their recent inclusion as one of the education targets in the United Nation's Sustainability Goals: "By 2020, to substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education" (United Nations, 2016). The assumption is that quality higher education is an opportunity to be afforded to all talented young people, even if it means crossing national borders and obtaining financial support from third parties to reach this goal.

The model that undergirds most scholarships—that talented students will be educated in quality universities in high-income countries and then return home to apply their knowledge and skills for the advancement of their home country—raises questions about program impact and efficacy. Scholars have long debated issues related to "brain drain" (see Beine, Docquier, and Rapoport, 2008; Di Maria & Lazarova, 2012), the "global knowledge economy" (Gürüz, 2011), and push and pull factors of internationally mobile students (Odhiambo, 2013; Polovina, 2011) to suggest international higher education has the potential of aiding a country's national development, yet also may contribute to pulling the most qualified graduates from their countries to better economic opportunities abroad. However, these studies mostly focus on an unspecified group of internationally mobile students, not scholarship graduates expected to "give back."

An additional challenge to understanding how scholarship program alumni contribute to social and economic development in their home countries is a focus on individual alumni trajectories instead of accomplishments made by a group (see examples in Kalisman, 2015 and Volkman, Dassin, & Zurbuchen, 2009). By profiling individual scholars, almost no attention is given to the alumni networks that may help, or hinder, the individual's accomplishments. Previous studies indicate this is an oversight, as alumni networks around the world are helpful to university graduates to 1) find employment (Chiavacci,

2005) and 2) engage in volunteerism and charitable giving (Farrow & Yaun, 2011). However, these studies focus on graduates in high-income countries, likely with better remuneration packages and more extensive alumni networks. Moreover, these networks are usually a collection of graduates from a single university, which is not typically the case with scholarship networks.

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to examine the role of alumni networks in helping or hindering international scholarship graduates to "give back" to their low- and middle-income countries of origin. By exploring the characteristics of alumni networks, this research may aid scholarship graduates and program sponsors and administrators in the goal of advancing social and economic development in the graduates' home countries. Specifically, the questions addressed are:

i) How do alumni networks aid in sponsored students' activities in "giving back" to their countries of origin following their scholarship, if at all?

ii) What national contextual characteristics influence the success of alumni networks?

To answer these questions, a qualitative study was conducted to compare the experiences and perceptions of scholarship recipients from the Republics of Georgia and Moldova. Forty graduates were asked about their activities related to "giving back" to their home countries, including the role of alumni networks. Comparing the sets of scholarship graduates from Georgia and Moldova is suitable due to two main factors. First, the two countries have similar geopolitical profiles: Both countries declared independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 and have struggled with the transition from communism to democracy; both countries have a history of citizen uprisings to demand the Soviet-style government be replaced with pro-market liberalized governments; and both have "frozen" conflicts within their borders, with separatist populations seeking independence (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016a & 2016b). Second, Georgia and Moldova have each utilized a strategy of national human capital development via higher education abroad, "a particularly beneficial" strategy for the former states of the Soviet Union (Perna, Orosz, Jumakulov, Kishkentayeva, & Ashirbekov, 2015, p. 174). Moreover, the same or similar scholarship programs have been offered in both countries, such as the Edmund S. Muskie Graduates Fellowship Program (sponsored in part by the U.S. Government) and the Civil Servant Scholarships (sponsored in part by the Open Society Foundations).

Conceptual and Methodological Frameworks

The conceptual framework undergirding most international higher education scholarships is closely linked to human capital theory. Succinctly put, human capital theory states that the money invested in an individual's education has a positive economic

return for the individual (Becker, 1975; Schultz, 1963; Smith, 1952) and improved social and economic outcomes for their community (McMahon, 1999, 2009). In the case of sponsored international higher education, this theory suggests that the financial investment made in the form of tertiary education will build a selected student's capabilities and this student will then improve the economic and social conditions in their local community, anticipated to be in their country of origin.

The methodological framework for this study was informed by Schutz's (1967) theory of social phenomenology, which states that qualitative research serves to understand the subjective experience of individuals in their daily lives and allows individuals to create judgments about these experiences. Using semi-structured interviews, the researcher attempted to get a broad picture of scholarship graduates' experiences by asking them to reflect on: 1) their contributions to social and economic change in their home countries following program participation, and 2) the contributions of their scholarship peers. Taking the analysis one step further, these qualitative data were aggregated by country—one of Georgian alumni and one of Moldovan alumni—for comparative purposes.

Sampling Procedure and Data Collection

In accordance with social phenomenology, scholarship students were interviewed to ascertain their understanding of how they, and their scholarship peers, "give back" to their country of origin. To narrow the pool of interview candidates, selection criteria were set: Eligible participants had to have participated in a scholarship program to study in the United States, at the Master's level, between the years 1996 and 2014. Interviewees were recruited via scholarship program listservs, social media, public presentations, and word of mouth. Ultimately, 26 Georgian and 25 Moldovan graduates responded, and 20 from each country were selected for diversity among demographic characteristic[2]. The selection of these 20 interviewees was primarily to gather a broad range of perspectives and experiences (e.g., to avoid an overrepresentation of a specific program) in line with achieving maximum variation in the sample (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Women were the majority of interviewees (15 Georgian and 11 Moldovan)[3], and participants' sponsors included the U.S. Government, the Governments of Georgia and Moldova, host universities, private foundations, and individual philanthropists. As no comprehensive list of graduates of sponsored study exists, it is difficult to estimate the degree to which the interviewees represent the total population.

Interviews were semi-structured and utilized responsive interviewing (Rubin & Rubin, 2012), allowing the researcher to gather interpretations and explore certain experiences or details in depth. Interviews lasted from 30 to 90 minutes, with 23 conducted in person and 17 conducted via phone or Skype. Transcripts were coded using a hybrid approach of

inductive and deductive coding and theme development (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) with MAXQDA12 software. Following each country's set of 20 interviews, the dominant themes were identified; later the two cases were compared in line with Ragin's case-oriented approach, which asserts that analytically comparing cases produces insight into "categories of empirical phenomenon" (2013, p. 35), the goal of this study.

Findings

Graduates of U.S. scholarships tended to view alumni networks as useful tools to organize and drive social and economic change in their home countries. Calling other graduates "very interesting and successful people" and "ideological comrades," interviewees noted that their scholarship peers provided support for their activities through advice, encouragement, and volunteering; collaborated directly on team projects; and organized to address larger social problems. By connecting with other alumni across years of participation, professions, and levels of experience, interviewees noted that the networks were—or could be—instrumental in the country's socioeconomic development.

In Georgia and Moldova, alumni networks included both formal, registered organizations and informal collaborations. Membership was organized in various ways (e.g., participants in a single scholarship program or alumni who have been sponsored by the U.S. Government) and the group's founders differed (e.g., scholarship sponsor or alumni leaders). A few had been incorporated as independent non-profit organizations. The structure and frequency of meeting was quite different, although main communication was conducted electronically. Next, each country's case is explored below.

Georgian alumni networks Georgian scholarship graduates considered themselves part of the "critical mass" of western-educated individuals who have led Georgia's development, and they highly valued their connection to other alumni. Almost all Georgian alumni (17 of 20) mentioned they had existing formal or informal ties with other alumni, and there appeared to be no difference between those who lived in Georgia or abroad. Many regularly spoke with those who were in their same scholarship cohort, while others had made connections among those who participated in different programs and or at different intervals.

Moreover, this familiarity led to trust, both professional and personal, among Georgians with U.S. degrees. As one example, an alumna talks about her relationships with 12 other alumni who were in the same scholarship cohort, "So, it was very easy for me and for us to keep together as a group, and we still keep in touch, almost 20 years later." She said she trusts others in her program because, "I know what [they] went through, sort of, because I went through the same. So, I'm sort of assured of your quality." Another alumnus echoes this point, saying a scholarship is, "like a business card. You know, if I know someone [had a scholarship], it's much easier for me to approach this person

because there are, definitely, the shared values." Eleven other alumni reiterated these beliefs that one can assume scholarship alumni have certain values or principles and that these individuals can be trusted.

The alumni interviewed for this study mentioned two formal alumni networks most often: 1) The U.S. Government Exchange Program Alumni Association of Georgia (EPAG)[4], and 2) The Georgian Association of Social Workers (GASW). In addition to these formally registered groups, alumni mentioned informal groups organized around their specific scholarship programs, individual interests, or host universities. Membership in these associations not only helped alumni to meet peers but also to make connections for future employment or volunteer projects. This was especially true for those alumni based in the capital city of Tbilisi, where alumni noted that other scholarship graduates were a vital part of their professional networks. Several interviewees admitted to turning to graduate networks to advertise job postings; likewise, alumni provided stories about finding employment from other alumni, even those they had not met in person. Five alumni noted that they prefer to hire other scholarship grantees, and one alumnus highlighted that western education was a prerequisite for starting work at his law firm.

To provide insight into the mechanics of an alumni group serving as a professional network, an example from one alumnus is especially illustrative. This alumnus recounted a time when she recruited consultants to introduce a new policy approach to the ministry for which she was working. She explained, "the Minister created a [new] department, but we couldn't find a head of department. And also we were looking for local trainers or temporary consultants for very specific [type of] analysis work." She chose to engage an alumni listserv managed by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) office in Georgia, "So, I went to IREX to ask for professionals, maybe for graduate students, who were doing research, who wanted to contribute." Having these networks allowed graduates to find those with special skills, as well as to further enhance and hone specific ideas.

In addition, Georgian scholarship recipients noted that other alumni were a significant part of their personal network. Those with scholarships in the U.S. tended to socialize with and know the personal details of other alumni. As one example, an alumnus talked about how a group of alumni decided to gather for a Christmas celebration, inviting those not just of their own scholarship program, but others who had attended the same university on other scholarships. She said, "I just met with most of the people a week ago, in fact, and we just discussed…our roles in helping developing this country." She added that those living in Tbilisi had decided that together they would organize a club and try to apply for grants related to education reform.

These acts of self-organizing into groups, using those groups to form teams committed to a certain project, and applying for project funding was fairly commonplace among Georgian graduates. Graduates also noted that working within the parameters of a formalized alumni organization—one registered with the government, had a leadership and communication structure, operated under bylaws, and had fiscal infrastructure—hastened project development and facilitated partnership with other organizations.

Graduates also mentioned their involvement in projects that included efforts to start new degree programs at universities, to offer services for children with disabilities, to raise awareness about domestic violence, and to clean up the environment. In one particularly successful case (according to multiple interviewees), the GASW was founded by a group of social work graduates primarily from Columbia University and Washington University in St. Louis and sponsored by the Open Society Foundations. As is true with the GASW, which advocates for "the rights, recognition and importance of social workers in Georgia and the clients they serve" and led the establishment of social work degree programs at two Georgian universities (Georgian Association of Social Workers, 2015), scholarship recipients saw their peers as action-oriented, trustworthy, and able to execute programs that led to social and economic change in Georgia.

Moreover, it appeared that alumni thought of themselves, in part, as a member of a larger group, using terms such as "critical mass" and "a community that once was selected as the people who could get degrees from the best universities in the world and then come back and help develop areas in which we would work." While graduates admitted that not all projects have been successful, they noted that with the help of other alumni, they were able to boost their individual contributions to social and economic development. These networks symbolized not only social support for alumni, but they also represented a group of trusted partners and future collaborators with a shared enthusiasm for social and economic change in Georgia.

Moldovan alumni networks When compared to their peers in Georgia, Moldovan interviewees very rarely mentioned alumni networks as a vehicle to spur social and economic development at home. Of the 20 Moldovan interviewees, only two—both U.S. Government alumni—mentioned alumni activities as central to the way they "give back" to Moldova, and in both of those instances, they were asked to volunteer by the Embassy. Three alumni mentioned the international networks of their host universities, but they only mentioned these in vague terms—mostly related to knowledge of their existence and to receiving fundraising requests—not in terms of active engagement. Instead, Moldovan alumni spoke more often about their individual accomplishments or those done in cooperation with professional colleagues.

When Moldovan interviewees spoke about alumni networks, they mostly mentioned activities that are organized and maintained by the U.S. Embassy in Moldova or the U.S.

