

**EDUCATIONAL THEORIES AND  
PRACTICES FROM THE MAJORITY WORLD**

**16**

**THE GLOBALIZATION OF SCHOOLING: MAJOR TRENDS AND  
ISSUES IN THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH**

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**I**n this text we will discuss the principle challenges facing schooling from an international perspective. In the first section we will provide certain essential benchmarks on the origins and evolution of formal schooling. In the next section we uncover what schooling in the 'North' and the 'South'<sup>1</sup> has in common. In the third section we will analyze the specificities of schooling in the South, how new ways of appropriating schooling are emerging throughout countries of the South and are contributing to the ongoing discussion on schooling. We continue by enumerating some consequences of globalization on educational systems, and the need to develop a new kind of education. We also draw attention to basic education as a fundamental human right, and discuss this shortly in relation to illegal migrants in Europe. We conclude with a section on intercultural education, which was first developed exclusively in the North in relation to multicultural classrooms, but would no doubt be relevant worldwide in relation to education for citizenship and for sustainable development.

**SCHOOLING: FROM COLONIZATION TO GLOBALIZATION**

One can partially agree with Reagan (2000: p. xiii) when he states, 'In all societies, throughout human history, people have educated

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their children. Indeed, one of the fundamental characteristics of human civilization is a concern for the preparation of the next generation. This point of view is debatable however, since he fails to make the important distinction between education, schooling and enculturation. Additionally he dismisses the particularity of formal schooling. As Vincent (1994) has asserted, formal schooling indicates a process of instituting, of effecting social rules through pedagogical practice. In French we can clearly see this process as teachers are referred to as *instituteurs*.

From a pedagogical viewpoint, formal schooling has several characteristics: The teaching is simultaneous and progressive. The teacher speaks to a class group and the school is organized in different grades. The unique status of written culture, the appearance of scholastic disciplines and teacher training institutions are also specific to the pedagogical orientation of formal schooling. The existence of formal schooling points to inclusions, exclusions and new equilibriums between the 'school as an institution' and 'society', between those who have been successful in school and those who have not.

Looking in greater detail at the historical emergence of formal schooling, it should be kept in mind that educational institutions have a much longer history than that of formal educational systems which first appeared in Europe in the second half of the 19th century. In fact, the history of educational institutions practically coincides with the history of humanity or at least with the appearance of the first human civilizations. These civilizations succeeded at domesticating certain plants through intensive agriculture and created cities and educational institutions closely linked with political and religious powers and involved only a small minority of individuals.

In Europe the close connection between religion and school continued until the 18th century where one saw the progressive removal of the Church as the sole purveyor of scholastic transmission. While the moral vision of the West was founded on Christianity for several centuries, the Enlightenment philosophy, allied with the nation-state, established that reason must be considered the foundation for the action of its citizens (Ruano-Borbalan, 2002). It is this growing distance between scholastic institutions and religion which made the spreading and the hegemony of formal schooling possible. At the same time, the emergence in the 17th century of a modern conception of childhood radically altered the position of children in society. Up to this time children joined the world of adults at an early age and their cognitive specificity was not taken into account (Ariès, 1960).

The European and North American educational systems established during the second half of the 19th century represent a radical break in the history of education. The modern school institution, founded by the promulgation of compulsory schooling, is characterized by four factors. First, it is closely connected with the development of the State and of industrialization. In other words, the educational system becomes a base for the new relationship between the individual and the political or economical authority. Second, the educational system has a universal vocation. This means, on the one hand, that it is intended for all children regardless of their social background, and on the other, that it is the guarantor of a scientific knowledge with universal intentions. Third, the development of the school coincided with the emergence of childhood and adolescence as specific periods in the life of an individual. Finally, the rise of European educational systems is intimately linked with the formation of nation-states that are generally monolingual. As an institutional phenomenon, formal schooling appears in the contemporary world as the strong-arm of the nation-state (Boli et al., 1985).

Taken together these factors lead us, in short, to an ambiguous or ambivalent scholastic institution. In one way, this institution unites prospective citizens in the same space and puts them in contact with the same knowledge, at least, during primary school. It introduces them to the world outside of the family circle. At the same time, it may be oppressive to some of these same future citizens, since it is primarily at the service of one nation, one culture and mostly, one language. Thus it is not surprising that the rise of formal schooling coincided with the peak of colonization. The colonial domination was widely accompanied by the introduction of formal schooling following the European model. It should be noted, however, that the indigenous and colonized population always received schooling in small amounts and of poor quality. Nevertheless, their contact with formal schooling led them to make demands for their rights and to desire freedom from the colonial yoke. The process of decolonization, begun in Latin America, continued in Asia and finally achieved in Africa, did not give rise to a challenge to European-styled schooling. On the contrary, the countries of the South entered a global race to catch up with European norms. The economic globalization of the past years has sped up this scholastic race as the competitiveness between

nations is measured, rightly or wrongly, by the effectiveness and efficiency of their educational systems.

### Globalization of schooling

Since the middle of the 19th century we have seen an unprecedented development of schooling. Statistics established by international organizations show a similar progression in the North and the South, with a gap of several decades which varies according to the regions of the South. Overall we can identify four principal periods which have led to the current globalization of schooling.

