Equity, social cohesion and relevance in higher education: The origin of the categories in a 21st-century glossary for higher education in Latin America

2 authors, including:

Judith Naidorf
University of Buenos Aires
43 PUBLICATIONS   **121** CITATIONS

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

RIAIPE View project

Modos colectivos de producción de conocimiento en Universidades Públicas Estatales. RESIEDU View project

European and Latin American Higher Education Between Mirrors

Conceptual Frameworks and Policies of Equity and Social Cohesion

António Teodoro and
Manuela Guilherme (Eds.)

*Sense*Publishers

European and Latin American Higher Education
Between Mirrors

European and Latin American Higher Education Between Mirrors

Edited by

António Teodoro and Manuela Guilherme
Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias,
Lisboa, Portugal

Printed on acid-free paper

CONTENTS

ANTÓNIO TEODORO & MANUELA GUILHERME

INTRODUCTION

Higher education systems all over the world have gone through deep transformation and extraordinary expansion, mainly since the second half of the 20th century. One of the main causes of such change was the greater relevance awarded to scientific research, and the acknowledgement of the importance of a qualified workforce for the production of wealth in society, on which both the welfare state and civic security depend. Competition, which has become more and more globalized, requires a continuous stream of knowledge that can immediately be put into practice, making the cycle of technological innovation increasingly shorter in almost every area of production, and society at large.

Higher education, with its focus on social change as well as economic and social problems, has pushed the boundaries higher and created higher expectations, and has, therefore, gained recognition as one of the strategic priorities for national and global development. It is now widely accepted that economic and social progress requires a more highly educated population and that socio-economic growth (and as a result, the labor market) needs alternative training models that develop flexibility, agility and facilitate fast integration in a system of production in permanent change (Santiago, Tremblay, Basri & Arnal, 2008).

These new expectations for pedagogical training clash with rigid, and in some cases, undifferentiated, higher education models and patterns. Higher education programs have become shorter and more intensive, which has brought changes to curriculum design, both in what is considered "knowledge" and in its application to actual social problems, as related to the development of leadership capacities and multiple skilled training, as well as greater adaptability to ICT and the communication environment. The impact of such new methodologies on higher education institutions has been perceived and questioned in various ways in different countries, due to their own particular placement in the world, their education systems, their educational hierarchies, and their capacity to respond to pressure, to mobilize their resources, and to implement relevant policies. However, these new expectations also reveal common features and problems, and facilitate a global agenda.

In Europe, major transformations in higher education took place during the first decade of the 21st century and resulted mainly from the implementation of the so-called "Bologna Process." The main goal was to establish a European higher education paradigm that allowed an increase in international competitiveness, attractiveness, and similarity among other European higher education systems. For

that purpose, several objectives were settled: (a) the creation of easily readable and comparable degree systems; (b) the establishment of a transferable system of credits; (c) the promotion of professor, researcher and student mobility; and, (d) the creation of quality assurance systems in accordance with European recommendations and guidelines. Evaluation of results of the Bologna Process has largely depended upon the evaluator's perspective. At the political level, it is easy to conclude that the Bologna Process has been successful, since it has allowed greater integration and harmonization between the various education systems of the 46 participating countries. However, at the institutional and local level, the response is less enthusiastic, due to the great variety of contexts involved. On the one hand, the goal of greater competitiveness and the ability to attract students to European universities still needs a closer look, from an empirical point of view. On the other hand, various studies have been critical of the procedures adopted, and how they play out in different national contexts. The Educational Research Journal, for example, titles its special issue on the Bologna Process as *Help or Hindrance to the Development of European Higher Education?* (vol. 9(1), 2010), and the editors put forward the following question: "How much can we actually talk about a *European* higher education?" (Ursin, Zamorski, Stiwne, Teelken, Whilborg, 2010: 30).

In addition, the final stage of the Bologna Process in the early 2010s coincided with the debt crises in southern European countries (Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy), as well as Ireland, United Kingdom, Slovakia, Netherlands, and even France. This crisis has led to austerity policies that have had a tremendous impact on higher education policies. In the United Kingdom, the Cameron conservative government raised university tuition to a very high level, making it increasingly difficult for lower-income groups to attend. In Greece, the external interference of international creditors represented by a troika – European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund – forced the dismissal of thousands of university professors and researchers, and a contingency budget, that eliminated most of the basic services of the universities. In Portugal and Spain, the radical cuts in university budgets have placed their basic functioning in jeopardy, and has led to unprecedented regression in research and development. The idea of a united and solidary European construct, comprised of different peoples, which was historically rich and culturally diverse, has suffered serious setbacks due to a national selfishness and a domination of the strong over the weak. Europe has become the world laboratory of neoliberal experiment, viewed through an ordoliberal lens, which has resulted in the self-inflicted financial crisis of 2008.

In Latin America, timing was different. It is important to note that this was the first region where neoliberal policies were put in place, after Pinochet's military coup in Chile in 1973, which overthrew Allende's legitimate government. Later, in 1980, as a consequence of the external debt crisis in various countries (Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, and other smaller countries of less economic relevance), the World Bank and the IMF intervened under the terms stated in their "letters of intent," intended to restructure their economies and reduce their fiscal deficit in line with the

traditional orthodoxy of those institutions: currency devaluation, privatization of public companies, removal of customs barriers, and a reduction of public spending in education, health and housing. As far as education was concerned, such policies resulted in the privatization of education services, mainly in higher education, greater decentralization, and changes in assessment and accountability (Arnove, Franz & Torres, 2013; Gazzola & Didriksson, 2008).

Several authors described the end of the 20th century in Latin America as the "lost decades" (see, for example, Didriksson, 2008): a long period of economic stagnation (and, in some cases, contraction) with intense decrease of per capita revenue, increase of social inequality, and a profound reduction of public resources that had previously been intended for universities and other higher education institutions. At the same time, there was an increased privatization of basic and secondary education, students increasingly began visiting other countries to study, higher education in various countries began to attract more foreign students, and, once universities were sold, a proliferation of distance courses. Therefore, it became commonly accepted that the state was inefficient, and the privatization of areas such as education and health, which had previously been considered protected areas, was considered inevitable.

The beginning of the 21st century brought with it important changes to the political and social climate. The election of left-wing and progressive governments in some Latin American countries – most of them connected with social and ethnic movements with large representation – with a long tradition of struggle and resistance against neoliberal policies, gave way to policies that favored redistribution of wealth and a provision of basic needs to vulnerable populations. At the same time, in some countries with robust indigenous communities, those cultures were granted political and social recognition and intercultural policies were developed (see Teodoro, Mendizábal, Lourenço & Villegas, 2013, about Bolivia). Universities, as well as education in general, were awarded more public funding and, in some countries, affirmative action policies were implemented favoring populations who had been historically excluded from higher education (for example, black, indigenous and economically-deprived students). It is meaningful that it is precisely in Latin America, where the first neoliberal experiment was carried out, that the search for alternative policies and the construction of other rationalities were undertaken (see, for example, Alcántara, Llomovatte & Romão, 2013; Sader, 2013), which may bring to an end such dark (and dangerous) times of recent history.

This book, while providing us with different viewpoints on higher education, through various perspectives, both from Latin American and European authors, who often mirror each other, also questions the manifold possibilities in the concepts of "equity" and "social cohesion," as related to higher education institutions' everyday life, depending on their communities and frame of reference. Different rationalities and epistemological frameworks, despite respective hybridizations and cross-fertilization, are therefore well represented in the various chapters.

While in the "North" higher education institutions are considered to "have failed to prioritize the instilment of values, attitudes and ethics into the accomplishment

of their objective of knowledge and skill development" (Heuser 2007, p. 294), in the "South" the concept of *Buen Vivir* is once again gaining popularity in society as well as in academic institutions (Mamani, 2010). However, we dare say, and believe, that a new era of the global university has been conceived and the embryo is growing in its womb, already visible; precisely due to the discordant voices emerging from the core of the "model university" from the North, as well as the assertive voices from the South, which proclaim that there are other possibilities, ones that had always been there but had been silenced by colonialism, and which still linger on in the field of academic knowledge. Therefore, "precisely by understanding that the contemporary university has its being through advancing learning and inquiry in and across the world, it may be possible to identify a space" where "we may talk not so much of the student as a global citizen but rather of *the university as a global citizen*" (Barnett 2011, p. 105). It is naturally more feasible to introduce radical structural transformation in a context where the colonial-imposed epistemologies exist, rather than in the North, where critical theories have hardly separated from the Eurocentric viewpoint, even though Europe was not the center of world history until the Industrial Revolution (Dussel, 2010).