Department of State. The U.S. Embassy maintains an Alumni Resource Center that provides reference materials and leads activities for graduates of U.S. Government educational exchange programs, ranging from academic degree programs to short-term and professional visits. Each year these alumni are invited to an Alumni Congress, where selected alumni are awarded for outstanding alumni contributions to Moldova.

Despite the effort put into these alumni events by the U.S. Government and several alumni leaders, interviewees referred to the alumni network as loose and not vibrant. One alumnus who had a leadership position described it this way, struggling with her apparent ambivalence, "So, it's a pretty close community. Not close. It's, um, a big community of alumni and we work together on a lot of events. So, it's kind of easy to keep in touch with them." Continuing, she said she keeps in touch with other alumni, "not because I choose to but because I kind of have to," suggesting with some reluctance, "you never know who you might collaborate with because, as I said, it's a small country, it's a small city, so we do get to meet all these alumni." The interviewee's tone, matched by other alumni who participated in this study, was that alumni networking was something that happened by default rather than through active planning and willful engagement.

Moreover, this uncertain attitude to scholarship graduate networks seems to be one that developed over time. Seven alumni noted specifically that they were eager to be involved in an alumni community, but with time their interest has waned. As an example, one alumnus living in Chisinau said:

> *I'm not as good as keeping with alumni here in Moldova. I went to a few events at some point, but I didn't find that this was a great place to meet [others] because they kind of mixed everyone [and] didn't have a Muskie-specific group. So, I never used that again. (Interviewee, November 5, 2014)*

Another alumnus said she was asked several times to provide free trainings to students or alumni or to participate on scholarship selection panels. However, other than these invited events, she had not been engaged. Three others indicated that their involvement with the alumni community dwindled when the Muskie program ended with the final cohort selected in 2012. One said this was an extreme disappointment because he applied to Muskie specifically because "the Americans seem to take care more of the whole process [of networking]" and he was seeking to connect with other alumni upon his graduation.

Several other alumni noted that despite the work of the U.S. Government's Alumni Resource Center, the alumni networks could be improved to attend to the needs of their members. As one alumnus stated, there is still much to do "to make sure that alumni have

opportunities to develop and grow in Moldova when they come back." Of the current structure, one alumnus summarized her position, saying:

> *I do want this association to work for the alumni that return, but I also want to promote this idea that we also need to help them facilitate their activities in the country. Because, first of all, a lot of alumni are leaving the country—even the Master's programs. How many can you see [here in Moldova]? There are some, but not too many. The majority have [sic] left in the first three years… And that's only about Muskies, but if you look at other programs, it's the same thing. And there are some alumni that work somewhere in the region, and maybe they would want to do something, but they don't have that support. We're not offering that, and at this point. (Interviewee, October 29, 2014)*

Moreover, five alumni mentioned they would like to see more profiles of western educated alumni who have returned, stayed in Moldova, and excelled through outstanding contributions. Alumni claimed that historically it has been difficult to stay interested in contributing to Moldovan society when alumni perceive that so many peers are going abroad—even those who had leadership roles in the alumni community[5]. One alumnus who currently lives abroad said that overseas you see examples of honest, hard work leading to success, "and you don't have so many cases in Moldova."

On the whole, alumni who live abroad reported little engagement in Moldovan alumni networks. One alumnus who lives in the United States said, "So at some point [while living in Moldova], I got disconnected from the association or the community, and especially when I moved the U.S., the disconnect became even bigger." After stating that he follows the alumni association activities on Facebook, he said, "I'm not that connected. [...] I'm just more of a passive observer." In another interesting example, one alumnus who lived in Moscow after her scholarship talked about her role with the alumni of U.S. Government programs—however as an active member of the Russian Muskie club, not the Moldovan.

Although alumni indicated they had not been so active in alumni organizations, those who live in Moldova emphasized their desire for a vibrant network. Some thought it was too difficult to mobilize alumni when so many were overseas, while others were more optimistic, believing that alumni can unite to significantly improve Moldova's socioeconomic situation. One alumnus noted that alumni should be asked to be involved. She explained, "If you have a couple of persons that are stubborn and they still want to make a difference, then 'yes! We can go!' But some may be modest, like 'Ok, you don't ask me what can I do.'"

One possible improvement to the alumni network in Moldova, as suggested by alumni, is to shift the leadership from the U.S. Government at the top to an alumni-led effort. Of the current structure, one alumnus said:

> *There is an alumni program, but it's all funded by the U.S. Embassy, it's maintained by the U.S. Embassy, where all the alumni are welcome. We have alumni meeting. We have Alumni Congress. But this not done by the [Moldovan] Government. This is not done by Moldovan society. It keeps maintaining [sic] by U.S. Embassy. They still do the part of the job that I prefer Moldova would do for us. It's like U.S. is paying for us, U.S. is hosting us, and when we come back, U.S. is still trying to integrate us back. (Interviewee, January 8, 2015)*

However, the U.S. Government's role in alumni networks may not necessarily be because it hesitated to relinquish its leadership; alumni rarely offered to take a more significant role in the alumni network themselves.

On the whole, Moldovan alumni seem rather uninspired and nonchalant about current networks, yet recognized that they could be powerful forces in spurring social and economic reform. Of the alumni of her scholarship program, one alumnus said, "it's a network unused." Strikingly, very few interviewees mentioned a desire to start a new or rekindle an existing alumni initiative in the future.

Discussion: Comparing the Cases

When comparing the cases of Georgia and Moldova, graduates from both countries see other scholarship recipients as possible collaborators and are interested in learning more about others' expertise, experiences, and skills. Interviewees also reported that strong and vital networks aid individual graduates in "giving back" and contributing to national social and economic development in their home countries.

However, the ways that these alumni networks are organized and function are very different between the two countries. In the case of Georgia, multiple networks provided the frame and support for ambitious and creative alumni to propose projects, find collaborators, and apply for funding for progressive projects. In Moldova, the networks were loose or nonexistent—and to some graduates, ineffective. Moldovan scholarship graduates wished for stronger ties with other scholarship alumni as a way to promote social and economic change. Therefore, returning to the first question of this study, alumni networks—where they exist—appear to assist sponsored students in "giving back" to their home countries.

With these findings in mind, why would Georgian alumni develop and participate in networks at a greater rate than Moldova alumni? This is especially curious given that the

U.S. Government and other funders presumably offer similar support and resources for alumni networks and projects in both countries. This query is in line with the second research question of this study: What national contextual characteristics influence the success of these alumni networks?

Two contributing factors provide some clues. First, alumni interviewed for this study estimated that 80-90% of Georgian alumni return to live and work in their home country, compared to 40-50% of Moldovan alumni. (No exact figures of the current residence of sponsored students with U.S. degrees are available.) More alumni in the country leads to more people contributing to networks, thereby developing more ideas, building stronger projects, and having a larger network of trusted peers with whom to share information and work. In addition, with greater membership in alumni groups, more individuals can share the difficult work of fighting against social norms to introduce new policies, practices, and activities that contribute to social and economic change in society.

The second factor that could influence the difference between alumni networks in Georgia and Moldova is the transition towards a more open and progressive society that happened earlier in Georgia. With the Rose Revolution in 2003 and new leadership by Mikheil Saakashvili (a scholarship recipient himself), two important messages were conveyed: 1) it is time for reform in Georgia, using instructive examples from the U.S. and Europe (Saakashvili, 2006), and 2) western education—especially American education—is exemplary preparation for leadership and public service. Taken together, graduates looked to others with similar experience abroad and asked these peers to help with various initiatives, and graduates were incentivized to affiliate with these prestigious groups to advance their connections and reputations. In many ways, formal and informal alumni associations served as a clearinghouse for ideas, from which social- and economic-themed projects emerged.

In Moldova, on the other hand, similar change was more piecemeal and less extensive following the Twitter Revolution of 2009 (European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, 2016). In this slowly-changing context, many alumni described a society impervious to change, and one that did not place the same value on their U.S. degrees. Consequently, alumni perceived their home country as one unwelcome to their ideas or proposed projects. In turn, this resulted in alumni not asking others to support their work, and when they looked for partners, they felt disheartened by the large number of alumni residing abroad.

In summary, motivated individuals hoping to change their societies—like those selected for competitive international scholarship programs—tend to seek the support and partnership of other scholarship alumni to advance and enact their ideas. This desire to collaborate with other graduates is not particularly in line with many scholarship

programs'—and, on a larger scale, human capital's—theory of change which states that a student will individually benefit and then independently contribute to change at home. To the contrary, this research indicates that individuals seek a community of like-minded individuals to facilitate individual or group actions to enact social or economic change in their countries of origin. Where alumni networks are not as active—as in the case of Moldova—alumni note that the lack of networking or community with other alumni is a barrier to their own meeting of the scholarship aims.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion, it would be logical to assume that when the same or similar scholarship programs are offered in multiple countries that the purpose of alumni networks, their structure, and their level of activity would be correspondingly alike. However, despite similar motivations for starting and facilitating alumni networks in multiple countries, there were striking contrasts between the networks in Georgia and Moldova at the time of this research. First, the number and vitality of the alumni networks differ. Second, alumni viewed the efficacy of these networks differently, such as how they utilized the networks to make connections and friends, seek partners or volunteers for projects, or find employment. For Georgians, alumni networks embodied a "critical mass" that was leading change in the country, with alumni organizations serving as activity hubs. For Moldovans, interviewees described the alumni network as a diffuse and "underused resource," with Moldovan alumni reporting that they wondered if alumni networks were weakened due to so many peers living abroad.

This research calls attention to the potential of networks to better achieve individual's goals in "giving back" as well as the scholarship's overall aim to spur economic and social development in low- and middle-income countries. To reach program goals, scholarship funders and administrators—and program graduates themselves—can prioritize alumni programming to advance initiatives that promote networking, support collaborative projects, and foster leadership of alumni organizations. While the idea of organizing and funding alumni networks and projects is not new, this research sheds light on ways to improve existing initiatives. For example, instead of funders or governments designing and leading initiatives, alumni leaders should direct meetings, events, and projects to create a greater possibility that the network will respond to the perceived concerns of the graduates themselves. Offering a stipend to alumni leaders could be a worthwhile strategy to incentivize graduates to take these important positions. Moreover, funders and administrators can also weigh collective accomplishments on par with individual ones in their program materials, selection criteria, alumni funding, and program evaluation.

Furthermore, alumni networks should bring greater attention to alumni accomplishments and role models—at least in post-Soviet countries that are undergoing political transition.

This specific task is important for three reasons identified in this research. First, by profiling specific individual and group accomplishments, new graduates can see models of success in the transitioning post-Soviet context and perhaps follow a similar path or seek these more experienced alumni for advice. Second, showcasing alumni profiles enhance graduates' ability to connect with each other and develop a better sense of potential collaborators and teams, further strengthening the network. Finally, models of successful alumni who returned to—and excelled in—the country sets a standard of what can be accomplished by graduates, promoting counterexamples to pervasive themes of life overseas equalling success.

As was determined by this research, a more active and connected network indicates a greater chance of alumni being involved in social and economic change in their home countries, therefore creating an increased likelihood of overall program effectiveness. Additional research can further understanding of what qualities and attributes make scholarship alumni networks successful in other countries and how to best transform a network that is struggling.

Acknowledgements: This article summarizes a portion of findings from the author's doctoral dissertation, completed at the University of Minnesota. The author would like to acknowledge her advisor, Dr. David W. Chapman, and dissertation committee—Drs. Frances Vavrus, Christopher Johnstone, and Carol Carrier—for their advice and guidance during this study. Thanks also go to the Center for International Education in Georgia, the Educational Advising Center in Moldova, and those who agreed to participate in and support this study. Funding for data collection was supported by a fellowship from IREX with funds provided by the United States Department of State through the Title VIII Program; neither of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed herein. Finally, the author would like to acknowledge Dr. Elisabeth Lefebvre and John Schaidler for their important feedback on drafts of this article.

About the Author: Anne C. Campbell, Ph.D., is an Assistant Professor in the International Education Management Master's Program at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies in Monterey, California. Her research interests lie at the intersection of international higher education and national social and economic development in low- and middle-income countries. ***Contact:*** Anne C. Campbell a*t accampbell@miis.edu*

References

Becker, G. S. (1975). *Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education* (2nd ed.). New York, New York: National Bureau of Economic Research and Columbia University Press.