#### *The emergence of formal schooling*

The first stage, which occurred between the years 1850 and 1900, saw the beginnings of unified educational systems in Europe and North America. The most rapid development of formal schooling occurred in the Protestant nations of northern Europe. The goal of this intensive schooling was double; on the one hand it was meant to bring literacy to the entire adult population and on the other it was meant to facilitate the participation of the citizens in political life. In the colonized countries in the South this period corresponds with the first contacts with formal schooling. Overall this contact was very destructive for these societies. In Asia, Africa, and the Arab world, various forms of education were well-established prior to contact with the West. As documented in several chapters of this volume, indigenous, non-Western schools (for example, Koranic, pagoda, temple and native schools) had existed for generations, albeit with enrolments usually limited to young boys. These forms of indigenous education, mostly oriented towards inculcating religious and traditional cultural knowledge and ideals, were transformed, assimilated or destroyed as they came into contact with European school models introduced by missionary groups or colonial authorities (UNESCO, 2005: 194).

As different authors have shown (for example, Marín, this volume), the leitmotif of the colonial conquest of the South was to civilize the natives, to evangelize (where possible) and to provide formal education. Schooling and colonial control are thus intimately connected. However, it should be kept in mind that formal schooling has many advantages compared to other forms of learning: it can be universalized, leads to the dissemination of the written culture and

to the possible exercise of citizenship, even if the indigenous population was generally excluded from this.

#### *The generalization of primary education in the North and the beginning of school systems in the South*

The second period, which took place between 1900 and 1950, saw the generalization of primary schooling throughout Europe and North America. For the first time ever, two or three successive generations of adults had been taught to read. This produced a genuine socio-cultural revolution in the West. Schooling became a key element in social mobility and sped up the process of urbanization and the abandonment of traditional values. During this time formal schooling expanded to some degree in the South, but the attendance rates remained small and the quality remained inferior compared to schools attended by Europeans. Furthermore, the natives who would later challenge European colonial domination were in contact with this colonial schooling. One need only think of leaders like Gandhi or Nyerere.

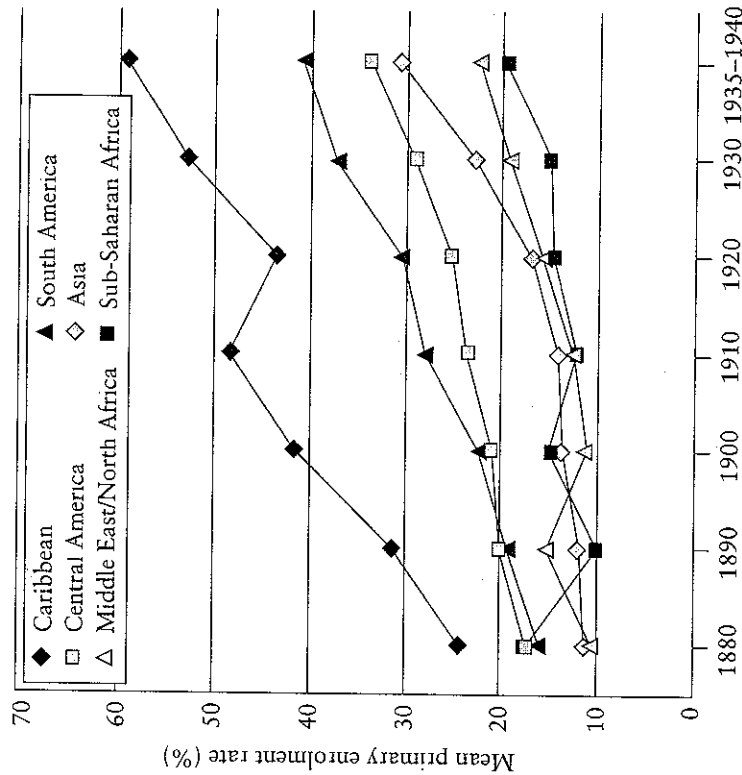
Figure 16.1 presents regional estimates of primary enrolment rates from 1880 to 1935–40. In South and Central America, about two out of ten school-age children attended school in 1880, whereas three to four out of ten did so by 1940. Increases in enrolment rates during this period were even greater in the Caribbean (from 24 per cent to 59 per cent), especially in British colonies. In Africa, Asia and the Middle East, where colonial rule predominated, the pace of primary school expansion was slow (UNESCO, 2005).

#### *Mass dissemination of secondary education in the North and of basic education in the South*

The third period corresponds with the mass dissemination of secondary education in the North from 1950 to 2000. Fuelled by the economic growth following the Second World War, the school systems of Europe and North America made the expansion of secondary schooling the priority during this period.

In the newly independent nations in the South, this period corresponds with the mass dissemination of basic education. Nowhere was this tendency avoided. Demographic pressure clearly led to an increase in the number of students per class and to an ad hoc training of teachers, but it is also clear that basic education became a priority for governments and international organizations.

Figure 16.1 Mean unadjusted primary enrolment rates in developing regions, 1880 to 1935-40



Source: Benavot and Riddle (1988).

Kim (2005) analyzed under what conditions nation-states are likely to construct modern education systems embracing educational ministries and laws over two centuries 1800-2000. He found that more than 80 per cent of contemporary nation-states have founded educational ministries and compulsory education laws over the past two centuries. Kim (2005) suggested going beyond the current explanations for the formation and expansion of national education systems focusing on functional needs of modern schooling for economic development or social progress. First, he argued, that the expanded world culture (for example, a worldwide emphasis on education) enhances the founding rates of educational ministries and laws. Second, he suggested that newly independent countries are

more likely to adopt world models of educational systems. Third, he argued that nation-states that have conformed to world culture tend to incorporate world models of educational systems.