In fact, the more the neoliberal entrepreneurial type of university becomes established, the more voices, also from the "North", begin to speak of the limited scope and ability of a hegemonic model to respond to the needs, interests, and expectations of the culture it is intended to serve at the grassroots level; therefore, a claim for radical recovery of the lost path through "a wholesale, structural revolution in the aims and methods, the entire intellectual and institutional character of academic inquiry … so that the basic aim becomes to seek and promote *wisdom* … the capacity to realize what is of value in life" (Maxwell 2008, p. 2), and which cannot any longer be ignored. The need has been expressed for a holistic approach to world living conditions and the "good life," that is, *buen vivir*, by rediscovering the essentials of life. Moreover, in the "North" there is now a growing recognition that "tertiary institutions are perhaps those best suited (both through research and general awareness) to identify social realities and/or trends that require moral action on behalf of governments and citizens" (Heuser 2007, p. 302), and will, therefore, make possible a re-discovery of the university's role in society. It is not in responding to the interests of the powerful but to the needs of the powerless, not in meeting the requirements of the existing but in finding out the possibilities of the not yet, the "viable unknown" (*inédito viável*) in Freire's words (1991), that the university can play a role. It is by "taking responsibility for itself" and, furthermore, also by committing to "the responsibilities that universities owe to each other" (Barnett 2011, pp. 101-103) that the higher education scene can change, and this is exactly the pledge of this book and the RIAIPE3 project behind it.

This is the backdrop of *European and Latin American Higher Education Between Mirrors*, a book that is divided into three parts: – Part One (Designing Possible Fu-

tures), which aims to draw upon the current challenges for higher education worldwide and feature "the viable unknown" (in Freire's words, *o inédito viável*). That is, to find some new, inspiring, and visionary "escape routes" in the midst of today's labyrinth of higher education; Part Two (Mapping Higher Education Area[s]) starts by analyzing the development of knowledge societies and the creation of academic/scientific networks, with a focus in Latin America, and continues with critical reflections on the implementation of the Bologna Process; and, Part Three, (Critical Reflections upon Conceptual Frameworks Currently at Work in the Academy) results from the conceptual analyses carried out within the scope of the *Inter-university Framework Program for Equity and Social Cohesion Policies in Higher Education* activity planning, a project between Europe and Latin American universities, funded by the EC-ALFA Programme, and coordinated by António Teodoro (Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias), which set off from within the core of the RIAIPE3 research network.

Chapter One argues that a critique of the higher education curricula should be made within the context of dialogue about globalization. Therefore, its author introduces here the concept of "planetarization," which departs from Freire's perspective of popular education on the basis of eco-political and pedagogical principles. According to the author's argument, the university curriculum should promote a cross-cutting, trans-disciplinary and connective model of knowledge. Furthermore, the main goal of university curricula should broadly be the construction of social justice; of multicultural and cosmopolitan citizenship; and, of radical education and radical democracy in the public universities of Latin America.

Chapter Two examines the social and political significance of the concepts of "equity" and "social cohesion," by doing a brief genealogy of these concepts and by analyzing their role in the academic and policymaking documents relative to higher education, and ultimately compares them to the concepts of "equality" and "solidarity." Following this conceptual discussion, the author deals with the state-society relationship, that is, the way in which higher education institutions mediate between policy formulation and policy implementation, and puts forward an alternative paradigm based upon a vision for the future of education, explored mainly by Boaventura de Sousa Santos and bell hooks, amongst others. Chapter Three offers some theoretical perspectives about science and epistemology, beginning with the author's premise that the last non-colonized territory is the space where cultures are constructed and intermingled. The author proceeds with his reasoning by stating that "there is no general crisis of **the** paradigm, nor a general crisis of **knowledge**; however, there is a **crisis** of **a specific paradigm** and of **a precise epistemology.**" Therefore, the author states that the alternative is not to present a paradigm that is counter to the dominant ones, that is, a paradigm of the same nature. Instead, according to the author, the challenge is precisely to claim for space for an alternative symbolic system, which is not new, but rather, has always been there, and was silenced out of legitimacy by colonial powers. Finally, the author concludes by discussing that decolonization today means a process of recognition of various scienc-

es and epistemologies. Chapter Four attempts to round off Part I by bringing up the idea, from previous chapters, that there have been different knowledge-producing frameworks in the world that profit from and resist unequal relations of power. It focuses on the complexity of the multicultural fabric of our societies, cohabiting in a global world. This chapter builds upon the North-South metaphor and contributes to the discussion about the need to take into account different perspectives of what is understood as multicultural and intercultural, as well as their implications for the understanding of identity and citizenship. The author then analyzes the role and various features of language, intercultural communication and intercultural education against the above-mentioned backdrop and the resulting impact.

In order to move forward with Part II, which attempts to describe the state-of-the-art of higher education today both in Latin America and Europe and their reciprocal influences, Chapter Five centers upon the development and significance of a knowledge society and the role of institutional networks for the consolidation and promotion of a dialogic democracy. It focuses on the emergence of academic and scientific networks in the Latin American scenario, which are causing impressive impact and whose development is highly dependable on their political and cultural contexts. Finally, it reports on some of the networks that constitute central nodes in the construction of modern social sciences in the region. Then, both Chapters Six and Seven provide us with comprehensive views of higher education in Europe and critical reflections upon the so-called Bologna Process. Within this framework, Chapter Six aims to outline Bologna in the context of an enlarged process of policy integration in the field of higher education. The author examines how policy discourse emanating from documents may differ from policy implementation, since the latter depends upon the "real" contexts. Moreover, the Bologna Process also brought in a model of education management that is centered on policy evaluation, according to hegemonic criteria, rather than on the role of higher education institutions towards societies, communities, and respective citizens. Chapter Seven maps possible future scenarios and the present dilemmas of European higher education and contributes to the debate about the choices made with which higher education has had to struggle. The author points out that, in massive higher education contexts, shortcomings in the equality of citizens' access to (and success in) higher education, have been increasing in Europe. Therefore, the author alerts us that, in Europe, where the Bologna Process has already gone into a period of consolidation, it is rather inescapable that citizens maintain continued and permanent vigilance and a critical attitude towards the various discourses, pressures, and dilemmas which higher education must now challenge.

Chapter Eight concludes Part II by bridging the European and Latin American higher education landscapes, while highlighting the possible influence that the Bologna model may have in the near future in Latin American policies, and in this respect, is similar to the leading role that European universities have played in the past. The author points out how, in a global world, Latin American institutions may be inspired, or sometimes pressed, to adopt some of the measures implemented in

Europe and which have proved to be positive; for example, student and teacher mobility; the implementation of mechanisms that increase mutual trust and transparency; and the recognition of degrees and qualifications. Reciprocally, Latin American universities may provide European partners with models of good practices that have also proved to be successful in higher education environments and which may also inspire new undertakings in European universities.

Part III wraps up this book with five chapters whose authors took the commitment to define, analyze and critique concepts which, as a whole, construct a new vision and unveil a new role for higher education; a part of this new role will require a stronger involvement with civil society and an ongoing evaluation of political goals. Along this line of thought, Chapter Nine introduces and develops a new concept, that of "refraction," built upon the study of historical periodization and which refers to the impact of policies in specific communities of practice. As a matter of fact, the implementation of these policies depends on a "plethora of contextualising, cultural and individual points for mediation, reinterpretation and recontextualisation," which explains the immense variety of local responses to centralized official recommendations, whether they be at the regional, national, international or global level. By focusing simultaneously on structure and agency, and on various interactions that arise through mediated practice, the idea of "refraction" pushes higher education governance and research to be critically aware of the gap between policy rhetoric and policy hermeneutics; that is, about the dialectics between those who make decisions and those who have to interpret and implement them. Chapter Ten attempts to figure out the unfolding of the equity/equality dilemma by challenging their common use as synonyms and, as a result, exploring the potential of the notion of equity in the education field. To start, the author provides us with a broad definition of what the idea of "equity" implies, and, furthermore, he offers a multidimensional model of this concept. In addition, the author examines the possibilities of this model for higher education, namely for all those involved with the academic community, and how they relate with their outer circles. Then, Chapter Eleven concentrates on the concepts of "government," "governance," and "convergence," as related to higher education institutions in general, with a focus on Latin American universities in particular. This chapter questions the notion of "public education" that is implicit in current models of university governance, and rejects the possibility that the latter can respond to the original goals of the former while giving priority to market demands. The chapter ends by pointing out that the Latin American universities have a tradition based upon social critique, political awareness and extension activities with a focus on socially disadvantaged groups, which the RIAIPE3 project attempts to recapture and invigorate. Chapter Twelve introduces the concept of citizenship education at university level, based upon the development of a critical pedagogy with a transformative stance. It also draws upon the experience of citizenship education at secondary school level. The concept of citizenship is here understood both as political and social from a "critical-democratic perspective" and it postulates that universities should take such a commitment, although this has not been present in

their traditional curriculum. Finally, Chapter 13 deals with the concepts of "equity," "social cohesion," and "relevance." With regard to equity, the authors claim that this term has in a way tended to replace "affirmative action," and discuss it in relation to university life. As far as social cohesion is concerned, the authors draw our attention to its ambiguity and remain cautious towards its use. With respect to relevance, the authors make a comparison with the concept of pertinence, and continue by presenting different approaches to the idea of relevance. Besides individual analysis of each concept, the chapter provides a view of their implications with reference to higher education institution contexts.