Beine, M., Docquier, F., & Rapoport, H. (2008). Brain drain and human capital formation in developing countries: Winners and losers. *The Economic Journal*, *118*(528), 631-652.

Central Intelligence Agency. (2016a). Georgia. In *The world factbook*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gg.html

Central Intelligence Agency. (2016b). Moldova. In *The world factbook*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/md.html

Chiavacci, D. (2005). Transition from university to work under transformation: the changing role of institutional and alumni networks in contemporary Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal*, *8*(1), 19-41.

Di Maria, C., & Lazarova, E.A. (2012). Migration, human capital formation, and growth: An empirical investigation. *World Development*, *40*(5), 938-955.

European Forum for Solidarity and Democracy. (2016). Country updates: Moldova [website]. Retrieved from http://www.europeanforum.net/country/moldova

Farrow, H., & Yuan, Y. C. (2011). Building stronger ties with alumni through Facebook to increase volunteerism and charitable giving. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *16*(3), 445-464.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 80-92.

Georgian Association of Social Workers. (2015). *Georgian Association of Social Workers* [website]. Retrieved from http://www.gasw.org/

Gürüz, K. (2011). *Higher education and international student mobility in the global knowledge economy* (2nd ed.). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Institute of International Education. (2016). *International students by primary source of funding, 2015/16* [data set]. Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange. Retrieved from http://www.iie.org/opendoors

Kalisman, H. F. (2015). Bursary Scholars at the American University of Beirut: Living and practising Arab unity. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, *42*(4), 599-617.

McMahon, W. W. (1999). *Education and development: Measuring the social benefits*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press.

McMahon, W. W. (2009). *Higher learning, greater good: The private and social benefits of higher education.* Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods* (2nd Ed). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Odhiambo, G. O. (2013). Academic brain drain: Impact and implications for public higher education quality in Kenya. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, *8*(4), 510-523.

Perna, L. W., Orosz, K., Jumakulov, Z., Kishkentayeva, M., & Ashirbekov, A. (2015). Understanding the programmatic and contextual forces that influence participation in a government-sponsored international student-mobility program. *Higher Education*, *69*(2), 173-188.

Polovina, N. (2011). Are scholarships and mobility programs sources of brain gain or brain drain: The case of Serbia. In N. Polovina & T. Pavlov (Eds.), *Mobility and emigration of professionals: Personal and social gains and losses* (pp.164-181). Belgrade, Serbia: Group 484 and Institute for Educational Research.

Ragin, C. C. (2013). *The comparative method: Moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies.* Oakland, California: University of California Press.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2012). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data* (3rd Ed). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Saakashvili, M. (2006). The way forward: Georgia's democratic vision for the future. *Harvard International Review*, *28*(1), 68-73 .

Schultz, T. W. (1963). *The economic value of education*. New York, New York: Columbia University Press.

Schutz, A. (1967). *The phenomenology of the social world* (G. Walsh & F. Lehnert, Trans.). Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press. (Original work published 1932)

Sherman, A., & Campbell, A. (2005). *Gender issues in international education: Review of Scholarship recipients in the Balkans and Central Asia*. Paper presented at International Studies Association Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Smith, A. (1952). An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations. In R. M. Hutchins and M.J. Adlers (Eds.), *Great books of the western world: Vol. 39. Adam Smith. Chicago, IL: Encyclopedia Britanica*. (Original Work published 1776)

The MasterCard Foundation Scholars Program. (2015). *Developing young leaders: 2015 Handbook*. The MasterCard Foundation.

United Nations. (2016). *Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning* [website]. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/

Volkman, T. A., Dassin, J., & Zurbuchen, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Origins, journeys and returns: Social justice in international higher education*. New York, New York: Social Science Research Council.

World Bank. (2016). *Country and lending groups* [data set]. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-classifications/country-and-lending-groups

[1] Definitions of low-, middle-, and high-income countries are the same as the World Bank's definition of lower-, middle-, and high-income economies (World Bank, 2016).

[2] Demographic characteristics included sex, scholarship program sponsor, year began scholarship, and country of residency at time of interview.

[3] For many international higher education student mobility programs offered in eastern Europe, females are the majority of participants, with the exception of predominantly Muslim countries (Sherman & Campbell, 2005).

[4] The Muskie scholarship program formerly had its own specific alumni organization for Muskie alumni, but it was morphed into EPAG in 2013-2014.

[5] Although several individuals noted that this has recently changed with the examples of Maia Sandu and Stela Mocan, two individuals with U.S. education who had leadership roles in the Moldovan Government. In November 2016, Maia Sandu ran for the Moldovan presidency.

Leaders in Education Program: The Singapore Model for Developing Effective Principal-ship Capability

Prashant Jayapragas
Ministry of Education, Singapore

In this era of constant change, principals need to be able to handle high levels of complexity in its governance and policy implementation. Planning ahead is not sufficient; being able to interpret and plan the future into strategic responses is a huge focus in educational development today. The Leaders in Education Program (LEP) is a 6-month full-time program, which aims to prepare highly capable vice principals and ministry officers in Singapore for principal-ship. This paper examines the value proposition and critical components of the LEP, and through a comparative analysis, it critically reflects on the challenges associated with this model. While the LEP has gained worldwide admiration for heightening participant's awareness of the interactive nature of the "roles" and "minds" of school leadership, this model is found to be "especially selective," attracting just 5% of the intended population. In order for a larger pool of school leaders to benefit, this paper recommends the 'borrowing' of mentoring and networked learning structures to level up distributed and lateral leadership within and across schools. This should gradually develop a culture of leaders growing leaders as a way to ensure scalability and sustainability of leadership talent.

Introduction

Many countries struggle to transform their educational systems to adequately prepare their students with the knowledge, skills and disposition to thrive today. School leaders are thus more than just good managers; they are leaders of schools as "learning organizations" (Darling Hammond, Wei & Andree, 2010). They need to be educational visionaries, instructional leaders, supervisors of policy mandates and initiatives and even community builders (DeVita, 2010). They are also expected to promote inclusive school cultures (Riehl, 2000). The civic community at large is increasingly aware that effective school leadership is central to large-scale education reforms and improved educational outcomes (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005). Many of these leadership attributes are positively related to student achievement, learning and attitudes (Cotton, 2003). This was also reported by the Wallace Foundation in 2011, which highlighted the empirical link between school leadership and improved student achievement.

 Current Issues in Comparative Education 19(1), 92-108.

Notably, leadership effects on student learning occur largely because leadership strengthens teachers' engagement in the professional community, which in turn, promotes the use of instructional practices that are associated with student achievement (Wahlstrom, Louis, Leithwood & Anderson, 2010). The extent to which a principal is aware of how a school functions and is able to address existing and potential problems is critical to student outcomes (Waters, Marzano, & McNulty, 2003). In view of this, effective leadership means more than knowing what to do—it is about knowing when, how, and why a certain course of action is taken.

In the last 15 years, there have been numerous shifts in education policies in Singapore. Principals are expected to be role models in providing a Student-Centric Values-Driven education, where developing 21st-century competencies and providing multiple pathways of success to every child is seen as a fundamental tenet of schooling (Teo, 1998; Tharman, 2006). In view of this, principals must be able to determine what a specific policy means to the school, their students and the community at large. In addition, reform efforts should also focus on changing the cultures of the classroom and the schools so as to improve the quality of education (Fullan, 2007). Former Education Minister Teo Chee Hean said that principals must be pro-active enough to want to "cook their own food instead of waiting for the central kitchen to serve up a complete meal" (Teo, 1999). This new educational agenda demands a new type of school leader; one who is confident in dealing with a dynamic and complex context. It is thus essential to equip principals with the right set of skills to be adaptive, flexible and reflective leaders.

Drawing on the current literature about the Leaders in Education Program (LEP) in Singapore, this paper will examine the LEP's value-proposition and through a comparative analysis of normative, empirical and critical literature in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Finland and the United States, I will explore whether elements of the LEP can be further expanded to frame effective leadership preparation models within and beyond Singapore.

Leaders in Education Program

In March 2001, the LEP was launched at the National Institute of Education (NIE), Singapore. The LEP is a six-month milestone executive program for specially selected vice principals and ministry officers (about 30 - 40 in a cohort) in Singapore to prepare them for school leadership. This executive model has similarities to what one would experience in an MBA program. There are varied opportunities for industry leaders to provide interactive sessions in leadership and strategic management to guide decision-making and organizational reform (Jensen & Clark, 2013). This program also adopts a structured and system-wide incorporation of mentoring (Hean, 2009).

At its core, the LEP aims to develop principal-ship capability that is values-based, purposeful, and forward-looking, anchored on both strong people leadership and instructional leadership (Ng, 2007). These officers have a track record of good potential and performance appraisal and have successfully passed a series of situational tests and selection interviews conducted by the Ministry of Education (MOE). The selected participants are fully sponsored by the MOE to engage in the LEP full-time and they receive a salary during this stint (Ng, 2008). Such is the commitment by the MOE to develop outstanding principals. This is similar to the Finnish educational system, where school leaders are fully sponsored with support for induction, mentoring, peer-support and continuing professional education (Hargreaves, Halasz, Pont, 2008).

5R5M Framework The LEP was conceptualized using evidence-based research to inform how principals should be developed for leadership roles (Cohen, Raudenbush & Ball, 2003). The program emphasizes a continuous action–reflection loop and brings to the participants' awareness of the interactive nature of the "roles" and "minds" of school leadership (NIE, 2007). Essentially, the way a leader thinks (their 'minds') will influence their actions (associated with their 'roles'); hence it is important for principals to reflect on their actions in the various 'roles' to refine their 'minds.'

Sergiovanni's (2009) Five Forces of Leadership (with associated Leadership Roles, namely Educational, Technical, Human, Symbolic, and Cultural) and Gardner's (2007) Five Minds for the Future (i.e. Ethical, Respectful, Creating, Synthesizing, and Disciplined) are integrated into an innovative 5R5M (Five Roles and Five Minds) framework of school leadership development. The 5R5M framework combines the multifaceted nature of principals' roles with the mindsets needed to perform the roles, contextualized to suit Singapore's school leadership context.

Innovation and Empowerment For the past 15 years, a key theme of the LEP, like many exemplary leadership development programs from San Diego to the Mississippi Delta, has been on innovation and the creation of new knowledge (Darling-Hammond, LaPointe, Meyerson & Cohen, 2007; NIE, 2007). Today, this ability to create and transfer knowledge into novel contexts is viewed as imperative to a nation's comparative advantage and is a major focus in international development (Read, Fernandez-Hermosilla, Anderson, Mundy, 2015). The act of knowledge creation stimulates the participants' thinking through a series of challenging learning experiences (Jensen & Clark, 2013). These include case studies, dialogues with senior education Ministry officials, and an overseas study trip (Ng, 2013). The study trip allows participants to gain first-hand knowledge on education initiatives by renowned institutes in countries such as Finland, Germany, Canada, Hong Kong and the United States. The program also encourages leaders to be more self-reflective of their practice. Participants use journals and the creative action project (CAP) to reflect on their beliefs, values and purposes about instructional leadership and

management, triggered by the diverse learning experiences encountered in the LEP (Ng, 2008). The exposure offered by the LEP serves to raise participants' leadership skills to new levels and empowers them to lead their schools in impactful ways upon the completion of the program.

Creative Action Project Every LEP participant is attached to a local school in Singapore, where they are mentored by an experienced principal (Walker & Hallinger, 2015). Mentoring is deeply embedded within many high-performing education systems in East Asia, such as Hong Kong and Shanghai (Jansen & Clark, 2013). Under the guidance of a principal-mentor, the CAP is a major undertaking by the LEP participant in the attachment school. Using the principles of 'Futuring' and Design Thinking, participants explore and work with teachers and school leaders in the attachment school on a value-adding innovation that can transform the school system in 10-15 years' time (NIE, 2007).