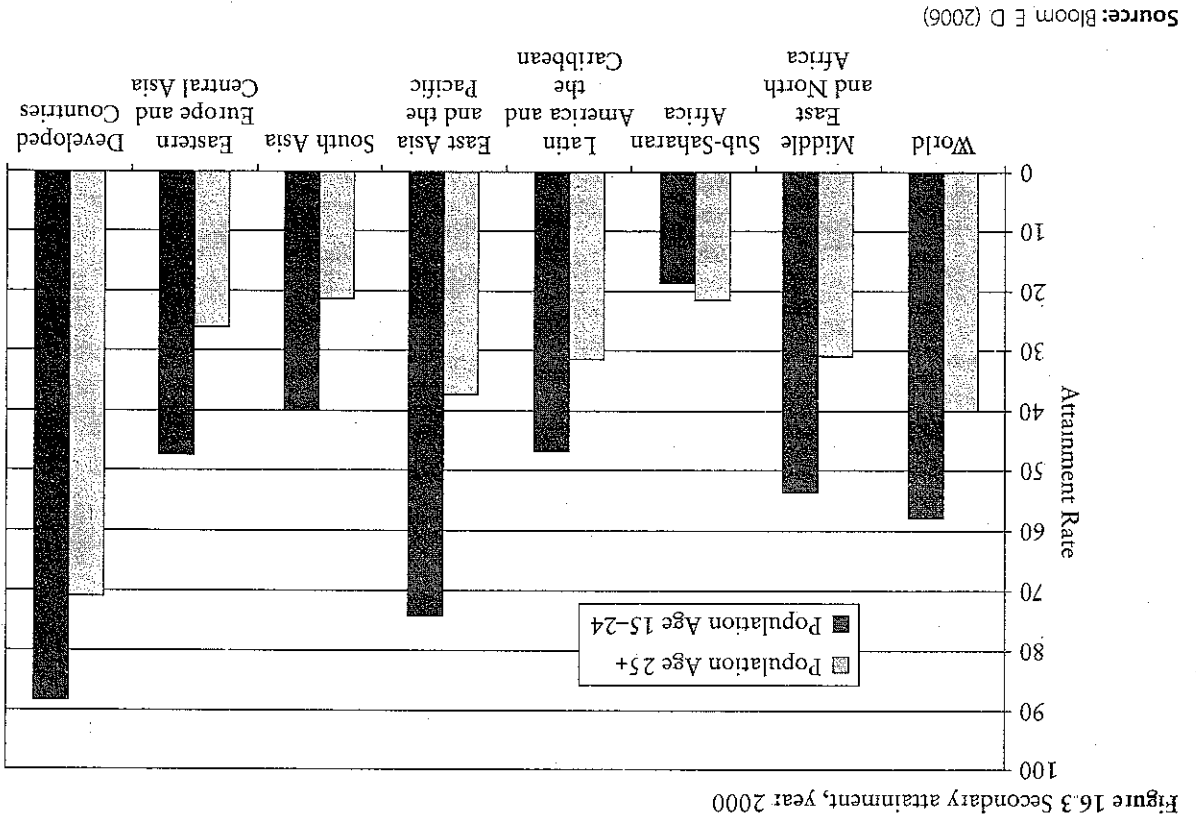
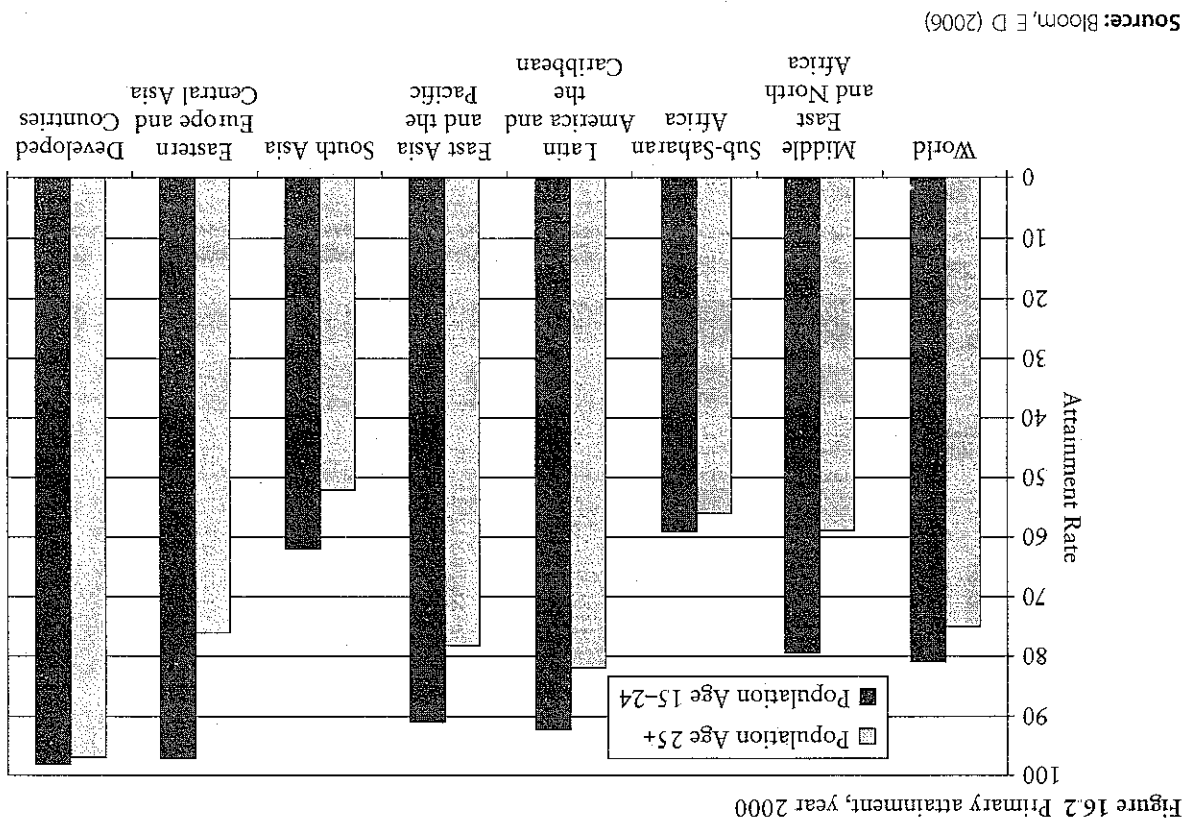
#### *Mass dissemination of higher education in the North and of secondary education in the South*