This is what this book has to offer, mainly aiming to inspire all those who work for the right of every citizen to enter the academy, if s/he is prepared to accept the challenges that it entails, and all those who are entitled to make this journey fruitful for the individual, the community and society at large.

REFERENCES

Alcántara, A., Llomovatte, S. & Romão, J. E. (2013). Resisting neoliberal common sense in higher education: experiences from Latin America. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 23:2, 127-151.

Arnove, R. F., Franz, S. & Torres, C. A. (2013). Education in Latin America. From Dependency and Neoliberalism to Alternative Paths to Development. In R. F. Arnove, C. A. Torres & S. Franz (Eds). *Comparative Education. The Dialectic of the Global and the Local (Fourth Edition)* (pp. 315-339). New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Barnett, R. (2011) *Being a University*. London: Routledge.

Didriksson, A. (2008). Global and Regional Contexts in Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean. In A. L. Gazzola & A. Didriksson (Eds) (2008). *Trends in Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean* (pp. 19-50). Caracas: IESALC-UNESCO

Dussel, E. (2010) Meditações anti-cartesianas sobre a origem do anti-discurso filosófico da modernidade. In B. S. Santos & M. P. Meneses (Eds.) *Epistemologias do Sul* (pp. 307-357). Coimbra: Almedina.

Freire, P. (1991) *Educação como Prática da Liberdade*. São Paulo: Editora Paz e Terra (1st ed. 1967).

Gazzola, A. L. & Didriksson, A. (Eds) (2008). *Trends in Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Caracas: IESALC-UNESCO.

Heuser, B. L. (2007). Academic social cohesion within higher education. *Prospects*, 37, 293-303.

Mamani, F. H. (2010) *Vivir Bien/Buen Vivir: Filosofía, políticas, estratégias y experiencias regionales*. La Paz: Bolívia.

Maxwell, N. (2008) From knowledge to wisdom: The need for an academic revolution. In R. Barnett & N. Maxwell (Eds.) *Wisdom in the University* (pp. 1-19). London: Routledge.

Sader, E. (org.). (2013). *Dez Anos de Governos Pós-Neoliberais no Brasil: Lula e Dilma*. S. Paulo & Rio de Janeiro: Boitempo & FLACSO.

Santiago, R., Tremblay, K., Basri, E. & Arnal, E. (2008). *Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society*. Vol. I: *Special Features: Governance, Funding, Quality*. Paris: OECD.

António Teodoro & Manuela Guilherme
Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias
ULHT, Lisboa

Part I

DESIGNING POSSIBLE FUTURES

CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES

Chapter 1

TAKING HEAVEN BY STORM?[1]

A logbook for rethinking conceptual and normative categories in higher education in Latin America

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important themes in the discussion about Latin American university transformation is what kind of curriculum and knowledge-construction should be sustained in the public universities, especially from critical and progressive perspectives.

In this brief text I do not intend to develop a critique of the current state of things, which we have done elsewhere.[2] But remembering that Hegel ironically insinuated that everything real is rational, I want to utilize the thinking of Paulo Freire and the entire tradition of popular education to suggest a few possible routes to a new educative utopia in higher education.

Since these ideas have taking form for a year or so in public conferences in different languages and countries, beginning with a conference in Madrid's Casa Encendida[3], I prefer not to remove the spoken-word flavor of many of the statements. Loosened from the corset of written narrative, many of these ideas, intended to incite and to invite, may be read with more pleasure than if they had been aimed at specialists.

---

1   Inspired in Karl Marx's statement about the 18th Brumaire of Napoleon Bonaparte, in a letter of April 12, 1871 to his friend and confidant Ludwig Kugelmann.

2   Rob Rhoads and Carlos Alberto Torres, Editors. *The University, State, and Market. The Political Economy of Globalization in the Americas*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2006. Another text that contains these arguments with an analysis of the political sociology of education is Carlos Alberto Torres' *Educación y Neoliberalismo: Ensayos de Oposición*, Madrid, Ediciones Populares, 2007. Finally, a book has been published in Buenos Aires collecting some of my own contributions in the political sociology of education, and reflecting the line of analysis proposed here. See Carlos Mora-Ninci and Guillermo Ruiz (compilers and translators). *Sociología Política de la Educación en Perspectiva Internacional y Comparada. Las Contribuciones de Carlos Alberto Torres. Buenos Aires, Miño y Dávila, 2008.*

3   La Casa Encendida, Madrid, Tuesday, May 8, 2007, Carlos Alberto Torres, Conference about Education, Globalization and Justice.

Following the Freirian tradition, I dare to propose and develop the following working hypotheses[4]:

First, if we want to revitalize the artful science of pedagogy and renew its curricula and practice in our institutions of higher learning, we must persist with a critique of obscurantism.

Second, this critique should be made in the context of debates about globalization.[5] But first, I want to call your attention to an alternative model to neoliberal globalization that is being advanced in the Paulo Freire Institutes. At the risk of being seen as romantics, we call it 'planetarization.

Third, I want to state in no uncertain terms that, without an eco-pedagogical model, 'planetarization is impossible. In the past, I have referred to the work of Paulo Freire as an enormous, original effort of synthesis and political pedagogical criticism. Nowadays, faced with the crisis of an unsustainable model of development and the consequent ecological destruction of the planet, Freire's fruitful formulae need to be redefined in terms of eco-political and pedagogical practice. Freire himself, at the down of his life, stated that if he would write Pedagogy of the Oppressed now, will speak about the planet, which is the greatest oppressed entity in the world.

Fourth, it is impossible to carry out the first three proposals without defining them in normative and analytical terms: we must teach to change the world. In other words, what we want is social justice education.[6]

Fifth, we support the construction of a multicultural and cosmopolitan citizenship in the institutional context of our public universities and we take this goal very seriously, not merely as a convenient battle flag in our struggle to democratize society.

Sixth, we must fight to build radical education and radical democracy in the public universities of Latin America. To do this, we must first find a way to facilitate tolerant, democratic dialogue within university institutions, if we want it to exist

---

4   I must certainly acknowledge that by a different, but completely coincidental, line to the Freirian, recent works by Boaventura de Sousa Santos are very important. See, for example, his *Un discurs sobre les ciéncies. Introducció a una ciencia postmoderna*. Valencia, Denes-Edicions del CReC, 2003.

5   I have dealt with these themes in various places, for example, Carlos Alberto Torres, *Education and Neoliberal Globalization,* New York, Routlege/Taylor and Francis, 2009. Introduction by Pedro Noguera.; Carlos Alberto Torres, *Globalizations and Education: Collected Essays on Class, Race, Gender and the State.* New York, Teacher's College Press, 2009, introduction by Michael Apple, afterword by Pedro Demo; Nick Burbules and Carlos Alberto Torres, *Education and Globalization, Critical Concepts,* New York, Routledge, 1998.

6   For example, this is exactly the mantra of the model of teacher education we have at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), Social Justice Education. I have developed these ideas in another place. See my contribution in Mark Coté, Richard J.F. Day and Greig de Peuter (editors) *Utopian Pedagogy: Radical Experiments Against Neoliberal Globalization.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007.

outside the academy.[7]

Finally, none of this will happen if the universities do not make an effort to promote a transversal, trans-disciplinary and connective model of knowledge.

The following sections of this essay will develop and justify these proposals in some detail.