An innovation is not necessarily something new in education, but it should be something new to the school, with the potential of being scalable and sustainable. Many of these projects are exciting initiatives that lead to significant improvements in curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. Darling Hammond et al (2007) assert that one of the most important levers for learning is the close integration of coursework and fieldwork. In alignment with the literature on adult learning, the LEP exposes participants to concrete elements of real-world practice. These in turn increase a school leader's ability to analyze and systematically plan strategies for action (Kolb & Boyatzis, 1999). It is through this process that the LEP participants learn to handle the complexities embedded in the conceptualization and implementation of the CAP.

Theory of Action The theory of action behind the LEP is to produce principals with the capability to transform schools to be professional learning communities that nurture innovative students and teachers (Hargreaves, Halasz & Pont, 2007), one that is driven by knowledge and learning. This espoused theory is premised on the fact that high quality school leadership training, such as the LEP, grooms promising educators to lead schools to new realms of educational excellence, which should in turn improve teaching and learning, student growth and student achievement (Ng, 2013; Stewart, 2012; Darling-Hammond et al 2007). It is also a means to cultivate and strengthen a culture of learning among the teaching force (Harvey & Holland, 2011); a culture of leaders growing leaders, leaders growing teachers, and in the process, inspire and nurture a pipeline of school leaders (e.g. middle-managers, teacher-leaders etc.) who are accomplished in their profession and able to lead fellow educators.

For the most part, this theory of action seems reasonable. Dilworth (1996) noted that many leadership programs produce individuals who are technologically literate and able to deal with intricate problem-solving models, but are rather distanced from the human

dimensions. However in the case of the LEP, it anchors itself firmly in the human dimensions through its social constructivism philosophy. The social orientations of constructivism, commonly linked to Vygotsky (1978), emphasize the cultural and social context in which learning takes place. For example, in the interaction among the LEP participants, knowledge is created, rather than acquired. Participants also have to reflect on why they say the things they say, do the things they do and assume the things they assume. This challenges them to justify and defend their views. As learners learn best with and from one another, the participants are also engaged in learning in a way that they are expected to role-model and lead their staff, students and parents (Ng, 2008).

Second, there is this inherent assumption that by judiciously selecting promising officers for the program, the MOE develops principals who will better manage instructional and organizational change. This shall be critically examined later, but it is worthwhile to note that Singapore uses a "select then train model" rather than a "train then select" one. This is because Singapore is confident that she has the best possible leaders for her schools. Next, there is also a wide range of inputs sought in the selection process (Stewart, 2012). Last, the key in Singapore is not just the nature of the training, but the holistic approach to identifying, developing and retaining talent. Young teachers are continually assessed for leadership potential and given opportunities to demonstrate and learn. Those who exhibit a good track record and have shown potential are groomed into middle-management and then with accompanying experience and training, into vice principal roles, often while still in their late thirties (Stewart, 2012). It is a structured system to develop human capital. In this respect, the selection of participants into the LEP is a holistic and rigorous one.

Policy Instruments The LEP combines a good mix of policy instruments, which are both strong and salient, at the core of its framework. The policy acts as a mandate for the following reasons. First, the LEP is something that all specially selected vice principals are expected to undertake, and second, instructional and organizational change would not occur with the frequency or consistency if principals did not receive sufficient professional development (Jensen & Clark, 2013). The program is also largely seen as a capacity-building mechanism, which aims to produce highly-able principals who will act as a catalyst for change and innovation. McDowell and Elmore (1987) report that capacity building policy mechanisms have immediate costs but long-term benefits. In this case, resources are invested to ensure a well-trained teaching faculty at the NIE, a curriculum that is constantly reviewed to reflect educational changes and principal-mentors who are a good fit to provide sustained support. The benefit is the enhanced skills set of a carefully selected group who will be able to contribute significantly to school improvement in the future.

The most beneficial inducement attached to the policy is the sponsorship of the course fee per participant and the fact each participant will receive a salary and as well as

remunerations during the full-time training. The heavy investment on human capital indicates that the participants' contributions are greatly valued. The inducement is also seen as a form of career progression and talent development. The strategic steps taken to strengthen school leadership in Singapore are similar as those taken by effective educational systems in Finland and the United States; however a key difference is that Singapore places a strong emphasis on critical self-reflection and building change in organizations through sustained mentoring.

Policy Support The LEP is a sustained training program used to develop principal-ship capability by identifying the kind of leaders that is needed first, and then providing the individuals with the required skills and knowledge. And since the MOE has been tracking the performance and development of its officers, it is in a suitable position to recommend developmental needs of the LEP participants. The NIE augments these needs with additional inputs based on what will give Singapore school leaders an edge in leadership (Ng, 2013). A similar model is also evident in Hong Kong. The Education Bureau very carefully selects and collaborates with its facilitators on a customized training program that is aligned with the educational reform efforts (Jensen & Clark, 2013). In this way, the university–government partnership ensures that the training addresses critical practice areas that are critical for learning and also more enduring theoretical areas.

The American Institutes for Research (2010) assert that school leadership is most productive when situated within a supportive centralized leadership that sets the vision and expectations, but at the same time is also willing to step back and allow the principal with the autonomy to make forward-looking school-based decisions. It must be noted that some degree of decentralization is critical. The LEP is not intended to be prescriptive, but rather empowers leaders with the flexibility on how they will go on to lead school improvement efforts. This allows MOE principals to engage policy in terms that suit their values, interests and knowledge, while ensuring that their actions are aligned with the broader goals of education (Cohen, Moffitt, & Goldin, 2007), thereby bridging the gap between policy and practice.

Effects of the LEP

The LEP has had promising results. Ng (2008) gathered feedback from 48 participants via an open-ended questionnaire, which was followed through with a number of informal interviews. He reported that 88% of the participants benefited from the open sharing and responsiveness of their mentors to their learning needs. Participants also felt more confident in using their mentoring experience to develop their middle-managers and teachers. The principal-mentors embraced the opportunity for self-reflection and intellectual sparring. The four main themes that emerged from the participants' learning are as follows:

i) Learning to conduct futuring,
ii) Learning to contextualize,
iii) Learning to be adaptable and flexible, and
iv) Learning to collaborate in a self-organizing paradigm.

Futuring: Better understanding of the ground sentiments The CAP provided an opportunity for the LEP participants to handle complexities that reflect the challenges of school leadership in a real-life context. Some notable value-adding innovations, among many others include alternative assessments, Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), and socio-emotional learning in academic instruction (NIE, 2015). Through the process of doing the project, the participants experienced first-hand the challenges of leading people without rank and facilitating changes without position. Participants also learned that it is necessary for leaders to contextualize theories to the local situations and role-model behavior as this helps in garnering teacher buy-in (Ng, 2013; Jensen & Clark, 2013). This was a valuable learning experience as principals usually implement policies based on what is essential (Rost, 1991; Robinson, 2007). The process also undergirds the importance of establishing support from the ground in order to create meaningful school change.

Contextualizing best practices into the local context The overseas study visits were seen as an effective way to learn from other countries' experiences, expand their network connections, and challenge participants' thinking on how good practices can be adapted to fit their school context. For example, a team that went to Alberta noted how disconnected youths were encouraged to continue studying to complete high school with the slogan "You are not broken - Finish School Your Way." The team that went to Finland saw how the education ministry pushes for more and better use of ICT in schools through the development of educational games (Ng, 2008). It is widely agreed that the LEP engages participants in educative processes that draw on their life experiences and inner wisdom to better equip them to make more informed decisions about school improvement.

Recognized for developing leadership talent worldwide Since the LEP's inception in 2001, the program has won widespread admiration from educators in many parts of the world. Over the years, a number of senior educators from Brunei have also joined Singaporeans for this training (NIE, 2007). In addition, every year, many educators and government officials from overseas are invited to visit and discuss the program's approach in preparing principals (NIE, 2014). Notably, the Leaders in Education Program International (LEPI), which was launched in 2005 builds on the highly successful LEP. This program exposes school principals and education officers across the world to the current thinking in educational leadership and provides them the opportunity to spend time in Singapore schools to experience first-hand how success or innovation is achieved

(NIE, 2015). This is testimony to the positive effects of the LEP and how this model has the potential to be expanded to benefit a larger group (Gurr, Drysdale & Mulford, 2006).

Challenges

To date, it is unclear if the financial resources in running the LEP is making a lasting impact on student learning, curricular innovations and teacher-development. If so, how sustainable is the program and to what extent does it offer a high return on investment? Given the rise of accountability systems in education today, these are pertinent questions that should be answered (Slavin, 2002).

Balance between instructional and organizational leadership Results of hierarchical linear models, which are aligned with the aims of the LEP, indicate that principals perceive they have high influence in instructional and supervisory activities when the teachers in their schools actively participate in decision-making (Printy, 2010). This finding suggests the benefits of mutuality in school leadership. However, Singaporean principals are hesitant to engage teachers in school change decisions (Walker & Hallinger, 2015). In a qualitative study of principals who were once part of a LEP cohort, Ng (2008) reports that principals spent less than 10% of their time on functions traditionally defined as instruction (such as classroom observations and professional development for teachers), making it a challenge to continuously spearhead curricular innovation (Marzano, Waters, & McNulty, 2005). This view was similarly corroborated in the report *Leadership Matters* by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (2013). Researchers revealed that many principals had multiple, often conflicting priorities, which included responding to the needs of stakeholders and superiors. In Finland, for example, all principals have to teach for a minimum of 2 hours per week (Hargreaves et al, 2007) and this is in addition to them leading school change and serving the wider community. In Tennessee, about 50% of a teacher's evaluation is based on principal observations (Darling-Hammond et al, 2007). While these requirements are well intentioned, advocates of this approach fail to adequately recognize the demands on the contemporary principal.

Balance between imagination and pragmatism 'Futuring' is a major component in the CAP undertaken by participants in their attachment school. According to Albrecht (1994, p. 42), 'futuring' is "about riding shock waves, monitoring critical indicators and exploiting trends." Many LEP graduates gave feedback that since they would eventually be taking up leadership positions in their attachment schools, they would not get to implement all the ideas in their plans, which assumed the development of a school from scratch (Ng, 2008). Another critical challenge is finding the right calibration between imagination and pragmatism. By freeing participants from the shackles of reality, it sparks creativity but they find less application in their immediate circumstances. This is particularly true for principals who are deployed to assume leadership roles in low-performing or failing schools. It is a challenge to prioritize innovation when resources and talent are limited. In

such contexts, a behavioral change process will prioritize school improvement over innovation.

In Shanghai, for example, the 'Empowered Management Program' is a significant policy aimed at reducing "between schools" inequality. Principals in high-performing schools share ideas, information and resources to help school leaders in low-performing schools (Jensen & Clark, 2013), thereby building effective practices across both schools. This improvement strategy emphasizes leadership development and changing behaviors related to teaching, learning and equity. As effective school improvement will involve a behavioral and a cultural change process, it is rarely, if ever, achieved across a system in the short-term. This requires clear consistent implementation over several years. As a consequence, a contemporary challenge of leadership, in systemic terms, is not merely to distribute leadership, but also to articulate its intent to the stakeholders. Ideally, each principal should be able to address the needs of and relationships between short term and long term improvement during their stint in a school (Dodd & Favaro, 2007), and must also consider how leadership effects will last beyond them and after they leave so that their benefits are spread from one leader to the next (Hargreaves et al, 2007). This will encourage leaders to think hard and critically about how reflective leadership and deliberate collaboration can bring about benefits beyond the school.

Reflection

Being able to identify talent has been a cornerstone of how Singapore develops its leaders across all public service sectors (Darling-Hammond et al, 2010). In retrospect, I notice a concerted emphasis on leveling the playing field for all students through the purposeful deployment of educators. For example, a new human resource policy strongly encourages the deployment of high-performing principals to high-needs schools so as to have direct impact on curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. There are two inherent beliefs here.

First, organizational needs are seen as being more important than the fit between the principal and the school. While this does not come as a surprise, it is possible that a participant's attachment school could be a level that he/she had never been in before. An example would be a principal who has been in a secondary school throughout his teaching career and is now deployed as a principal in a primary school. While there is value in challenging principals to handle complexity, being tasked to adapt to an entirely different system is a tall order. This begs the question, how can we expect principals to be instructional leaders if they are not familiar with the content and curriculum? This may potentially result in school leaders feeling less confident and overwhelmed about their role. Second, there is the belief that a principal who succeeded in one school is able to do the same in another. While this caveat does not always hold, it does support the narrative

that effective school leaders with a successful track record are better able to lead and manage change for a better tomorrow. However is this narrative compelling enough?