Around the year 2000 a new scholastic impulsion began taking place in the North. In many nations, between 50 and 75 per cent of all students continue their schooling beyond the secondary level (see Figures 16.2 and 16.3). The emergence of the information society has pushed many governments to facilitate university access in order to maintain economic competitiveness. In the South, particularly in South-east Asia and Latin America, a genuine mass dissemination of secondary education has been initiated. This is all the more important since a demographic transition has begun in many newly industrialized nations.

Considered across these four periods we can observe that by the beginning of the 21st century the convergence between the education system of the North and that of the South has produced a genuine globalization of schooling. The consequences of this mass schooling have been well analyzed by empirical research. As pointed out by Hannum and Buchmann (2003), substantial research attests to both the health and demographic benefits of improved educational composition. Countries with better-educated citizens tend to have healthier populations, as educated individuals make more informed health choices, live longer, and have healthier children. In addition, the populations of countries with more educated citizens tend to grow more slowly, as educated people are able to lower their fertility.

According to UNESCO (2005),

The single most significant factor influencing the spread of literacy worldwide over the past two centuries has been the expansion of formal schooling. Schools have been, and continue to be, the sites in which most people acquire their core literacy skills... There have been, however, historical exceptions to this pattern. During the seventeenth century, in certain Nordic countries, German principalities and North American colonies, the Protestant Churches supported the compulsory education (not schooling) of children to ensure the piety of families. Out of religious conviction, parents saw to it that their children learned to read and write at home (with or without a tutor) and in church. Here the historical transition to widespread literacy pre-dated the consolidation of state school systems. (p. 194)



This quantitative and qualitative apogee of formal schooling paradoxically corresponds with its being called into question both in the North and in the South. While we are still far from the deschooling prophesized by Illich (1976), many voices are calling for a serious review of the school utopia. The knowledge imparted by the school is often the target of severe criticism.

### Shared challenges and the specificities of schooling in the South

In this section we first analyze the current challenges facing schooling and then we concentrate on the specificities of the present situation in the South.

Continuing inequalities make up the most obvious challenge in the current educational systems both in the North and in the South. First, unequal access to school can be linked to many situations. In the first place is the social category of the students. No matter what educational system is being analyzed, underprivileged social groups face greater difficulties in accessing different levels of the school system. Second, one must look at gender inequalities. Overall, girls have a harder time remaining in school, especially in the South. However, in some countries, sexual equality in terms of access has been achieved (see Figure 16.4). Third, being a migrant or belonging to an ethnic minority greatly handicaps school access. Last, unequal access appears to be connected with territoriality. Rural regions in the South and underprivileged urban zones have numerous difficulties in terms of school access.

Inequality in school achievement according to social position is another challenge shared by both North and South. Two periods in the treatment of achievement inequalities in formal schooling can be pointed out. The first period corresponds with the strongly divided structure of educational systems in the 1950s and 1960s. In this structure, students experiencing difficulties would directly enter the labour market or vocational training following primary school. Successful students would continue to secondary school and university. This led Beaudelot and Estabiet (1975: 9) to state, 'whatever takes place in school, including primary school, can fully be explained by what occurs outside of school, that is to say by the capitalistic division of labour'.

In the 1970s and 1980s a second period began as the question of unequal achievement replaced unequal access. School systems began