TOWARD A CRITIQUE OF OBSCURANTISM

Thirty-five years ago, Freire stated that "…the day that the forces of power and domination that govern science and technology discover a path to kill the active, intentional character of consciousness, that which makes consciousness able to perceive itself, we will no longer be able to speak of liberation. But because it is impossible to annihilate the creative, recreative and comprehensive powers of consciousness, what do the dominators do? They mythologize reality. As there is no reality other than the reality of consciousness, when they mythologize it they hinder the process of transforming reality."[8]

My definition of obscurantism does not necessarily relate to the idea of obscurantism in the Middle Ages. As the medievalist Jacques Le Goff explains, it was in the Middle Ages that the seed of modernity was sown: "Those who speak of obscurantism have understood nothing. This is a false idea, the legacy of the Century of Enlightenment and of the romantics. The modern era was born in the medieval. The combat for secularity in the XIX century contributed to the legitimation of the idea that the profoundly religious Middle Ages were obscurantist. The truth is that the Middle Ages were an era of faith, when people were passionately pursuing rationality. To them, we owe the State, the nation, the city, the university, individual rights, women's liberation, consciousness, the organization of war, the mill, the machine, the compass, keeping time, the book, the concept of purgatory, confession, the fork, bed sheets, and even the French Revolution.[9]

The obscurantism to which I am referring is the current version that Freire discloses in his criticism of the dominant powers: that which stems from the manipulation of the communication media, the construction of state administrations and public policies as instruments of domination rather than services dedicated to the common good, and the willful manipulation of the powers of science and technology to dominate, oppress, exploit and subjugate the population. It is the cynicism

---

7 I hope it is clear that I refer in this text to the public universities because I believe that they are marked by what political science defines as 'public trust,' but this in no way obviates private universities in Latin America, especially those that are serious and were not constituted as models of private accumulation of capital and/or ideological models of particular stripe, from assuming similar responsibilities.

8 Carlos Alberto Torres, *La praxis educativa y la acción cultural liberadora de Paulo Freire.* Valencia, Denes-Edicions del CReC, 2005, p. 161.

9 Interview in the Buenos Aires daily, *La Nación,* Wednesday, October 12, 2005. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/Archivo/nota.asp?nota_id=746748

of deliberately lying to the public as a way of obtaining private benefits. It is the constant use of disinformation to deform reality, in the best style of medieval times – perhaps comparable to the logic of the Crusaders for reconquering Jerusalem – setting the stage for a latter day obscurantist like George W. Bush to wage war on Iraq to avoid the phantom proliferation of "weapons of mass destruction."

The obscurantism of science, where positivism as the dominant scientific logic "has been transformed from pure scientism to a strategy of technical control based on methodological individualism that converges harmoniously with the logic of the market and of the states that seek to adapt to this logic."[10]

The antidote to the obscurantism of power is the double key of *conscientização*.[11] First, an *epistemology of curiosity,* as Freire proposed, constantly asking questions and being dissatisfied with the answers, finding nothing that cannot be questioned, employing the candor and simplicity of the child's gaze to inspect even the most intricate relations and experiences. Second, *the epistemology of suspicion,* according to Freire and the great French phenomenologist Paul Ricoeur, the suspicion that all human interaction, all human experience, to the extent that it involves power relations, involves relations of domination and therefore must be submitted to systematic criticism. While this is currently applied to the interaction between individual persons (children and their parents, children and their teachers, associations within families), there is an even greater need for it to be applied to the interactions between people and institutions. Thus, it is valid to affirm that this epistemological model of suspicion reveals how the logic of capital and especially the logic of the rights of private property tend to prevail, in practice and the law, over the logic and the rights of people.

TOWARD AN ALTERNATIVE GLOBALIZATION: PLANETARIZATION

In Paulo Freire Institutes around the world, we have been speaking and writing about an alternative to globalization that we call 'planetarization.' The foundations of this project are profoundly imbricated with the story of Paulo Freire, the itinerant "pilgrim of the obvious,"[12] or "connective boy," as he described himself. He evinced an intense *joie de vivre* through the connections he made with other people, knowing that the relationships in which we are involved help us to live in and understand the world we inhabit as much as those we study and understand through words. In the context of the fight against neoliberal globalization, the answer is in promoting a respectful 'planetarization' worthy of the men and women of this planet, based on

---

10 Raymond Allan Morrow and Carlos Alberto Torres, *Las Teorías de la Reproducción Social y Cultural. Manual Crítico,* Madrid, Editorial Popular, 2004, p. 9.

11 I leave this Freirian term in Portuguese because it has no direct equivalent in English. It refers to the pedagogical process of making people conscious of their condition in the world by removing the obscurantism of what Freire called 'mythological thinking' with which they justify their oppression.

12 Paulo Freire/Ivan Illich. *Diáleg.* Xativa, Edicions del CReC, 2004.

an ethics of work, communication and solidarity, but also an ethics of production
not founded on greed, avarice or usury.

I want to cite Moacir Gadotti, one of the most lucid of Freire's interpreters and his
principal biographer, so that he can illustrate this theme for us: "To open the school to
the world, as Paulo Freire wanted, is one of the conditions for its survival with dignity
in this beginning of the millennium. The planet is the new scholastic space, because
the earth has been transformed into everyone's domicile. The new educational para-
digm is founded on the planetary condition of human existence. 'Planetarity' is a new
category on which the earth paradigm is founded. In other words, a utopic vision of
the earth as a living organism in evolution where human beings are organized in a sin-
gle community, sharing the same dwelling place with other beings and other things."[13]

Three decades ago, the Argentinean anthropologist Rodolfo Kush reminded us
that the concept of man is defined in the Quechua language as "earth that walks." I
cannot imagine a better definition of the men and women of today.

TOWARD AN ECOPEDAGOGY

Earth pedagogy, as Moacir Gadotti entitled one of his unique books, should be the
pedagogy that inspires all pedagogies, ecopedagogy. As Gadotti puts it: "The classic
paradigms, based on a predatory industrial, anthropocentric, developer's mentality,
are exhausted and no longer useful to explain the present moment or to respond to
the necessities of the future. We need another paradigm, founded on a sustainable
vision of the planet Earth. Globalism is essentially unsustainable. Its first allegiance
is to the necessities of capital and human necessities are an afterthought. What is
more, many of the human needs to which it answers are only 'human' because they
were cultivated by and serve capitalist ends."[14]

Ecopedagogy invites us to think about ecology and the image of the social move-
ments that work for the preservation of the environment, pure air, uncontaminated
water tables, the forest lungs of the planet, birds, animals, insects, plants that pre-
ceded us as planetary beings and many of which we depend on for subsistence and
to cure our maladies. Ecopedagogy also projects the image of the pillaging of our
natural resources, especially those that are not renewable and must be prevented at
all cost, as Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff reminds us.

I ask myself, how many times do we caress a plant, watch a butterfly with sur-
prise and delight or stop to smell the fragrance of a flower while in the whirlpool
of daily activity? I remember a couple of years ago I was with Moacir Gadotti on
an estate in Valencia densely populated by vigorous trees. He approached a tree,

---

13 Moacir Gadotti, *La Pedagog´Ia De Paulo Freire Y El Proceso De Democratizacion En El
Brasil*. Algunos aspectos de su teoría, de su método y de su praxis. Ver también su trabajo
sobre la planetarización y la cultura de la sustentabilidad. *Pedagogia De La Tierra Y Cul-
tura De La Sustentabilidad* http://www.paulofreire.org/

14 *A Ecopedagogia Como Pedagogia Apropriada Ao Processo Da Carta Da Terra.* P. 1. http://
www.paulofreire.org/

hugged it and said, "This is my tree in Valencia!" While some might regard this overtly romantic gesture with disdain, it is actually very important. Watching Gadotti embrace his tree, I asked myself how many trees I had adopted in my life, how many had I planted? If we adopt and plant more trees, we would certainly feel more related to the nature that surrounds us. The Spanish environmentalist and carpenter Ignacio Abella defines himself as someone who has "learned to walk in wonder."[15] Only those who are rendered wondrous by nature can learn to respect and appreciate it and become its passionate protectors, because it is the guardian of our future as well as the futures of our children and grandchildren.