The broader view of celebrating principal-ship should be about recognizing that every school—and every student—deserves an effective principal. Although the LEP utilizes selection criteria that are transparent, the program comes across as being highly elitist. Every year, the cohort takes in at most 40 participants out of over 1000 eligible officers. This comes up to about 4-5% of the population, which makes the program "especially-selective." There is also the impending elitist overtone to the LEP structure, just like the 'Teach for America' model; a belief that the best and the brightest can make a positive difference to education (Wasserman, 2011). If talents and financial resources are selectively distributed, it inevitably sends a message that the roles and voices of certain individuals are more valuably perceived. In what ways can we then leverage the merits of the LEP such that all principals also benefit?

To answer this critical question, we must first accept that every school deserves a capable principal. In Finland, almost all novice principals possess the National Qualification for principal-ship. For existing principals, though, there is not a strong tradition of good leadership training because principals are typically promoted through their schools to develop their own roles and their skills on the job (Hargreaves et al, 2007). However, with decreasing enrolment and school closures, Finland realizes that leadership cannot always be learnt on the job. This is a very similar challenge that Singapore faces today. In view of a falling cohort size, 22 secondary schools will merge in the next 2 years (Lim & Ng, 2016). This would translate to lesser principals and hence the need to provide opportunities to deepen principal-ship capability.

On the contrary, Hong Kong strengthened principals' capacity and confidence by having all principals including aspiring, newly appointed and serving principals undergo a new leadership program when the reform policies were implemented. Serving principals were given structured programs that individually identified, planned, and facilitated professional development. Aspiring principals had to complete a 'Certification for Principal-ship' process that included a needs analysis, as well as a 'Preparation for Principal-ship' course (Jensen & Clark, 2013). Both programs focus on the implementation of the reform agenda and leading behavioral change in schools. In view of this existing unevenness, there is an impetus for Singapore to formalize a structure to develop principals' capacity holistically.

But given the LEP's financial efficiency issues, it is not cost-effective to have all potential principals undergo this program. However, policy makers could build on best practices within the LEP to create a stronger and more holistic system of leadership preparation that is scalable and sustainable.

One way is to encourage deep, reflective mentoring, which seeks to promote a culture of leaders developing leaders. This framework is well-documented in many educational systems around the world (Darling-Hammond et al, 2010). For example, many experienced teachers mentor beginning teachers to ease them into the profession (Martin, 2008). Mentoring for professional development is grounded in the belief that the role of the teacher is not a lonely effort and having the ability to relate to peers concerning personal and professional concerns is a way to reduce that sense of isolation (Fluckiger, McGlamery & Edick, 2006). By extending this argument to every potential principal and should the autonomy to work with teachers through professional learning communities be given, this may promote a more reflective leadership practice on a systemic level. Another possible model is to explore the possibility of LEP graduates mentoring fellow principals within their district. This will enable school leaders to engage in personal inquiry and deepen conversations about school improvement, promote an environment that support leaders to learn from, learn with and learn on behalf of other colleagues, and ensure total system alignment between leading change and transforming schools through empowerment and team building.

Last, spearheading curricular innovation that is purposeful and transformative is not a one-person effort; it is a collaborative effort. It requires that principals take on the role as a 'system' leader (Hargreaves et al, 2007). Currently the way Singapore principals function does not sufficiently engage school leaders in lateral, networked leadership (Barber & Mourshed, 2009). However, in Finland, the decentralized system supports school leaders to engage readily with other leaders, parents and the wider community (Harris & Townsend, 2007). This form of leadership across schools is strongly associated with improved teaching and learning. In view that more special education students are expected to be integrated into the Singapore mainstream curriculum (Lim, 2016), school leaders and their teachers will inevitably be faced with unfamiliar pedagogical, behavioral and psychological challenges. Forming cooperative professional partnerships with fellow leaders and stakeholders is strongly seen as a way to align school and municipalities to share resources, best practices and even think systematically about promoting a uniform vision about schooling. If the LEP provides meaningful opportunities for aspiring principals to lead such efforts, the skills and experience will better prepare principals for the uncertainty ahead.

Conclusion

Highly effective schools are often characterized by high leadership stability. Unlike many countries, principal development is a high priority in Singapore's education policy agendas. The LEP is a strong reflection of the goals at the ground level. The key underlying andragogical principle of the LEP is knowledge construction, sharing and application within a social constructivist paradigm. This principle is also aligned with modern

complexity theories, which argue that knowledge emerges from rich dynamic human interactions. In fact, this ability to create and transfer knowledge and, in turn implement creative yet feasible solutions is seen as imperative to a nation's comparative advantage. Moreover, as the LEP pushes aspiring principals to reflect on their educational and personal philosophy, it also facilitates the internalization of values, and promotes self-awareness as well as personal mastery among the participants. This is a major focus in international development today.

However, this model of leadership development is "especially selective" as a principal's role is recognized as being both pivotal and critical. The benefits include developing principals who are able to critically examine future trends in education, look beyond the immediate vision of the school, and develop foresight to move education into the future. It also challenges school leaders to contextualize theories to the local context for productive action. While there are gems within the LEP that can be expanded beyond our education system, other educational settings should not be too quick to emulate a country like Singapore that serves approximately just 500,000 students. In fact, countries like Finland have a much more homogenous racial and socioeconomic diversity than us (Jackson & Hasak, 2014). What works in one context may not work in another; however, if used with a clear purpose, the LEP can serve as a useful framework for principal-ship development. This also opens up the possibility of having experienced principals and even LEP graduates to mentor aspiring school leaders into the "roles" and "minds" of principal-ship. In Singapore, this will be achieved by developing clear plans and effective processes for leadership succession. Positive improvement depends on planned succession, leaving a legacy, mentoring new leaders and creating great leadership density and capacity from which future high level leaders will evolve within a common vision of institutional and societal progress.

Author's Note: The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author, and not necessarily the views of the MOE, Singapore.

About the Author: Prashant Jayaprags is a curriculum officer at the Ministry of Education, Singapore. He started his teaching career at Raffles Institution, an independent all-boy school before pursuing his M.A. degree in education at Columbia University, Teachers College. ***Contact:*** Prashant Jayaprags a*t prashant_jayapragas@moe.edu.sg*

References

Albrecht, K. (1994). The power of bifocal vision, *Management Review, 83*(4), 42–46.

American Institutes for Research. (2010). *A learning point: What experience from the field tells us about school leadership and turnaround.* Retrieved from http://www.learningpt.org/pdfs/leadership_turnaround_schools.pdf

Barber, M., & Mourshed, M. (2009). *Shaping the future: How good education systems can become great in the decade ahead*. McKinsey and Company. Retrieved from http://www.mckinsey.com/locations/southeastasia/knowledge/Education_Roundtable.pdf

Cohen, D. K., Moffitt, S. L., & Goldin, S. (2007). Policy and practice: The dilemma. *American Journal of Education*, *113*(4), 515-548.

Cohen, D. K., Raudenbush, S. W., & Ball, D. L. (2003). Resources, instruction, and research. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 25*(2), 119-142.

Cotton, K. (2003). *Principals and student achievement: What the research says*. Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Darling-Hammond, L., Wei, R. C., & Andree, A. (2010). How high-achieving countries develop great teachers. *Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education*.

Darling-Hammond, L., LaPointe, M., Meyerson, D., Orr. M. T., & Cohen, C. (2007). *Preparing school leaders for a changing world: Lessons from exemplary leadership development programs.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University, Stanford Educational Leadership Institute.

DeVita, C. (2010). Four big lessons from a decade of work. In Wallace Foundation (Ed.), *Education leadership: An agenda for school improvement,* 2-5. Washington DC: The Wallace Foundation National Conference.

Dilworth, R. (1996). Action learning: Bridging academic and workplace domains, *Employee Counseling Today, 8*(6), 48–56.

Dodd, D., & K. Favaro. (2007). *The Three Tensions*. Jossey Bass, San Francisco. Fluckiger, J., McGlamery, S., & Edick, N. (2006). Mentoring teacher stories: Caring mentors help novice teachers stick with teaching and develop expertise. *The Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin, 73*(3), 8-13.

Fullan, M. (2007). *The new meaning of educational change* (4th Ed.) New York: Teachers College Press.

Gardner, H. (2007). *The five minds for the future*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Gurr, D., Drysdale, L., & Mulford, B. (2006). Models of successful principal leadership, *School Leadership and Management, 26*(4), 371–395.

Hargreaves, A., Halász, G., & Pont, B. (2008). The Finnish approach to system leadership. *Improving school leadership*, *2*, 69-109.

Hargreaves, A., Halász, G., & Pont, B. (2007). School leadership for systemic improvement in Finland. *Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*, 1-44.

Harris, A., & A. Townsend. (2007). Developing leaders for tomorrow: Releasing system potential, *School Leadership and Management*, *27*(2), 169-179.

Harvey, J., & Holland, H. (2011). *The school principal as leader: Guiding schools to better teaching and learning.* The Wallace Foundation.

Hean, L. L. (2009). Highlights of educational research on leadership mentoring: One and a half decades of Singapore experience. *International Journal of Evidence Based Coaching and Mentoring*, *7*(1), 162-171.

Jackson, J.H., & Hasak, J. (2014). Look beyond the label: Reframing, Reimagining and Reinvesting in CTE. *American Educator*, *38*(3), 34-39.

Jensen, B., & Clark, A. (2013). *Confident school leadership: An east Asian perspective*. Nottingham: National College for Teaching & Leadership.

Kolb, D. A., & Boyatzis, R. E. (1999). Experiential learning theory: Previous research and new directions. In R. J. Sternberg, & L. F. Zhang (Eds.), *Perspectives on Cognitive Learning and Thinking Styles.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Leithwood, K., & Jantzi, D. (2005). *A review of transformational school leadership research (1996-2005)*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Montreal, Canada.

Lim, J.Q. (2016, August 11). Risiing number of special needs in mainstream schools. *Channel NewsAsia.* Retrieved from *http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/rising-number-of-students/3033364.html*

Lim, K., & Ng, K. (2016, March 4). 22 secondary schools to merge over next 2 years due to falling demand. *Channel NewsAsia.*

Marzano, R. J., Waters, T., & McNulty, B. A. (2005). *School leadership that works: From research to results*. ASCD.

McDowell, L.M., & Elmore, R.F. (1987). Getting the job done: Alternative policy instruments. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *9*(2), 133-152.

National Association of Secondary School Principals. (2013). *What the research says about the importance of principal leadership*. Retrieved from http://www.naesp.org/sites/default/files/LeadershipMatters.pdf

National Institute of Education. (2015). *Leaders in education programme international*. Singapore: National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University. Retrieved from http://www.nie.edu.sg/niei/programmes-courses/leadership-courses/leaders-education-programme-international-lepi

National Institute of Education. (2014). *Leaders in education programme*. Singapore: National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University. Retrieved from http://www.nie.edu.sg/studynie/leadership-programmes/leaders-education-programme

National Institute of Education. (2007). *LEP participants' handbook* . Singapore: National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University.

Ng, P. T. (2013). Developing Singapore school leaders to handle complexity in times of uncertainty. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 14*(1), 67-73.

Ng, D. (2007). *Developing Singapore school leaders*. Commonwealth Education Partnerships.

Ng, P. T. (2008). Developing forward-looking and innovative school leaders: The Singapore Leaders in Education Program. *Journal of In-service Education*, *34*(2), 237-255.

Printy, S. (2010). Principals' influence on instructional quality: Insights from US schools. *School Leadership and Management*, *30*(2), 111-126.

Read, R., Fernandez-Hermosilla, M., Anderson, S., & Mundy, K. (2015). Identifying research priorities for school improvement in the developing world. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, *18*(1), 55-67.

Riehl, C. J. (2000). The principal's role in creating inclusive schools for diverse students: A review of normative, empirical, and critical literature on the practice of educational administration. *Review of Educational Research, 70*(1), 55-81.