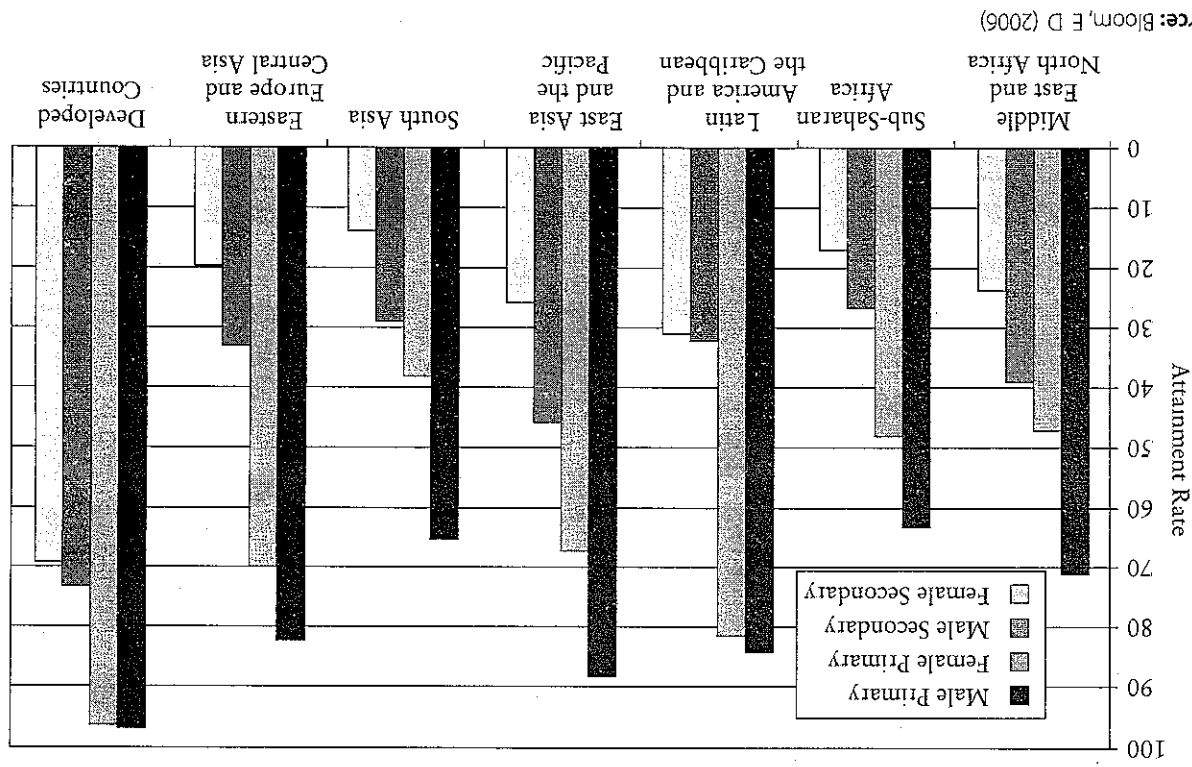


Figure 16.4 Gender disparity in primary and secondary attainment (population: age 25+, year 2000)

to decompartmentalize the curriculum and to keep unsuccessful students within the school. Unequal achievement remained, but was hidden by keeping excluded students within the system (Bourdieu and Champagne, 1993). The increase in core and optional subjects allowed the educational system to present the illusion of equality while carrying out a subtle selection. While some parents turned to private schools to better position their children, others used strategies of enrolling their child in another school district or of disputing the policy of ethnic co-education.

Despite the fact that the small amount of research makes a full comparative analysis impossible, it would appear, according to Duru-Bellat (2004), that educational policies have a much harder time at reducing qualitative inequalities than quantitative ones. Worldwide, school inequalities are no longer seen in terms of access, at least at the primary level, but more in terms of achievement inequalities. These are either of a quantitative order: students from modest backgrounds are gradually excluded as the school level increases because they are unable to meet the requirements; or of a qualitative order: these students are oriented towards subjects seen to be less prestigious and less demanding. For Duru-Bellat (2004, 2006), equal opportunities in the school are simply one aspect of social justice. They make sense only in a society that strives towards equality (between families, between social positions and in access to employment). One cannot remove all responsibility from the school, but the task would appear easier if students were to come to school on a more equal standing.

All of the nations of the South experience the school inequalities enumerated above, however it would be important to study in detail the specificities of their current educational situation. This situation is marked by two major characteristics: the sensitivity to the demands made by international organizations and the rise of educational networks of varying quality (for example, high quality for those with the resources and poor quality for those without).

Since the end of the Second World War, the United Nations have put different international organizations in place. Up until the 1980s, UNESCO and UNICEF played major roles in the orientation of the educational policies of the South. They primarily concentrated their efforts on questions of school access and infrastructure. However, since the World Conference on Education for All, in Jomtien in 1990, the World Bank has extended an increasingly greater influence on

educational policies in conceptual and financial terms. In the five years after this conference, the number of projects supporting primary education roughly doubled and commitments more than tripled. Primary education commitments rose in all regions, most noticeably in Latin America and the Caribbean, South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2006).

Bilateral aid by state agencies of cooperation towards basic education has practically tripled between 1998 and 2003, but this still represents less than 2 per cent of all bilateral aid. In this respect we note a strong dependence on international aid by Sub-Saharan African educational systems. Regarding World Bank policy, we remark that certain propositions appear quite adequate, such as the one that would reorient state resources earmarked for higher education towards basic education. Other propositions appear debatable, such as the greater priority given to textbooks rather than to teacher salaries. The encouragement of private education in the South has also contributed to the constitution of educational systems of varying speeds. National and international non-governmental organizations cannot replace the State in the structuring of public formal schooling.

In the North, the internationalization of educational policies has occurred through the increasing role of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and of the European Union. This can easily be noticed with the implementation of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) survey, and also in the harmonization of European university systems following the Bologna reform. This internationalization and standardization of educational policies is extremely troubling for the South. In the North, even if the attendance rate in private schools is often high in primary and secondary education in countries like Spain, France and the United Kingdom, it cannot be said that the private network holds a monopoly on the reproduction of the elite. This would, however, seem to be the case in many regions of the South. Educating one's child in a public school means that this child will have no possibility of continuing beyond basic education. Even public school teachers place their children in private schools. Public schools generally use the national language as the medium of instruction, while private schools make exclusive use of European languages, primarily English.

*Diverse ways of appropriating formal schooling in the South and the necessity of bringing schools up-to-date*

The shared challenges analyzed above prompt us to describe some innovations that can be seen as alternatives to traditional schooling. We shall discuss community schools in Africa as well as the educational initiatives of landless farmers in Brazil. Even if these experiments remain marginal in terms of the numbers of children concerned, they provide an important direction for rethinking formal schooling.