TOWARD AN EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

Education for social justice constitutes the antithesis of the model of neoliberal globalization, both as a theoretical paradigm to inspire the training of teachers and the practice of pedagogy[16] and as a source for curriculum and instruction of apprentice teachers and the formulation of educational policy. How can social justice education be used to neutralize neoliberal globalization? In the limited space of this chapter, I will indicate some ways:[17]

a) social justice education explores, analyzes and critiques the inequalities between people, b) by studying the resources available to communities, families, students, social activists and social movements, social justice education questions the possessive individualism proposed by globalization as well as the sustainable basis of placing the logic of avarice and cupidity above the social factors. c) Social justice education can empower people by making the kind of knowledge that belongs to the general public, e.g. the discussion of open codification when constructing computer programs and the notion of knowledge as a public domain, available to them. d) Social justice education confronts the notion of the merchandising of education by reinventing the notion of education for all citizens, not just for consumers who can afford it. The corollary to this is our realization that, while citizens have rights and obligations, consumers have similar rights but just one obligation: to consume.

TOWARD A MULTICULTURAL AND COSMOPOLITAN CITIZENSHIP

The question of citizenship is not only a question of status and roles, which one acquires by birth or adoption. True citizenship includes a number of civic virtues,

---

15 Among the texts that have had the most impact in my reading about carpentry are two essential books by Ignacio Abella: *La Magia de Los Arboles* (Barcelona, RBA Integral, 2000) and *El Hombre y La Madera* (Barcelona, RBA Integral, 2003).

16 Our teacher training program in the UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences is called Social Justice Education.

17 Some of these were suggested in a paper by Daniel Boden, a student who took my course in Politics and Education at UCLA, "Social Justice Education as a Model to Overcome Globalization." Los Angeles, UCLA, Manuscript, 2006.

among which tolerance and a solidary spirit stand out. True multicultural citizenship means "to cultivate the spirit of solidarity by understanding how different we are as well as how similar, thus developing solidarity with those who still suffer. Clearly, we cannot expect this spirit to be generated spontaneously among fortified groups, each trying to be different from the other."[18]

Planetary citizenship is cosmopolitan, and here we encounter a Kantian dilemma: how is it possible to create a democracy in a country that is part of an non-democratic international system and, at the same time, how is it possible to establish an international democratic system when many of its national entities are anything but democratic?

The struggle for a tolerant and solidary multicultural citizenship at the level of international systems is another of the objectives of transverse radicalism in the fight for human freedom.[19]

TOWARD THE CONSTRUCTION OF RADICAL EDUCATION AND RADICAL DEMOCRACY

The proposals of the great pedagogues have always been utopian. Education is essentially an exercise in optimism. One seeks to explore the limits of real possibilities for social transformation, searching for a human sociability to inspire the progressive construction of subjects, families, communities, nations and an international system where reason overcomes force, peace overcomes violence and war, justice overcomes injustice, domination and oppression. Clearly, this model proposes the ever more necessary culture of planetary sustainability over that of a dissipating modernity that consciously and unconsciously exploits natural resources.

It is also clear that, ever since the Illuminists, education proposed and, to a lesser degree, accomplished its central objectives in the constitution of citizenship and democracy. Today, however, educators have a new responsibility and that is to become critics of the culture. Thus, education must become a public sphere of deliberation, a theatre for public deliberation uncontrolled by either state or market. This is a duty, a commitment and a promise that utopian education must undertake in its promotion of radical democracy.[20]

---

18 Todd Gitlin, *The Twilight of Common Dreams: Why America is Wracked by Culture Wars.* New York, Henry Holt, 1995, p. 217.

19 Carlos Alberto Torres, *Democracy, Education, and Multiculturalism. Dilemmas of Citizenship in a Global World.* Lanham and Boulder, Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

20 Carlos Alberto Torres Novoa. *Pedagogia de la Lluita.* Valencia, Denes Editorial-Edicions del CReC, 2006; Mark Cote, Richard GadottiJ.F. Day and Greig de Peuter (editors) *Utopian peagogy. Radical experiments Against Neoliberal Globalization.* Toronto, Buffalo and London, University of Toronto Press, 2007.

CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES

TOWARD A TRANSVERSAL, TRANS-DISCIPLINARY AND CONNECTIVE MODEL OF KNOWLEDGE

As Moacir Gadotti writes, "The recognition of Paulo Freire outside the field of pedagogy demonstrates that his thinking is both transversal and trans-disciplinary. Pedagogy is, by nature, a transversal science. From his earliest writing, Freire considered schools much more important than the four walls that support them. I believe that 'Culture Circles' were an expression of an innovative pedagogy that was not reduced to the simplistic notion of [giving] classes. In the current 'knowledge society' this is much clearer since what is now 'scholastic space' is often larger than a physical school. The new training spaces include radio, television, videos, churches, union halls, businesses, NGOs, family circles, and the Internet, stretching the notion of both school and classroom. Education has become communal, virtual, multicultural and ecological, and the school widens to include the city and the planet. Today we think in terms of networks, we research through networks, we work in networks without hierarchies. The notion of a downward spiraling wisdom to ignorance hierarchy is very dear to the capitalist school. On the contrary, Paulo Freire insisted on connectivity, on the collective administration of social knowledge, which can be socialized in ascending and overlapping concentric circles. It is not just about recognizing the Educative City' of Edgar Faure, but of visualizing the planet as a permanent school.[21]

EPILOGUE

How do I end this proposal faced with the magnitude of problems, the complexity of facts, the immense responsibilities the present moment demands of us as we confront the rampant and crescent injustices of neoliberal globalization?

Maybe this is time to say that each of us has to draw his or her own conclusions. We must seek out spaces and develop a praxis that allows us to advance the cause that true pedagogues of different cultural and religious persuasions have sought since the beginning of the world and that Paulo Freire expressed so well in the concluding words of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*: to build a world where it is easier to love.[22]

This is why Freire postulated the possible dream of an educational utopia in a proposal that captured the revolutionary heart of the 1960s; a utopic, effervescent and optimistic decade of struggles for freedom, struggles against colonialism and classism, struggles for racial, sexual and ethnic emancipation, a decade when

---

21 Gadotti, *La Pedagog´la De Paulo Freire Y El Proceso De Democratizaci´On En El Brasil*. Some aspects of his theory, his method and his praxis. *http://www.paulofreire.org/*

22 "Si nada queda de estas páginas, esperamos que por lo menos algo permanezca: nuestra confianza en el pueblo. Nuestra confianza en los hombres y en la creación de un mundo en el que sea menos difícil amar." Pauo Freire, Pedagogía del Oprimido, Montevideo, Editorial Tierra Nueva, 1969, page 175.

people placed renewed value on physical intimacy, by hugging each other and making love.

From this tradition only one proposal still makes sense, coined in a phrase that Antonio Gramsci proposed to us educators decades ago: pessimism of the intelligence, optimism of the will.

I believe this defines the task before us. But to close, I want to offer some verses as the poetic conclusion to a narrative excursion. A few years ago in Florence I encountered the poetry of Michelangelo. The following poem begins with a verse of his that I have translated freely[23]:

FOR MICHELANGELO

There goes truth – poor, naked and alone
Appreciated only by the humble
She has just one eye, pure and brilliant
But she is born in a thousand places wherever she dies.

Faced with triviality
licentiousness
cynicism
truth, justice and liberty arise
heroes and victims of a civilization
that creates its means of sustenance
and its destruction, bit by bit

Pity the truth
abandoned at every instant
by the lies of power
recuperated by popular movements in their struggle for justice

Pity justice
defenseless in its nakedness
blind in its search for equanimity
crushed at every instant
that freedom does not protect

Pity freedom
The bird loses it
When its tree is
cut clandestinely

---

23 This poem has been published with other poems of mine in Various, *Nueva Poesia Iberoamericana*. Buenos Aires, Ediciones Nuevo Ser, 2008.

men and women shed tears
over severed hands and broken hope
Pity freedom, justice and truth
If we have no utopia to defend them
Utopia, flag for a planetary future
utopias moisten our days
with every drop
they caress our faces
and remind us we are still alive
in the light of the sun

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abella Ignacio. *La Magia de Los Arboles*. Barcelona, RBA Integral, 2000.

Abella,Moacir, *El Hombre y la Madera*, Barcelona, RBA Integral, 2003.

Boden, Daniel "Social Justice Education as a Model to Overcome Globalization." Los Angeles, UCLA, Manuscript. 2006.

Burbules, Nick y Carlos Alberto Torres*, Education and Globalization, Critical Concepts,* New York, Routledge, 1998.

Coté Mark, Richard J.F. Day, and Greig de Peuter (editors) *Utopían Pedagogy: Radical Experiments Against Neoliberal Globalization.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Freire Paulo and Ivan Illich. *Diáleg.* Xativa, Edicions del CRᵉC, 2004.