Robinson, V. M. (2007). *School leadership and student outcomes: Identifying what works and why*. Winmalee: Australian Council for Educational Leaders.

Rost, J. 1991. *Leadership for the twenty-first century*. New York: Praeger.

Sergiovanni, T. J. (2009). The principalship: A reflective practice perspective. Boston: Pearson.

Slavin, R. E. (2002). Evidence-based education policies: Transforming educational practice and research. *Educational researcher*, *31*(7), 15-21.

Stewart, V. (2012). *A world-class education: Learning from international models of excellence and innovation*. ASCD.

Teo, C. H. (1999). Towards ability-driven education: Making every Singaporean matter. In *Speech by Radm (NS) Teo Chee Hean, Minister for Education and Second Minister for Defence at the Ministry of Education Workplan Seminar*, Singapore, September.

Teo, C. H. (1998). Principals—the key leaders in building thinking schools based on strong school home-community relations. *Speech by RAdm Teo Chee Hean, Minister for Education and Second Minister for Defence, at the Appointment Ceremony for Principals,* Singapore.

Tharman, S. (2006). Building on individual and collective leadership in our schools. *Speech by Mr Tharman Shanmugaratnam, Minister for Education & Second Minister for Finance, at the Appointment Ceremony for Principals,* Singapore.

Vygotsky, L. (1978) *Mind in society: the development of higher psychological process* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wahlstrom, K., Louis, K. S., Leithwood, K., & Anderson, S. E. (2010). *Investigating the links to improved student learning.* Executive summary of research findings

Walker, A., & Hallinger, P. (2015). A synthesis of reviews of research on principal leadership in East Asia. *Journal of Educational Administration*, *53*(4), 554-570.

Wallace Foundation. (2011). *The school principal as leader: Guiding schools to better teaching and learning*.

Wasserman, N. (2011). *When beginning mathematics teachers report acquiring successful attributes: Reflections on teacher education*. Columbia University.

Waters, J. T., Marzano, R. J., & McNulty, B. A. (2003). *Balanced leadership: What 30 years of research tells us about the effect of leadership on student achievement.* Aurora, CO: Mid-continent Research for Education and Learning.

Educating for Transforming Our World: Revisiting International Debates Surrounding Education for Sustainable Development

Yoko Mochizuki
UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development

In 2015, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution titled "Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" and a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The notion of "transformative education" is being mainstreamed in the work of UNESCO within the new framework of the SDGs, which officially succeeded the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA). This article briefly outlines the shifting international discourses surrounding Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), now enshrined in SDG Target 4.7. The meanings of ESD have shifted in relation to other education movements, including Environmental Education, EFA, and more recently, Global Citizenship Education (GCED). By reviewing how ESD and GCED—as currently defined and promoted by UNESCO—approach climate change and the question of securing a sustainable future for humanity, the article delineates how the recent marriage of ESD and GCED in one target of the SDGs is weakening, rather than reinforcing, their transformative potentials. It concludes by pointing out the limitations of global policy initiatives for education and proposing ways forward to ensure that education contributes to shaping a more sustainable world.

Introduction

Addressing business leaders at the World Economic Forum four months after the collapse of Lehman Brothers, the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon (2009) remarked: "We can choose short-sighted unilateralism and business as usual. Or we can grasp global cooperation and partnership on a scale never before seen." The idea that we are at the crossroads and must choose between the "business as usual" or the alternatively better way of doing development, has been repeated in many UN reports and speeches since the financial crisis (see, for example, UN Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Global Sustainability, 2012; UN Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, 2012). In the frenzy over the "post-2015" development agenda, as the 2015 target year of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA) approached, policymakers, politicians, scholars, educators and community activists alike pursued

 Current Issues in Comparative Education 19(1), 109-124.

agendas for change. "Business as usual" has become something to be overcome to mitigate climate change, avert a financial breakdown, or to achieve education for all[1].

The year 2015 saw the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and an accompanying set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN, 2015) as well as the signing of the Paris Agreement, which was self-congratulated as a "historic agreement to combat climate change and unleash actions and investment towards a low carbon, resilient and sustainable future" (UNFCCC, 2015). Against this backdrop, the notion of "transformative education" is being used more often, not only in terms of delivering the "unfinished business" or "broken promise" of EFA but also of promoting the kind of values-based and action-oriented education that aims at changing attitudes, values, and behaviours. In the roadmap for implementing the Global Action Programme on Education for Sustainable Development, UNESCO (2014) characterizes Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) as "holistic and transformational education," which "achieves its purpose by transforming society" (p.12). In its guidance document on global citizenship education, UNESCO (2015b) writes: "Global citizenship education aims to be transformative, building the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to be able to contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world" (p.15).

Among 17 goals and 169 targets, the Target 4.7 of the SDGs speaks to the international recognition of the importance of values-based, transformative education:

> *By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development. (UN, 2015, p.17)*

But is it time to celebrate that transformative education finally found its way into mainstream development thinking? This article warns against the current celebratory mood to "roll up [our] sleeves and start implementing" ESD (Jickling & Wals, 2008, p.6), as though we knew exactly what needs to be done to educate for transforming our world. First, this article briefly outlines the shifting international discourses surrounding ESD, now enshrined in SDG Target 4.7. It then delineates how the recent marriage of ESD and Global Citizenship Education in one target of the SDGs is weakening, rather than reinforcing, their transformative potentials. The article concludes by pointing out the limitations of global policy initiatives for transformative education and proposing ways forward to ensure that education contributes to shaping a more sustainable world.

EE/ESD and ESD/EFA Debates

As a global initiative backed up by UN General Assembly Resolution 57/254, ESD is rather unique in that there has been a continuous debate over its origins, definitions, scope, and goals[2]. The beginning of the UN Decade of ESD (DESD, 2005-2014) was dominated by the Environmental Education (EE) stakeholders and the EE/ESD debate (McKeown & Hopkins 2003; 2007). As González-Gaudiano (2005) observed at the beginning of the DESD, "One de facto problem that the implementation of the [DESD] faces is that apparently only we environmental educators have become involved in debating its pros and cons" (p.244). This was a natural development given that the World Conservation Union's Commission on Education and Communication (IUCN-CEC) was leading the international discussion on ESD before the launch of the DESD, and much effort was dedicated to discussing the relative meanings of EE and ESD (see Fien & Tilbury, 2002; Hesselink, Kempen & Wals, 2000).

At the outset, ESD was often positioned—both by UNESCO and international experts who acted as advocates for (D)ESD—as an overarching label for existing 'adjectival educations' including EE, Development Education, Peace Education, Human Rights Education and so on. For example, Bhandari and Abe (2003) characterized ESD as holding "the prominence of more coherent, far-reaching and integrated responses than other adjectival educations" (p.15). The well-intentioned positioning of ESD as something more "advanced" than EE has at times contributed to fuelling environmental educators' resistance to ESD, especially in Latin America, where "EE builds on environmental movements which struggled for democratic freedom under military dictatorship, simultaneously questioning environmental degradation and social inequalities" (Trajber & Mochizuki, 2015, p.46).

Adding to the EE/ESD debate, UNESCO's effort to align ESD with the forerunning global initiatives of EFA and the UN Literacy Decade (2003-2012) further complicated the purpose of ESD. Although there were explicit efforts on the part of UNESCO's ESD section to link ESD and EFA conceptually (see, for example, UNESCO 2005a; 2008a), ESD has been considered largely irrelevant to countries that are struggling to achieve universal access to basic education. In the EFA Global Monitoring Reports (GMR) published during the DESD (2005-2014), there was not a single mention of ESD in most reports (UNESCO 2007; 2008b; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2014). At the beginning of the DESD, the 2006 GMR focusing on literacy made a reference to the DESD in "Box 4.11 Windows of opportunities through UNESCO-led initiatives" (UNESCO, 2005b, p.131), and the 2007 GMR mentioned "education for sustainable development" once in the context of the role of UNESCO in global EFA coordination (UNESCO, 2006, p.100). This extremely limited and perfunctory mentioning of ESD in the most authoritative reports on EFA clearly speaks to the low visibility and priority of ESD in UNESCO's work until very recently.

Whilst the ESD section of UNESCO, as the lead agency of the DESD, struggled to enhance the visibility of ESD in the field of international educational development, ESD has often been discredited as diluting the transformative purpose of education for sustainability due to its association with narrowly-defined development. Reflecting on the DESD, for example, Huckle and Wals (2015) have concluded that it was "business as usual in the end". Jickling and Wals (2008) have mournfully viewed ESD as "a product and carrier of globalizing force" (p.18). Among criticisms levelled against ESD over the DESD, the harshest ones characterized ESD as being complicit with predatory neo-liberalism. For example, Carlos Alberto Torres (2009) has identified UNESCO as a key agency promoting "neo-liberal globalization" (p.15). For Selby and Kagawa (2011), ESD is 'striking a Faustian bargain', to exert influence over educational directions at the expense of transformative goals.

In an effort to enhance the profile of ESD, in the second half of the DESD, UNESCO launched a programme on Climate Change Education for Sustainable Development as its flagship ESD initiative (see Mochizuki & Bryan, 2015; UNESCO, 2015c). The programme aimed at developing concrete ESD interventions in developing countries that are vulnerable to the negative impacts of climate change, in particular, Small Island Developing States (commonly referred to as "SIDS" in UN documents) and African countries, with a focus on climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction (DRR). This, in turn, contributed to better alignment between EFA and ESD, but the programme largely fell short of addressing the transformative aspect of ESD as it aimed at developing capacities of vulnerable populations and countries to adapt to climate change threats rather than tackling its root causes. In addition to climate change, biodiversity and DRR were included in the Strategy for the Second Half of the DESD (UNESCO 2009) as key action themes of ESD, thereby emphasising ESD as a means of implementation for sustainable development. This trend of highlighting the instrumental role of ESD in addressing sustainable development is continuing after the adoption of SDGs in 2015, and UNESCO is currently developing a guidance framework for achieving SDGs through ESD.

ESD and Global Citizenship Education

During the latter half of the DESD, UNESCO's focus on climate change, biodiversity, and DRR as strategic entry points to ESD somewhat served to raise the profile of ESD in the global policy platforms. In the meanwhile, a new emphasis on Global Citizenship Education (GCED) was introduced by the UN Secretary General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) launched in 2012. This initiative put forward three priorities: (i) put every child in school; (ii) improve the quality of learning; and (iii) foster global citizenship. Whereas the first two pillars echoed the EFA movement and the education goal of the MDGs, the third pillar of preparing global citizens made a clear departure from the MDG tenets of reducing poverty, improving health, and securing livelihoods. With the international community's agreement to launch a process to develop a set of SDGs at the

2012 UN Conference on Sustainable Development or Rio+20, the final years of the DESD saw reinvigorated debates on the need for educational transformation to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

In the post-2015 development agenda discussions, an international aspiration to go beyond the MDG education goal's narrow focus on access to education (see, for example, Global Compact for Learning, 2011), coupled with various critiques of ESD over the course of the DESD as discussed earlier in this article, prepared a fertile ground for welcoming GCED as a new transformative education agenda. For example, in their article dismissing the DESD as "business as usual", Huckle and Wals (2015) have coined a term 'global education for sustainability citizenship (GESC)' to refer to the kind of education needed to support transformation towards sustainability and welcomed UNESCO's new emphasis on GCED by noting that it "may lead to GESC being a stronger profile within UNESCO's advocacy and promotion of ESD" (p.502). Much like the way ESD was conceptualized as "a new vision of education" (Fien 2004, pp.80-89) at the beginning of the DESD, GCED has been conceptualized as a "new narrative about education"[3] (Torres, 2015, p. 11).

Given that the introduction of GCED to the international education policy circles was not until the autumn of 2012, its mainstreaming into the SDGs was rather quick and smooth. In the Education 2030 Framework for Action adopted in Incheon, Korea, UNESCO (2015d) interprets the aforementioned SDG Target 4.7 as being dedicated to ESD and GCED as overarching labels. This recent marriage of ESD and GCED under one target in the SDG framework seems to be reinforcing ESD as education that addresses human-nature relationships and GCED as education that addresses inter-human relationships. Ideally, both ESD and GCES should ask fundamental questions about transforming how we relate to each other and to ecosystems that support our lives and livelihoods, leading to a more integrated approach to education for peace and sustainable development. UNESCO's current promotion of ESD and GCED as two mutually reinforcing yet distinctive and parallel movements is having a digressive effect of recreating a demarcation between justice and human rights issues and sustainability issues.