In Africa, confronted by the structural weakness of the State action concerning education, local communities in many countries have come up with novel ways of schooling which lie between traditional public schooling and, for profit-based, private schooling. As a colonial legacy, formal schooling had been restricted to the use of the European model. Martin (2003) considers that the use of this model in Sub-Saharan Africa, with its functional and utilitarian mission, confined the school to defined social positions, inside of which the link between education and public administrative employment was easily maintained. The nature of this employment and the exclusive use of the colonial language in the school marked its urban orientation and thus reinforced the split with the rural world and the languages used there.

Martin (2003) uses the term 'spontaneous schools' to indicate all educational structures coming from parental, communal or associative initiatives, clearly differentiating them from other structures coming from private, for-profit initiatives. In Mali, the success of the community school formula makes them an essential element of the national educational system. They have the same six-year structure and the same pedagogical objectives as fundamental public schooling. This was not always the case, since, initially these schools were for three or four years, instruction occurred only in the local language and the objectives were often quite different. A similar growth of spontaneous schools in the educational system can also be seen in other African countries, such as Chad. This growth points to the emancipation of local communities from the State and also shows the limitations encountered when increasing and diversifying the educational field.

These spontaneous schools represent the expression of social strategies of both reproduction and innovation. Coming from different

social groups, they also constitute the dynamics of a long course of social history, a reproduction of each of these groups, but not without connection with the changes in the global society and in the economic field; they appear within societal projects (Lange and Martin, 1995).

In Brazil, the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) put into place a community educational network characterized by the complete interweaving between community and school life. An indisputable reference in Brazil and throughout Latin America, the MST is one of the most dynamic social participants of the Third World. Some twenty years after its inception and despite the repression against it (assassinated and imprisoned activists, defamation in the media, persecutions of all kinds), today it represents a real force in Brazilian political life. Since the socio-political struggle for the occupation of land is at the heart of the movement, the school became a place of political socialization of the children. Over 200,000 children, whose parents are members of the MST, receive primary instruction in public schools, run by town councils or by the State, which have been opened in rural communities after obtaining land or even in temporary encampments. The MST advocates the idea of an itinerant school: as soon as an encampment materializes, a school is immediately created. If the people move on, the school follows. As soon as the MST occupies land, the school is often the first tent installed. These schools use a pedagogy nourished by the concepts of Paulo Freire, defender of a liberating popular education.

*The influence of globalization on formal schooling*

We have seen that historically, educational systems were conceived as an apparatus of the nation-state. The current economic globalization changes everything in that the authority of the nation-state on the economy is weakened and in that international organizations and companies exercise a growing influence of the development of educational systems. We will quickly describe a few of the principle influences of globalization on schooling (see also Marin, this volume).

First of all, globalization necessitates a redefinition of the role of the State in schooling. If international tendencies reflect a reduction in the role of the State in the financing and management of the educational system, they also show an increase in State prerogatives in terms of control, accreditation, and the evaluation of the system.



Second, globalization pushes educational systems to compare themselves both in terms of structure and of student achievement. Witness the euphoria of certain education ministers and the embarrassment of others on the day of the publication of the results of the PISA survey!

Third, globalization leads to a new debate on the content of schooling. The comparison between systems brings about changes in the school curriculum. The gap between the historical monocultural hegemony of the system and the diversity of cultural identities of the students displays an unprecedented, *de facto* multiculturalism in the majority of educational systems. How should this be dealt with? The question of the language of instruction is also a key issue in educational policy. Globalization also means that public education is another market to be conquered, especially regarding information and communication technologies.

As Arnove and Torres (1999) show, globalization implies a complex set of processes. And these operate in a contradictory or oppositional fashion. Most people think of it as simply 'pulling away' power or influence from local communities and nations into the global arena. Nations do lose some of the economic power they once had. However, it also has an opposite effect. Globalization not only pulls upwards, it pushes downwards, creating new pressures for local autonomy.

One historical process that comes with globalization is the disengagement of the State in favour of the economy. This means that the most important decisions regarding the economic, social, cultural, and educational future of the planet are no longer taken by (supposedly) democratically elected governments, but are mainly in the hands of multinational corporations and international agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization. The democratic sectors and civil society are being set aside (Hallak, 1998).

Even though nation-states have been weakened by neoliberalism and the ideology of privatization; they continue to impose—as Marín has shown in the previous chapter—policies of assimilation or of exclusion. To take the example of Switzerland, despite its model of federalism, it is only the internal linguistic diversity (the four language regions that make up the country) that is acknowledged, and not at all the diversity brought by migrants. Hence, the study of migration policies reveals many aspects of current social policies, including those on education.

Another main issue is environment. The myth of progress, of development, of continuous economic growth, carried by Western hegemony and globalization, are in direct confrontation with ecology, made prominent by the current debate over global warming. In the Western cosmology, the ecological dimension is absent, which explains the current confrontation between the economy and the conservation of nature. We now have to take ecology into account for all spheres of human thinking and activity (Costa, 2000; Kizerbo, 1992; Marín, 1996). Western cosmology is based on a rational division of time and is hence led by productivity and profit, without taking the spatial dimension—so important to traditional cultures—into account, where nature or the environment are of prime importance.

Schooling has been the vector for imposing this Western conception, favouring the written word over oral transmission, and despising traditional knowledge, which has led to sacrificing an enormous collective cultural patrimony. The official knowledge institutionalized by the dominant school culture constitutes only a small part of the world's knowledge. The wealth of daily knowledge included in traditional education has been excluded by the institutions of the dominant, official culture imposed by Western hegemony (Dasen, this volume).