Gadotti, Moacir. La Pedagogía de Paulo Freire y el Proceso de Democratización en el Brasil. Some aspects of his theory, his pedagogy and his praxis *http://www.paulofreire.org/*

Gadotti, Moacir, A Ecopedagogia como pedagogía apropriada ao processo da carta da terra. *http://www.paulofreire.org/*

Gadotti, Moacir. Pedagogía de la tierra y cultura de la sustentabilidad *http://www.paulofreire.org/*

Gitlin, Todd. *The Twilight of Common Dreams: Why America is Wracked by Culture Wars.* New York, Henry Holt, 1995..

Le Goff, Jacques Entrevista en el diario *La Nación*, miércoles 12 de Octubre de 2005. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/Archivo/nota.asp?nota_id=746748

Mora-Ninci, Carlos y Guillermo Ruiz (compiladores y traductore*). Sociología Política de la Educación en Perspective Internacional y Comparada. Las Contribuciones de Carlos Alberto Torres*. Buenos Aires, M

Morrow, Raymond Allan y Carlos Alberto Torres, *Las Teorías de la Reproducción Social y Cultural. Manual Crítico,* Madrid, Editorial Popular, 2004, p. 9.

Rhoads, Rob and Carlos Alberto Torres, Editors. *The University, State, and Market. The Political Economy of Globalization in the Americas.* Stanford University Press, Stanford, California 2006.

Sousa Santos, Boaventura de, Un discurs sobre les ciéncies. Introducció a una ciencia postmoderna. Valencia, Denes-Edicions del CRᵉC, 2003.

Torres, Carlos Alberto, *Education and Neoliberal Globalization.New York, Routledge, 2009.*

Torres, Carlos Alberto, Globalizations and Education. Collected Essays on Class, Race, Gender, and the State. Introduction by Michael W. Apple, Afterword by Pedro Demo. New York, and London Teachers College Press-Columbia University, 2009.

Torres Carlos Alberto, *Democracy, Education, and Multiculturalism. Dilemmas of Citizenship in a Global World.* Lanham and Boulder, Rowman and Littlefield, 1998.

Torres, Carlos Alberto, *Educación y Neoliberalismo: Ensayos de Oposición,* Madrid, Ediciones Popular, 2007.

Torres, Carlos Alberto, *La Praxis Educativa y la acción cultural liberadora de Paulo Freire*. Valencia,

Denes-Edicions del CR^eC, 2005.

Torres, Carlos Alberto. *Pedagogia de la Lluita*. Valencia, Denes Editorial-Edicions del CR^eC, 2006.

Varios. *Nueva Poesía Iberoamericana*. Buenos Aires, Ediciones Nuevo Ser, 2008.

Carlos Alberto Torres
Paulo Freire Institute
Department of Education
Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, UCLA

JOSÉ MANUEL MENDES

Chapter 2

EQUALITY, DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP AND SOLIDARITY

Is there a role for higher education in the framing of an alternative paradigm? [1]

INTRODUCTION

I will begin this paper by citing a statement by Eugene Rosa, a sociologist specialized in the field of environmental studies, when he says:

"While it seems fully appropriate to adopt the definition of a policymaking agency to guide risk management, it is curious that it would pass academic scrutiny as an analytic definition" (Rosa, 2008: 103, footnote 3).

Academic scrutiny is characterized by what Amartya Sen (2011) called, in his conference in Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra, on 14 March 2011, "criticality", that is, and I quote: "the importance of critically confronting our own values, in addition to scrutinizing the values that others propagate. This criticality is needed not merely for examining the reasoning behind what disgusts us, but also for questioning what we come to live with and accept (often implicitly, because they seem like a part of the "normal" world which we are used to). An inclination to be uncritically contented with the world as it is can be, I would argue, seriously unhelpful for a theory of justice as well as the pursuit of justice in practice."

In this paper, reflecting on conceptual developments in the field of education I ask the following questions:
– Why equity and not equality?
– Why social cohesion and not solidarity?
– And what is the role of higher education in fostering democratic citizenship?

---

1 This paper is based on a conference given at the ALFA research project "Inter-University Framework Program for Equity and Social Cohesion Policies in Higher Education", coordinated by António Teodoro at the Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, Lisbon, 22 March.

Trying to answer these questions I felt the need to do a brief genealogy of these concepts and their role in the academic and policymaking documents pertaining to higher education. Because concepts are important in perceiving and changing the world, the role of academic work and education is to engage in a dialogue in the public sphere that enables people and citizens to change the way they see the societies they live in.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONCEPTS OF EQUITY AND SOCIAL COHESION IN HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES

OECD promoted its first major review and conference on the issue of equity in 1961, at Kungalv in Sweden (Halsey, 1993), although the main preoccupation was with selection and entry at secondary schools. With the growth of higher education enrolment and the debate on inequality to access, the OECD Education Committee launched the *Thematic Review of Tertiary Education* in October 2003, in response to the OECD Education Chief Executives " proposal of tertiary education as one of the five mid-term priorities for OECD work on education", at their February 2003 meeting in Dublin. A meeting of National Representatives in April 2004 defined the guidelines for participation in the Review and the analytical work started in January 2005, with country thematic reviews. The thematic reviews were primarily concerned with equality of opportunity, while recognizing that relative equality of outcomes was often used as an indicator of equality of opportunity.

Tertiary education was also the focus of the meeting of OECD Education Ministers held in Athens in June 2006 with the theme *Higher Education – Quality, Equity and Efficiency*. Ministers noted that "Higher Education plays a vital role in driving economic growth and social cohesion" (Santiago et al., 2008).

In the study conducted by Simon Field et al. for the OECD in 2007, with the suggestive title, *No More Failures. Ten Steps to Equity in Education*, ten policy recommendations were drafted to promote equity in education. For the purposes of their study, equity in education included two dimensions, fairness and inclusion (Field et. al, 2007):

Fairness implies that personal and social circumstances such as gender, socio-economic status or ethnic origin should not be an obstacle to educational success.

Inclusion implies a minimum standard of education for all.

As for the European Union, the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998, the Bologna Declaration in 1999 and the Lisbon Declaration in 2000 set forward European worries about the global market in higher education. In Paris, the Declaration was primarily economically motivated, although symbolic references to European culture were not missing. The economic motive and agenda was even more open at the European Union – gathering in Lisbon in March 2000. Given the perceived successes of the United States and of Australia in producing substantial 'export value' in the domain of higher education, the European Union decided that European inferiority on the global educational market could no longer be tolerated (Lorenz, 2006).

The Lisbon European Summit in March 2000 set a new strategic goal for the Union for the new decade: "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustaining economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (Room et al., 2005:11).

As Chris Lorenz states: "Given the idea that the global economy is a 'knowledge economy', the European Union inevitably came to the conclusion that European higher education had to become the most dynamic and most competitive in the world too. Therefore, the European Union Ministers of Education translated this intention in 2001 into an ambitious agenda for the educational domain. Predictably the 'Lisbon Process' has as yet only resulted in serious disappointments, because in 2005 it was already crystal clear to even the greatest Eu-policy optimists that its objectives would not be met – even approximately. The remedy for this 'delay' is of course sought in speeding up the 'Lisbon Process' in all Eu member states and in shifting the responsibility for the 'process' to the Eu member states" (2006:80).

And, concurring with the conclusions of Chris Lorenz on his analysis of the higher education policies in the European Union and the knowledge society, "all the European declarations and plans considered so far basically contain an economic view of education, by considering higher education primarily in its function for the European economy and in terms of a marketable commodity" (2006:80).

The World Conference on Higher Education (WCHE) in 1998 gave a new thrust to UNESCO's higher education programme at a time when a need for change and adjustment to a new paradigm in higher education was strongly felt by decision makers. Its *World Declaration on Higher Education for the 21st Century* provided an international framework for action both at systems and institutional level. A particular focus was placed on broadening access and strengthening higher education as a key factor of development; enhancing quality, relevance and efficiency through closer links to society and the world of work; securing adequate funding resources, both public and private, and fostering international cooperation and partnerships. One spin-off of the World Conference was the UNESCO Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge, an open platform forum encouraging research and intellectual debate. Within these general orientations and delivery mechanisms, research on trends in higher education remains at the heart of UNESCO's preoccupations, along with the question of higher education and social cohesion (Burnett, 2007: 287-288).