The current GCED advocacy by UNESCO is positing global citizens as heroic activists who fight prejudice and human rights violations, like the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Malala Yousafzai[4]. I see two problems in highlighting the most extreme cases of human rights violations and Malala's action as illustrative of the kind of action to be encouraged by GCED. First, it reinforces GCED as a straightforward—and quite dramatic—fight against prejudice, discrimination, human rights violation and violence. This may encourage learners, especially in the developed countries, to see problems to be solved as existing in a distant locality apart from their daily life. It also runs a risk of promoting global citizenship as some heroic action. Second, precisely because there is no question

about the horrendous and evil nature of what these "global citizens" are fighting against, it leaves the ethical dilemmas, contradictions and uncertainties in 'sustainable development' largely unaddressed. This point will be further discussed in the next section.

Simply put, GCED is presented as efforts to address undesirable dispositions and negative emotions such as intolerance, hatred, and xenophobia, while ESD is presented as efforts to tackle environmental sustainability challenges. Furthermore, to accelerate this trend, UNESCO is increasingly promoting GCED in association with efforts to prevent violent extremism, in light of a recent rise in concerted international efforts to mitigate the terrorist threat[5]. At the beginning of the implementation of the SDGs, the divide between ESD as a mere extension of narrowly defined EE—the perception UNESCO worked so hard to overcome over the DESD—and GCED as addressing direct and immediate threats to human dignity seems to be compromising the transformative potentials of both ESD and GCED. The next section further explores the implications of UNESCO's GCED advocacy in light of how it approaches climate change.

What divides us and what connects us: The limits of the GCED advocacy?

> *The anticipated state of emergency is no longer national but cosmopolitan. The belief that the risks facing humanity can be averted by political action taken on behalf of endangered humanity becomes an unprecedented resource for consensus and legitimation, nationally and internationally. … if anyone or anything at all, it is the perceived risks facing humanity, which can be neither denied nor externalized, that are capable of awakening the energies, consensus, the legitimation necessary for creating a global community of fate, one that will demolish the walls of nation-states borders and egotisms – at least for a global moment in time and beyond democracy. (Beck, 2008, Section 2, para. 1-2)*

Instead of viewing climate change as a fatalistic path to an apocalyptic future for humankind, Ulrich Beck (2008, Section 2, para. 12) has seen climate change as providing a "moment of hope, of unbelievable opportunities—a cosmopolitan moment". Beck has argued that climate change opens up the opportunity to overcome the bounds of national politics and paralysis. This idea that ecological threats allow the humanity to unite is nothing new. When concerted UN effort for the environment was initiated with the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm, the then UN Secretary-General U Thant hoped, according to the account by Mische and Ribeiro (1998), that "the threat of planetary pollution would unify member states in a way that a quarter century of UN peace and economic efforts had not", overcoming "the divisiveness between member states that often blocked effective UN action" (p.323).

Although the adoption of SDGs and the signing of the Paris Agreement seem to be signalling a much anticipated advent of a "cosmopolitan moment," it may still be a long way for a 'global community of fate' to emerge[6]. Whereas there is certainly more awareness about existential threats to humanity posed by climate change, UNESCO's guidance document *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives* cites climate change as one of many themes that can be addressed by GCED if so wished along with topics like "animal cruelty, bullying, discrimination, racism, violence" (UNESCO 2015b, p.43). While these are important topics in their own rights, UNESCO's GCED guidance material's treatment of climate change reduces it to an optional, add-on environmental topic, instead of treating it as a cross-cutting issue essential for understanding and improving global governance systems and structures, challenging social and environmental injustice, and demonstrating ethical and social responsibility—all of which are important goals of GCED. Although "taking climate justice perspective" is recognized as a key principle of climate change education in the context of ESD (Mochizuki & Bryan, 2015, pp.14-15), the GCED guidance cites "human rights violations, hunger, poverty, gender-based discrimination, recruitment of child soldiers" as "[r]eal life examples of global injustice", failing to recognize climate change as a social justice issue (UNESCO, 2015b, p.39).

I find UNESCO's (2015b) diagnosis about what divides us (e.g., extremism, sexism, racism, homophobia), along with its assumptions about what connects us (e.g., respect, tolerance and understanding, solidarity, ICT) in its GCED advocacy somewhat limiting to qualify as a "new narrative about education". To put the current GCED advocacy in the historical context, in 1971, invited by UNESCO to deliver the inaugural lecture of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism, Claude Lévi-Strauss shocked the audience by arguing that the fight against racism had proved ineffective because the initial diagnosis, which was at the heart of UNESCO's programme, was flawed: racism was not a result of "false ideas" about race but was used to camouflage tensions that resulted from "demographic saturation of our planet" (Stoczkowski, 2008, p.6). Echoing this frustration expressed by Lévi-Strauss, I argue that transformative education today must rise above the conventional—and often ineffectual—approach of combating "false ideas and attitudes."

One of the difficulties of climate change education lies in that climate change is not a consequence of intentionally malicious acts such as violence, discrimination, bullying, harassment, and other forms of abuse. Tackling climate change is about "build[ing] a movement against yourself" (McKibben, 2012, n.p), questioning and changing "the behaviours and practices that contribute to climate-related harm, such as driving a car, travelling abroad, watching television, using a computer" which are "considered 'normal' and are taken for granted by many of those who live in consumer capitalist societies" (Mochizuki & Bryan 2015, p.11). UNESCO's current characterization of GCED reinforces it primarily as education to prevent intentional, direct, and immediate threats to human

dignity. GCED conceptualized as such is essentially an extension of what UNESCO has promoted since its inception over 70 years ago to build "defences of peace" in people's mind.

While it is not difficult to understand the ludicrousness of the idea of living humanely as an active member of the Nazis, it is still difficult to understand the hypocrisy and absurdity of the idea of living responsibly and ethically as a citizen of a carbon-intensive society. To take a radical example to illustrate my point, when scientists writing on global citizenship ask a provocative question "Can people everywhere (especially in resource-gobbling rich countries) understand that having more than one child is highly immoral?" (Ehrlich & Ehrlich, 2015, p.19), very few ESD and GCED advocates would respond by affirming that ESD and GCED aim to empower learners to act responsibly and ethically by having only one child or even no child at all. In many cultures having children is perceived as an indispensable part of having good and appropriate lifestyles. Whereas demanding—or even encouraging—this level of self-restraint in major life choices may shock many believers in transformative education as an ill-conceived solution to the global ills, others may consider it a reasonable solution on a planetary scale in the face of an existential threat to humanity. If educating for transforming our world is not only about educating to prevent intentional, direct, and immediate threats to human dignity but also about educating to avert unintended, indirect, and long-term threats to humanity, what should transformative education look like?

Imagining transformative ESD and GCED

> *A basic question – perhaps the basic question – is what general approach should be taken to greatly accelerate the needed mass transition toward global citizenship? Perhaps the best approach would be the technique pioneered by Mahatma Gandhi (and employed by Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela) that Gandhi christened 'satyagraha' – non-violent persistent opposition to an evil system. Since the current growth-manic, neoliberal system is heading society directly toward a dissolution that could result in the deaths of billions, it seems reasonable to consider it an evil system. (Ehrlich & Ehrlich, 2015, p. 20)*

Like fighting slavery, colonialism, apartheid, and more recently, violent extremism, can we fight neoliberalism? The critics of ESD have cautioned against "de-radicalization" of ESD and envisioned transformative ESD to be challenging neoliberalism, providing deep insights into the structural causes of unsustainable development, critically analysing global capitalism and associated forms of global governance, and linking unsustainable consumption and production to the structures and processes that shape consumer capitalism, which are linked to the causes of environmental and social injustice (see, for example, Huckle & Wals, 2015).

One way of fighting neoliberalism is building a movement against ourselves, by choosing "voluntary simplicity" or a way of life that rejects high-consumption lifestyles based on the recognition that they are unethical in our world of increasing human need (see, for example, Alexander, 2009). Another way is to take collective actions to fight the "growth-manic, neoliberal system". What is conspicuously absent from the current ESD and GCED advocacy is a call for direct action against what Ehrlich and Ehrlich see as "the evil system" (2015, p.20). There seem to be at least two reasons for this absence.

The first reason is ideological. GCED has gained traction in the post-2015 agenda partly because GCED has deep resonances not only with the founding philosophy of UNESCO but also with efforts by various stakeholders to nurture globally aware and globally competent citizenry and workforce for the 21st century. Many multinationals have renamed their corporate social responsibility sections as "global citizenship program" (e.g., Samsung) or "corporate citizenship" program (e.g., Accenture). UNESCO's GCED and ESD advocacy stops at mentioning corporate social responsibility and emphasising the importance of fostering partnerships with the private sector. Multinationals are seen as potential donors and promoters of ESD and GCED, not the enemy to be targeted by them. Given the overlaps between the kinds of competences required to compete in globalized markets and to qualify as "global citizens", ESD and GCED can be easily diluted to become their "feel good" and "soft," as opposed to "radical," versions (Andreotti, 2006) and co-opted by the very enemy they are trying to fight against.

The second reason is practical. There is real difficulty in answering the question "what does direct action on the financial system look like," which preoccupied the 'Occupy Wall Street' movement (Appel, 2014, p. 603,620). Drawing parallels between ridicule and cynicisms directed at participants in Occupy Wall Street ("But don't you like your iPhone? Twitter seems to be working pretty well for you.") and those directed at abolitionists ("But you wear cotton clothing; you put sugar in your tea."), Hannah First Name Appel points out that people cannot imagine "the possibility of producing useful commodities or technological innovation without predatory finance, " just like "commodities central to nineteenth-century life—cotton, sugar—were unimaginable without enslavement" (2014, p.602).

In other words, students of elite universities calling for rejecting a lucrative career in the financial services sector—a phenomenon observed in conjunction with Occupy Wall Street (Roose, 2011)—offers only a very partial solution to combating neoliberalism. We need more than a small number of enlightened individuals accepting a lower income in pursuit of non-materialistic sources of satisfaction and meaning in life. Eventually, transformative ESD should enable massive-scale lifestyle changes and drastic adjustments in our perceptions of good and appropriate living while respecting cultural diversity.

Perhaps, equally and even more importantly, transformative ESD should enable people to start imagining the real possibility of producing and consuming valuable commodities and technological innovations *without* committing ecological and social injustice.

How can we start imagining such possibility? Here what ESD and GCED have emphasised in common takes a renewed significance. First and foremost, both ESD and GCED are context dependent and need to be addressed in all types, forms, and settings of learning at all levels. It requires some serious *unlearning* and *relearning* on the part of decision makers in all sectors and expert in all disciplines, including academics, business leaders, UN officials and educators, to start imagining and exploring the possibility of transforming our world. In the context of monitoring progress towards achieving SDGs, however, ESD and GCED are narrowly defined as education that takes place in formal education. The global indicator of SDG Target 4.7 is "extent to which (i) global citizenship education and (ii) education for sustainable development, including gender equality and human rights, are mainstreamed at all levels in: (a) national education policies, (b) curricula, (c) teacher education and (d) student assessment" (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2016). While this provides an unprecedented opportunity to integrate ESD and GCED into school education, it leaves the transformative possibilities of inter-sectoral and multi-stakeholder learning for sustainability largely untapped.

Second, both ESD and GCED aim to foster critical thinking, understanding of the interconnectedness of global challenges and a sense of responsibility emanating from such awareness, deep respect for and appreciation of bio-cultural diversity, and collaborative and innovative problem-solving abilities. Although it goes beyond the scope of this essay to spell out what pedagogy is needed to foster these competencies, it is useful to identify different dimensions of ESD/GCED as a general guidance to design transformative learning interventions.