One problem is that Western culture is now seen as universal. It is from this viewpoint that other ways of living and of seeing the world are considered as inferior and retarded, and hence it is up to the 'others' to catch up with the Western world. In other words, cultural evolutionism is still with us.

If education has been part of the problem, it can also be part of the solution. It is no doubt through education that we can retain some hope of finding answers to the various problems created by globalization. Therefore, education has to be seen and reaffirmed as a basic human right, not only of every child, but of every human being. Unfortunately, despite the rhetoric of international organizations, this is far from being the case today.

#### BASIC EDUCATION AS A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT

Basic education was recognized as a fundamental human right at a World Conference on Education held in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990.

Ten years later, the World Education Forum held in Dakar (UNESCO, 2001) took stock, and had to admit that, despite some progress, the Jomtien objectives had not been met. In the year 2000, 113 million children still did not have access to primary education (60 per cent of these being girls) and 875 million adults were still illiterate (65 per cent of women), these figures pointing to a strong gender discrimination (cf. UNESCO, 2003: 25). Furthermore, it was recognized that the push towards education for all brought with it an emphasis on quantity rather than quality. Hence, in its 'Dakar framework for action' (UNESCO, 2001: 1), the Forum included the following statement:

We re-affirm the vision of the World Declaration on Education for All (Jomtien 1990), supported by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, that all children, young people and adults have the human right to benefit from an education that will meet their basic learning needs in the best and fullest sense of the term, an education that includes learning to know, to do, to live together and to be. It is an education geared to tapping each individual's talents and potential, and developing learners' personalities, so that they can improve their lives and transform their societies.

'Learning to live together' was later taken up as the main theme of the 46th International Conference on Education held at the International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva in 2001. Its final report (UNESCO, 2003: 15-17) starts with an interesting list of the paradoxes brought about by globalization. For example, the fact, that the world has never produced more wealth and more scientific and technological knowledge, has never had a greater facility to exchange ideas and to get to know one another, yet at the same time the gap between the rich and the poor, between those who have access to information (for example, through the internet) and those who do not is becoming wider. Also, globalization, which is in principle synonymous with open-mindedness, threatens the world with cultural uniformity, which in turn threatens cultural diversity. The people have therefore the tendency to withdraw into their identity and their nationality, which has as inevitable consequences more intolerance and the rejection of other cultures (UNESCO, 2003: 16, our translation).

In relation to these paradoxes, there is the temptation either to see education as a panacea ('Education, and education alone, could

bring about the solution. A better education for all, and the world is saved!'), or to be completely discouraged: 'In this respect, education for all to learn to live together is a hypocritical pretension. How could one, for example, teach 'how to live together' to those who have much more than what they need and to those who have not even enough to survive?' (UNESCO, 2003: 17).<sup>3</sup> The mid-way solution is to re-think education as part of a new social order, one sustaining the values of solidarity, of living together in peace and respect individual and collective rights.

Marin and Dasen (2007: 316-18) have listed a series of conditions and suggestions for developing a new value system through education. In summary, these are the following:

1. Promote the right to an education of high quality, but refuse to set goals determined only by the economy. Education (just like health and other basic public services) should not be governed by the market and by competition. Hence, contrary to recommendations by the Bretton Woods institutions, education should not be privatized, but should remain a public good.
2. This implies that the goals of education are open to democratic debate, and are decided at the political, not the economic level.
3. Promote educational systems that are more egalitarian.
4. Promote education from an intercultural perspective, fostering the understanding of cultural diversity, of various systems of religious beliefs, and the preservation of biodiversity.
5. Promote an education that develops awareness of the socio-economic and cultural changes linked to globalization.
6. Promote an education that gives a global perspective, one which fosters the understanding of the complex relationships between the local, regional, and worldwide levels.
7. Think of education within a larger political debate, fighting neoliberal attacks against public service.
8. Think of an education producing new guidelines and values, those of solidarity, co-operation, complementarity, and the sharing of common projects.
9. Individualism as a paradigm to reach success through competition, profitability, pragmatism, and utilitarian social relationships should no longer be promoted by schooling.
10. Promote an education in which being is more important than having, for active social and political participation within the framework of a participative democracy.

in which the trainees spend four days a week with a master on the job, and one day in school. Apprenticeship is considered to be part of labour, and not part of education, and labour laws continue to be very restrictive. Hence illegal migrants aged 15 may continue to attend school, which is often rather inadequate to their aspirations, but are unable to enter professional training (Cattaf-Maurer et al., 1998).

We have mentioned this particular case study from our home area just to show that education (which, we think, should include professional training) as a basic human right is not such an obvious achievement, not even in one of the richest countries in the North. And it is part of the political debate, which, in the 'fortress Europe', is not taking the route of hospitality and open-mindedness (Caloz-Tschopp and Dasen, 2007). May be it is time that the North should hear of examples where countries in the South are in fact more generous despite lesser means.

#### INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

It is interesting to note that 'learning to live together' is becoming a theme of discussion at the level of international organizations such as UNESCO, and in particular at the IBE international meeting of ministers of education mentioned earlier. For many years, intercultural education, as a topic of educational research, curriculum development and teacher training, has been confined to countries of the North. At the beginning, in the 1960's, it was linked, mainly in the United States, to the fight for civil rights (Akkari, 2000), and in the 1970's and 1980's to the 'problems' of dealing with immigration and classrooms that were becoming multicultural (Allemann-Ghionda, 1995, 2001). The solution was to implement compensatory measures, seeking to assimilate the newcomers as quickly as possible. For example in the German speaking part of Switzerland, this innovation was labelled 'Ausländerpädagogik', that is, pedagogy for strangers. Later, with a sort of pendulum movement away from the initial ethnocentrism, what was advocated was an intercultural education based on cultural relativism and even anti-racism, accepting and respecting cultural differences, with the inherent risk of labelling and freezing cultural identities. The advantage of this movement was that it was destined for the whole classroom: an intercultural education

11. Promote an education based on dialogue, on the recognition of diversity as well as a common belonging, on learning to listen to others as the first condition to sharing our knowledge.
12. Education should promote autonomous critical thinking as well as imagination; it should be liberating.