More recently, the mainstreaming of the social cohesion thematic and higher education is well illustrated in the special issue of *Prospects*, *UNESCO's journal* of comparative education in 2007, entirely dedicated to the thematic of higher education and social cohesion.

In 2000, The World Bank in its report "*Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*" recognized that rate-of-return analysis was out, and there was the need for the promotion of the public interest of higher education. In the absence of more and better higher education opportunities, developing countries could expect few benefits from a knowledge-based global economy. The report *Peril*

and Promise argued that developing countries needed to prioritize higher education more than would be indicated by rate-of-return analyses alone (Post et al., 2004).

In the World Bank Group report published in 2002, *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New challenges for Tertiary Education. Directions in Development*, it was stated that:

"The norms, values, attitudes and ethics that tertiary institutions impart to students are the foundation of the social capital necessary for constructing healthy civil societies and cohesive cultures – the very bedrock of good governance and democratic political systems…Through the transmission of democratic values and cultural norms, tertiary education contributes to the promotion of civic behaviours, nation building and social cohesion". (2002: 23, 31).

EQUITY OR EQUALITY?

Luciano Benadusi reviewed the many conceptions of equity in the sociology of education, underlying the normative conceptions of equity and their implications for choosing indicators for analysis (2001:25). He identified five approaches:

– Functionalism: where the concept of equity is based on Rawlsian liberal equality of opportunity.
– Cultural reproduction theory: the concept of equity implies the existence of no natural social, cultural and educational inequalities among groups.
– Cultural relativism: equity means the equality and reciprocal independence among the different cultures.
– Cultural pluralism: the concept of equity implies the respect for cultural differences.
– Methodological individualism: the concept of equity is based also on Rawlsian liberal equality of opportunity or free choice (a formal equality of opportunity).
– International comparative research on equality of opportunity: equity means that no educational inequalities exist among groups.

One of the most sophisticated discussions of the dilemma between equity and equality in education can be found in the excellent article published in 2010 by Espinoza. In this article Óscar Espinoza proposes a complex equality-equity model (Espinoza, 2010: 134-139).

As Espinoza argues (2010: 129-130), the "equity" concept is associated with fairness or justice in the provision of education or other benefits and it takes individual circumstances into consideration, while "equality" usually connotes sameness in treatment by asserting the fundamental or natural equality of all persons. While "equality" involves only a quantitative assessment, "equity" involves both a quantitative assessment and a subjective moral or ethical judgment that might bypass the letter of the law in the interest of the spirit of the law. Equity assessments are more problematic because people differ in the meaning that they attach to the concepts

of fairness and justice and because knowledge of equity-related cause-and effect relationships is often limited. The conception of "equity" which is commonly associated with human capital theory is based on utilitarian considerations; it demands fair competition but tolerates and, indeed, can require unequal results.

As Jean-Pierre Dupuy argues, equity presupposes no envy, that is, a simple relation between the desiring subject and the desired object with no third party involved, where there is the assumption of the incommensurability of preferences and where everyone feels better in her place than on others' places (2009: 201). On the other hand, the concept of "equality" associated with the democratic ideal of social justice demands equality of results.

It is ironic that the current neo-conservative sweep in education fosters the resurgence of "sameness" to form the ethos of equity programs and policies. The concept of substantive equality and systemic discrimination is being replaced here by the more limited "one-size-fits-all" focus of equal opportunity.

According to Espinoza, equality pertains to five features of the educational process:
– Financial, social, and cultural resources.
– Equality of access – the probability of children from different social groupings getting into the school system, or some particular level or portion of it.
– Equality of survival – the probability of children from various social groups staying in the school system to some defined level, usually the end of a complete cycle (primary, secondary, higher).
– Equality of output – the probability that children from various social groupings will learn the same things to the same levels at a defined point in the schooling system.
– Equality of outcome – the probability that children from various social groupings will live relatively similar lives subsequent to and as a result of schooling (have equal incomes, jobs of roughly the same status, equal access to sites of political power, etc.).

These features can be translated in three different perspectives:
– equality of opportunity;
– equality for all;
– or, equality on average across social groups.

As for equity, it also can be analysed on the five features of the educational process (resources; access; survival; output; outcome) and structured as three different perspectives:
– Equity for equal needs
– Equity for equal potential (abilities)
– Equity for equal achievement

This sophisticated proposal for conciliating equity and equality fails to grasp the political assumptions underlying the concepts of equity and equality, that constitute different notions of citizenship, entitlements and social and political rights. Even Amartya Sen's theory of capabilities, that propose a broad notion of equality and is critical of liberalism, seems to focus most on procedural aspects rather than substantive equality of capability in the political space (Sen, 1992).

In this paper I argue and invoke that substantial and active equality is more relevant for democratic citizenship. Democratic politics concerns the presupposition of equality, not the distribution of equality. Therefore, equality must be put at the beginning of every political process.

And, following here the proposals of Jacques Rancière, while passive equality is the creation, preservation, or protection of equality by governmental institutions, active equality is based on empowerment and composed of three basic components: dissensus, the act of declassification and equality of intelligence (May, 2008: 3;39-44).

As Margaret Somers rightly states (Somers, 2008: 131), citing Hannah Arendt, the alternative to naturalism of both nationalism and liberalism requires more than merely the institutions of laws and states, and even more than the fact of citizenship itself. It requires collective political action toward the goal of human justice.

"Equality, in contrast to all that is involved in mere existence, is not given to us, but is the result of human organization insofar as it is guided by the principle of justice. We are not born equal; we become equal as member of a group on the strength of our decision to guarantee ourselves mutually equal rights. Our political life rests on the assumption that we can produce equality through organization, because man act in and change and build a common world, together with his equals and only with his equals" (Arendt, 1979:301).

SOCIAL COHESION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL OR SOLIDARITY AMONG STRANGERS?

In studying the impact of education on society there exist two basic analytic models (OECD, 2006). For the first model, an absolute model, education reinforces the technical skills and positive attitudes in individuals. In this model we are confronted with a positive sum game, where everybody wins, and more education means an increase in expected global benefits. In the second model, education by changing the place of the individual in the social hierarchy generates benefits for some at the expense of others. This is a zero-sum game, related to the most confirmed invoked devaluation of educational degrees.

In the studies of education and social cohesion, there is a research agenda that, based on nomological methods, tries to assert the role and relationship between education, social cohesion and equity or equality.

Two representative studies will be briefly analysed in this paper: Andy Green et al. *Education, Equality and Social Cohesion* (2006) and François Dubet et al., *Les écoles et leur societé* (2010).

Andy Green et al., using aggregate statistics (correlations and regression analyses) to compare countries, identified how education impacts on different aspects of social cohesion (2006). The model proposed assumed that education may impact in two different ways: the first, indirectly, through the way it distributes skills, and hence incomes, opportunity and status among adult populations; and the second, through how it socializes students through the formation of values and identities.

Andy Green et al.'s findings in relation to the first pathway –the distributional model – appear to be quite clear-cut. While there are no apparent relationships between aggregate levels of education and social cohesion indicators across countries, there are quite strong and significant correlations between measures of educational equality, income equality and a wide range of social cohesion outcomes, including general and institutional trust, crime, civil liberties and political liberties. More education-equal countries tend to be more income equal and rate higher on a range of social cohesion measures. Furthermore, educational equality appears to have a positive relationship with social cohesion outcomes independently of income distribution.

According to their initial hypothesis, the other main route by which education could impact on social cohesion is through the socialization process which includes both values and identity formation. It is our values and identities which ultimately condition how we regard and interact with other individuals and groups, determining with whom we associate, how we co-operate and whom we decide to trust. Identity is, in a sense, the most crucial since our received and adopted identities determine the affective and ideological boundaries of our worlds and thus the locus and ambit of our trust and co-operation. Tolerance appears as a multifaceted and highly situational variable at the country level and subject to rapid changes over time. The authors found little evidence that educational inequality impacts on levels of tolerance, although plausible theoretical arguments suggest that it might, but there is evidence for a number of countries, particularly from the studies of education and racism, that levels of education can affect attitudes and behaviours to do with tolerance. However, the effects, as observed in the individual-level data, are highly context-bound, varying in strength and mechanisms from country to country and between social groups. Relations between aggregate levels of education and tolerance across countries are far from clear, probably because tolerance is strongly affected by other country contexts, including levels and types of immigration, and the dominant political discourses surrounding these.