Huckle and Wals (2015) have identified four dimensions of what they call "global education for sustainability citizenship": (i) scale (understanding of "global society and the ways in which personal and collective decisions have impacts on distant human and non-human others"); (ii) ethical (recognition of "sustainability as a normative notion" which encompasses "respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice and a culture of peace"); (iii) relational (understanding of the socially constructed nature of notions and discourses of sustainability, citizenship and globalization); and (iv) political (exploration of "structural causes" of social and environmental injustice and "reformist and radical solutions" dimensions (pp.494-495).

The current advocacy surrounding SDG Target 4.7 emphasises scale and ethical dimensions, but not necessarily relational and political dimensions. To make a departure from moralistic and didactic approaches and to empower learners to imagine alternative

futures, it is imperative to address relational and political dimensions, which resonate with the notion of "transgressive learning" or learning that is disruptive of hegemonic norms (Lotz-Sisitka et al., 2015).

Conclusion—Promises and challenges of SDG Target 4.7

Talking of changing attitudes, values, behaviours and action-oriented learning, it is not easy to achieve new understanding for reflexive intervention, which leads to a more peaceful and sustainable world. There are risks in having high hopes in advancing policy-driven education initiatives like ESD and GCED on a worldwide scale to become a proactive force in steering humanity towards a more enlightened, if not homogenized, perspective on what constitutes good and appropriate lifestyles and living. Promoting global initiatives always runs a risk of masking enormous differences in human resources and ignoring diversity of human desires. One permanent question is who decides desired change and how desired change can be produced. It is also critical to keep in mind that many people today are not in a position to defend their legitimate interests, let alone their inalienable human rights.

This article discussed the ramifications of colluding ESD and GCED under SDG Target 4.7, which is considerably lacking in the current global advocacy on transformative education for sustainability. It goes far beyond the scope of this essay to delineate what genuinely transformative learning looks like, as there are neither shortcuts in transformative learning nor recipes or strategies that can ensure that transformative learning occurs. ESD and GCED are at best vaccination against capture by ideology and narrow interests. They do not guarantee immunisation against capture by extremism, exclusionary populism, or plutocracy taking the world by storm today. Immunization against such capture can happen only when each learner can understand the root causes of the global illness and liberate oneself from being trapped in the system that perpetuates the "business as usual." As long as the SDG Target 4.7 can stimulate dialogue and reflection on what transformative education should look like, it continues to serve its purpose. To fulfil the transformative potentials of ESD and GCED, there is a need to carefully design a global monitoring framework for Target 4.7. The monitoring framework should contribute to reorienting education systems around the world towards peace and sustainable development, rather than encouraging the superficial inclusion of ESD and GCED related themes in the already overburdened curricula.

Acknowledgements: The author is responsible for the choice and representation of the facts contained in this article and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of UNESCO or UNESCO-MGIEP and do not commit the Organization.

About the Author: Yoko Mochizuki is Head of Rethinking Curriculum Programme at UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (MGIEP) in New Delhi, India since 2015. Prior to joining MGIEP, she was Programme Specialist at the Education for Sustainable Development Section at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris. ***Contact:*** Yoko Mochizuki at *y.mochizuki@unesco.org*

References

Alexander, S. (Ed.) (2009). *Voluntary simplicity: the poetic alternative to consumer culture.* Whanganui, New Zealand: Stead & Daughters Limited.

Andreotti, V. (2006). Soft versus critical global citizenship education. *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review, 3,* 40-51.

Appel, H. (2014). Occupy Wall Street and the economic imagination. *Cultural Anthropology, 29* (4), 602-625.

Bhandari, B. D. & Abe, O. (2003). Education for Sustainable Development: An emerging paradigm. In B. D. Bhandari & O. Abe (Eds.), *Education for Sustainable Development in Nepal: Views and Visions* (pp. 13-27). Kanagawa, Japan: IGES.

Beck, U. (2008). Risk society's 'cosmopolitan moment' [Lecture at Harvard University– November 12th, 2008]. http://www.labjor.unicamp.br/comciencia/files/risco/AR-UlrichBeck-Harvard.pdf

Ehrlich, P. & Ehrlich, A. (2015). Global citizenship necessary and possible?. *Blue Dot,1*, 14-17. New Delhi, India: UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development.

Fien, J. (2004). A decade of commitment: Lessons learnt from Rio to Johannesburg. In UNESCO (Ed.), *Educating for a sustainable future: Commitments and partnerships (Proceedings of the High-Level International Conference on Education for Sustainable Development at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, 2-3 September 2002)* (pp.75-137). Barcelona, Spain: UNESCO.

Fien, J. & Tilbury, D. (2002). The global challenge of sustainability. In D. Tilbury, R. B. Stevenson, J. Fien, & D. Schreuder (Eds.), *Education and Sustainability: Responding to the Global Challenge* (pp.1-12). Gland, Switzerland & Cambridge, UK: IUCN Commission on Education and Communication.

Global Compact for Learning (2011). *Learning metrics task force: Rationale.* Retrieved from http://www.globalcompactonlearning.org/learning-metrics-rationale/

González-Gaudiano, E. (2005). Education for Sustainable Development: Configuration and meaning. *Policy Futures in Education, 3* (3), 243-250.

Hesselink, F., Kempen, P., & Wals, A. E. J. (Eds.) (2000). *ESDebate: International debate on Education for Sustainable Development.* Gland, Switzerland & Cambridge, UK: IUCN Commission on Education and Communication.

Huckle, J. & Wals, A.E.J. (2015). The UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development: Business as usual in the end. *Environmental Education Research, 21*(3), 491-505.

Jickling, B. & Wals, A.E.J. (2008). Globalization and environmental education. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 40* (1), 1-21.

Lotz-Sisitka, H., Wals, A. E. J., David Kronlid, D., & McGarry, D. (2015). Transformative, transgressive social learning: rethinking higher education pedagogy in times of systemic global dysfunction. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability, 16,* 73–80.

McKibben, B. (2012, July 19). Global warming's terrifying new math. *Rolling Stone Magazine,* Retrieved from http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/global-warmings-terrifying-new-math-20120719

McKeown, R. & Hopkins, C. (2003) EE#ESD: defusing the worry. *Environmental Education Research, 9*(1), 117–128.

McKeown, R. & Hopkins, C. (2007). Moving beyond the EE and ESD disciplinary debate in formal education. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development, 1* (1), 17-26.

Mische, P. M. & Riberio, M. A. (1998). Ecological security and the United Nations system. In C.F. Alger (Ed.), *The future of the United Nations system: Potential for the twenty-first century* (pp. 315-357). Tokyo & New York: United Nations University Press.

Mochizuki, Y. & Bryan, A. (2015). Climate change education in the context of Education for Sustainable Development: Rationale and principles. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development*, 9 (1), 4-26.

Osseiran, S. & Reardon, B. (1998). The United Nation's role in peace education. In C.F. Alger (Ed.), *The future of the United Nations system: Potential for the twenty-first century* (pp. 385-408). Tokyo & New York: United Nations University Press.

Roose, K. (2011, October 11). Wall Street Protests Inspire Ire Over Bank Recruiting. *New York Times.* Retrieved from http://dealbook.nytimes.com/2011/10/11/wall-street-protests-inspire-ire-over-bank-recruiting/

Selby, D. & Kagawa, F. (2011). Development education and education for sustainable development: Are they striking a Faustian bargain? *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, *12*, Spring, 15-31.

Stoczkowski, W. (2008). Claude Lévi-Strauss and UNESCO. *The UNESCO Courier, 5* (revised edition), 5-9. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001627/162711e.pdf

Torres, C.A. (2015). Global citizenship education: A new educational, pedagogical and political narrative in the world system?. *Blue Dot*, *1*, 8-13, New Delhi, India: UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development.

Trajber, R. & Mochizuki, Y. (2015). Climate change education for sustainability in Brazil: A status report. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development*, *9*(1), 44-61.

UN. (2015). *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* Retrieved from: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld

UN Secretary-General. (2012). *Education first: An initiative of the United Nation's secretary-general.* New York: United Nations.

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon. (2009). Plenary speech at World Economic Forum on "The Global Compact: Creating Sustainable Markets", Davos, Switzerland, 29 January 2009. Retrieved from: http://www.un.org/sg/STATEMENTS/index.asp?nid=3684

UN Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Global Sustainability. (2012). *Resilient people, resilient planet: A future worth choosing.* New York: United Nations.

UN Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda. (2012). *Realizing the future we want for all: Report to the Secretary General.* New York: United Nations.

UNESCO. (2005a). *The United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development Draft International Implementation Scheme.* Paris: UNESCO. Retrieved from: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001399/139937e.pdf

UNESCO. (2005b). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2006—Education for All: Literacy for life.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2006). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2007—Strong foundations: Early childhood care and education.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2007). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2008—Education for All by 2015 Will we make it?* Paris, France & Oxford, UK: UNESCO & Oxford University Press.

UNESCO. (2008a). *EFA-ESD dialogue: Educating for a sustainable world* (UNESCO Education for Sustainable Development Policy Dialogue No.1). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2008b). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2009—Overcoming inequality: Why governance matters.* Paris, France & Oxford, UK: UNESCO & Oxford University Press.

UNESCO. (2010). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010—Reaching the marginalized.* Paris, France & Oxford, UK: UNESCO & Oxford University Press.

UNESCO. (2011). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011—The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2012). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012—Youth and skills: Putting education to work*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2014). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2013/4—Teaching and learning: Achieving quality for all*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2015a). New report shows why 'business as usual' won't lead to universal primary or secondary education. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/en/gefi/stories-events/recent-stories/2015/new-report-shows-why-business-as-usual-wont-lead-to-universal-primary-or-secondary-education/

UNESCO. (2015b). *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and learning objectives.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2015c). *Not just hot air: Putting climate change education into practice.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2015d). *Education 2030 Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action: Towards inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning for all* (ED-2015/Education2030/1). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2015e). *Final report: Second UNESCO Forum on Global Citizenship Education: Building Peaceful and Sustainable Societies, UNESCO Paris, 28-30 January 2015.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO Institute for Statistics and UNICEF. (2015). Fixing the broken promise of Education for All: Findings from the global initiative on out-of-school children. Montreal: UIS. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.15220/978-92-9189-161-0-en

UNFCCC (UN Framework Convention on Climate Change) (2015, December 15). Historic Paris Agreement on Climate Change: 195 nations set path to keep temperature rise well below 2 degrees Celsius. UN Climate Change Newsroom, Retrieved from http://newsroom.unfccc.int/unfccc-newsroom/finale-cop21/

[1] For example, UNESCO interpreted the findings of the report *Fixing the Broken Promise of Education for All* (UNESCO Institute for Statistics and UNICEF, 2015) as showing "why 'business as usual' won't lead to universal primary or secondary education" (UNESCO, 2015a).

[2] This is partly due to the contested notion of "sustainable development" itself, but it lies beyond the scope of this article. In this article, "sustainable development" and "sustainability" are used interchangeably.

[3] Carlos Albert Torres supports GCED as a UNESCO Chair in Global Learning and Global Citizenship. See http://ampersand.gseis.ucla.edu/carlos-alberto-torres-appointed-inaugural-unesco-chair-in-global-learning-and-global-citizenship/

[4] Malala was often invoked as a model global citizen in various interventions made at the UNESCO Forums on GCED in Bangkok, Thailand (December 2013) and Paris, France (January 2015). Every two years UNESCO organizes a global forum on GCED bringing together key educational stakeholders to review trends and good practices in the field. The third forum is planned in March 2017 in Ottawa, Canada.

[5] UNESCO convened the International Conference on the Prevention of Violent Extremism in September 2016 in New Delhi, India, further to the adoption of UNESCO 197 EX/Decision 46 (October 2015) on "UNESCO's role in preventing violent extremism through education" and in line with the UN Secretary-General's Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism (A/70/674, December 2015).

[6] Over the past 40 years, the hope that a common global enemy of ecological threats would unite countries has been repeatedly defeated. In the lead up to Stockholm+20 or the UN Conference on Environment and Development (Rio Summit) in 1992, an initial goal to produce an Earth Charter to complement the UN Charter was defeated in the preparatory meetings. Twenty years later, at Rio+20 in 2012, the proposal by the European Union to upgrade the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) into a specialised agency, a World Environment Organization, was also defeated.