As an example of a similar 'world platform of struggles' emanating from the so-called civil society, Marin and Dasen (2007) quote the World Education Forum (2004), linked to the World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre in 2004, with the motto 'if another world is possible then another education is necessary'.

#### Education as a basic right for migrants

In the rich countries of the North, where a compulsory and free basic education is fully implemented for all citizens, there is one segment of the population for which this right is not always guaranteed: migrants, and especially 'illegal' migrants. Switzerland, for many years, had a restrictive policy for seasonal migrant workers, who were not allowed to come with their families. Of course, after some years of living nine months at a time, away from their partners and children, many of these workers brought their families along illegally. Very often, the children were not sent to school, sometimes they were even hidden away inside dwellings, without any social contact outside the family, all this leading to quite difficult developmental circumstances and often to psychological problems. In Geneva, in the 1980's, an 'illegal school' was set up, with voluntary and unpaid teachers, accepting these children for a few hours a day. The existence of this school was well known to educational authorities, who even supplied teaching materials. Many parents, however, were suspicious, fearing police intervention. This story was told in a book by Perregaux and Togni (1989), who also argued that the international convention of children's rights should have precedence over national laws concerning labour and migration, and they ended up winning their case. Hence, it is only since the early 1990's that schooling has become a basic right in Geneva, and subsequently in most of Switzerland.

The problem remains that the right to schooling is not extended to the right to professional training. In Switzerland, most of the professional training is carried out in a system called 'dual apprenticeship',

valuing cultural diversity could even be envisaged in a completely homogeneous school. Currently the pendulum seems to be swinging back, with a mid-line position advocating a pedagogical centring on the individual child, and new interests in broader 'citizenship education' or 'education for sustainable development' that often include elements of the previous intercultural education.

Whatever these historical fads in intercultural education may have been and still are, one thing was sure: they were of interest only in the North, a sort of luxury linked to being a rich country attracting a foreign labour force. In educational research and debate regarding the 'majority world', until very recently, cultural diversity in the classroom and school was not really dealt with, except possibly in terms of discussions around the choice of the language of instruction, or the schooling of indigenous minorities (cf. Gajardo et al., Mishra, Teasdale, in this volume). This is quite surprising, as if countries of the South were less multicultural than those of the North, as though the majority of the migrants were not taking place among 'majority world' countries themselves.

There is therefore quite an important scope for developing an appropriate intercultural education throughout the world, taking the achievements but also the mistakes made in the North into account, but searching for implementations that take the local complexities into account. Links to 'citizenship education' and 'sustainable development' are certainly vectors to be taken seriously.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter shows the importance of a historic analysis of formal schooling using a North-South perspective. The impact of an ever-expanding globalization is one of the most promising challenges facing research in comparative and international education. Paradoxically, globalization has attracted many researchers to the field of comparative and international education, but at the same time has necessitated a questioning of classical analytical frameworks. Comparative education, the educational research most interested in the situation in the South, can greatly contribute to this questioning process on the condition that it remains sensitive to culture and context (Crossley, 2002).

At the heart of this debate one finds the question of the place of the nation-state in educational policy. Global forces and tendencies change the role and status of the state (World Bank and international organizations). What is interesting is to look at what the South can add to the debate. We are witnessing different effects and mechanisms of the internationalization of educational policies. The South, as shown by the example of spontaneous schools in Africa and community schools of the MST in South America, is restoring the influence of the 'local' level and is reintroducing a political dimension in pedagogy, which had been brushed aside in the North by a technical, apolitical, and instrumental impetus over fifty years ago.

As Charlot (2003) asserts, one must understand that today humanity has the following options:

1. Defend the *status quo*, where everyone organizes things for him or herself, looks after his or her own interests, without worrying much about what is going on elsewhere and where inequalities persist.
2. Accept the neoliberal globalization, which is not really global after all, and in some ways could be seen as the opposite of a true globalization. What currently exists is not a worldwide space but a collection of networks maintaining different flows (of capital, of information, of populations). Places that are unable to find a function in these articulated networks are plundered or abandoned to themselves, the symbol of this abandonment currently being the African continent. Globalization is not going global, but is constructing networks of power and abandoning parts of the world that are found useless. This globalization accentuates inequalities, especially by creating educational networks of varying qualities.
3. Mobilize in order to construct a world of solidarity, a real globalization with a new type of formal schooling where everyone has the same opportunities.

Which of these options will finally prevail? The third one may be utopian, but we remain enthusiastic optimists. In the meantime, we hope this book will have contributed to a small extent in fostering both interest and understanding of cultural diversity in educational theories and practices.

## NOTES

1. As we have remarked in the introduction, in French 'South' is the current and politically correct way to speak of 'the Third World' or

- of 'developing countries'. The term has a metaphorical meaning as a euphemism for poorer countries, and is sometimes applied also to underprivileged segments of the population in rich countries (the 'North').
- The last part of the current chapter also draws heavily on a paper (in French) by Marín and Dasen (2007).
  - It is quite refreshing to find such open language and critical thinking in international documents.

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