In an attempt to create a typology of social cohesion regimes, Andy Green et al. (2009) defined four contemporary regimes of social cohesion:

a) Liberal Regime of Social Cohesion: the core values underpinning social cohesion in liberal regimes include opportunity and rewards based on merit; individual freedom and choice; active and "tolerant" civil society (some of the countries included are the USA, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand).

b) Social Market Regime of Social Cohesion: in this regime, social cohesion is underpinned by strong institutional mechanisms concerted by the state. There is

a stakeholder model of the firm (with industrial democracy), highly regulated labour markets with solidaristic wage bargaining based on industrial unionism, social partnership between encompassing intermediate organisations, and sectoral agreements on pay and conditions. Also, there are lower wage differentials with generous welfare provision for unemployed and a corporatist welfare system, based on employment contributions, less universalistic and more divisive than social democratic model. Some of the countries characterized by this social cohesion regime include Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, Netherlands, Italy and Spain.

c) Social Democratic Regime of Social Cohesion: as in social market regime, social cohesion is underpinned by the state and powerful intermediate organisations. There is a centralised wage bargaining that leads to low pay differentials and promotes labour market solidarity; active labour market policies that support losers from industrial re-structuring and universalist and generous welfare state promoting solidarity. Furthermore, egalitarian education systems promote beliefs in equality and adult education promote ideal of community. Some of the countries included are Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway.

Finally, they propose a fourth regime.

d) Confucian Regime of Social Cohesion: included are Japan and South Korea. This regime is characterised by low crime rates and low inequality levels, high hierarchy, low Welfare protection and weak civil societies.

Andy Green et al. also reflect on the possibility of defining other social cohesion regimes as, for example, Southern Europe or Post-Communist regimes.

François Dubet et al. define social cohesion as "the values, the culture and the ensemble of attitudes that move individuals to cooperate in a solidarian way" (Dubet, Duru-Bellat and Vérétout, 2010: 50). These authors operationalized social cohesion in three macrovariables: Social Capital (density of social life and civil society); Confidence (group of attitudes and beliefs about confidence in others and institutions: army; police; justice; Parliament; trade unions; public administration); Tolerance (2010:51-53).

Dubet, Duru-Bellat and Vérétout distinguish social cohesion from social integration. Social integration is the systemic configuration of a society, its social structure, measured by inequality and the dynamism of the labour market. And the results obtained by the authors clearly show that social cohesion and social integration may not coincide. Crossing the statistical results for social cohesion and social integration they propose the following types of societies:

Figure 1. Typology of societies by crossing social integration and social cohesion

Integration Cohesion	**Liberal** High Dynamism/ Strong Inequalities	**Late capitalism** Low Dynamism/ Strong Inequalities	**Social-democrat** High Dynamism/ Weak Inequalities	**Corporatist** Low Dynamism/ Weak Inequalities
Liberal Democratic Confidence Strong confidence/ Strong social capital	Australia, Canada, United States			
Social-Democrat Democratic Confidence Strong confidence/ Strong social capital			Sweden, Denmark, Norway	Netherlands, Finland, Switzerland
European Strong confidence/ Weak social capital	United Kingdom, Ireland	Spain		Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, Luxembourg
Newcomers Weak confidence/ Weak social capital	Japan, South Corea	Italy, Greece, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia		Czech Republic

Source: Dubet, Duru-Bellat and Vérétout (2010:64).

Dubet, Duru-Bellat and Vérétout (2010:175), analysing the factors that impact on social cohesion, concluded that 67% of the variance in social cohesion was explained by the dynamics of the labour market, Gross Domestic Product level and income

inequalities. Only 47% of social cohesion was explained by the characteristics of educational systems.

Alongside the discussion of social cohesion, some authors argue for the analysis of social cohesion within higher education or, specifically, academic social cohesion (Heuser, 2007). Heuser proposes a synthesis model that highlights the main dimensions in academic social cohesion within higher education (Figure 2).

Figure 2 Academic social cohesion within higher education

Source: Heuser (2007:295)

This model presupposes a virtuous cycle between human capital, social capital and social virtue and the common good, and the author doesn't discuss the institutional, political and interactional dimensions concurring for the result of academic social cohesion.

As these methods rely heavily on individual methodologism and aggregative statistics, we can ask what is the value of these findings and typologies for the analysis of collective dynamics and if they can evaluate adequately the role of higher education in promoting social cohesion.

According to Thomas Theo (2005:25), it was Habermas (1994) who proposed, in the context of the relationship between knowledge and interest and on the background of an epistemological foundation for a theory of society, three kinds of sciences: empirical-analytic sciences, historical-hermeneutic sciences, and critically

oriented sciences whereby each type of science can be characterized by a specific underlying cognitive *interest* that guides its pursuit of knowledge. Empirical-analytical sciences are motivated by the production of nomological knowledge in order to achieve technical control over processes or objects. Historical-hermeneutic sciences are motivated by the practical interest of interpretation and understanding of meanings. Critical theory has an emancipatory interest and applies self-reflection as a basic principle of investigation.

The best critique of the concept of social capital as a public good and its underlying assumptions was put forward by Margaret Somers (2005, 2008). Somers argues that the equation "social + capital" equals the evacuation of the social. Social capital refers to the economic value produced by social relationships. According to Somers, Robert Putnam, one of the most prominent scholars on the field of social capital, never comes to grips with the fact that the theory of social capital extends market principles to those non-contractual arenas of social life where utilitarian ethics will do nothing less than corrode the very social ties and practices he so celebrates. To achieve the practices and institutions of trust, communication, and reciprocity convened in the concept of social capital, requires abandoning its constitutive postulates of localism, acquisition, individualism, the market model of efficiency, the marketization of the social, and the radical autonomy from power and politics (Somers, 2008: 235).

The contributions of social capital to the political project of marketization of the social has four dimensions (Somers, 2008: 242):
– social capital provides a nonstate solution to those externalities the market is either unable or unwilling to solve. This is the function of saving capitalism from its own excesses.
– social capital shifts expectations of citizenship from rights claims to obligations and duties.
– social capital provides a nonstate alternative to the entitlement-driven welfare state and the excesses of democratic rights claims. This is the reconstitution of citizenship through the cultural sphere of moral regulation, self-help, and personal responsibility.
– finally, social capital provides a spatial substitute to civil society in the concept of "community" – the nonstate site in which relationships of social capital are confined.

Following Margaret Somers, as an alternative to the concept of social cohesion and social capital, I propose the notions of civil society and the recovery of the concept of solidarity, and using Bin Shu (2010) propositions, to operationalize the concept of solidarity among strangers (with no need for a specious concept of community, even if only imagined communities, as analysed by Benedict Anderson (1991)).

Solidarity, since Émile Durkheim, has been one of the central concepts of social theory (Hechter, 2001). Solidarity answers the fundamental question "What holds society together?" Due to its significance, scholars have discussed it in a whole

range of terms (integration, cohesion, solidarity, bonds, etc.) at various analytical levels (social groups, organization, community, social movements, nation-state, etc.) even in different disciplines (Shu, 2010).

Methodologically, as proposed by Bin Shu, defining solidarity only by its observable representations can avoid the debate over its normative features. Beyond the approaches that focus on values; or, on moral-linguistic codes that integrate conflicts into the bases of civil society (Jeffrey Alexander); or, on ritual conducts; or on political elites and the state's manipulation of rituals and identities, Bin Shu proposes a theoretical framework that addresses the critical issues raised by the previous approaches, that is, what can account for the solidarity among strangers in a modern society with tremendous heterogeneity and power hierarchy. This framework must be empirical and explanatory, and Bin Shu advances a model based on the interaction ritual theory and the theory of publics.

Randall Collin's theory of "interaction rituals" is an upgraded version of the ritual-conduct approach. At the core of interaction ritual is emotion. In explaining solidarity, the Interaction Ritual theory argues that variation in several critical ingredients will lead to collective effervescence, from which solidarity among the participants is born. These ingredients include 1) group assembly or bodily co-presence; 2) boundaries to outsiders or identification of who is taking a part; 3) participants" focus on a common object and communicates this focus with other participants; 4) shared mood among participants. (Collins, 2004: 48).

If extended to the Solidarity Among Strangers, solidarity at macro-level, the theory might encounter the difficulties in linking different levels of analysis. How is the solidarity on the ground transformed into a large scale one among a large loosely connected and differentiated population? How do the macro structures and processes influence the micro-level interaction rituals? Collins answers these questions by indicating the "chains" between situations and interaction rituals, i.e. that social actors move among different situations and spread the symbols and emotions. This point is no doubt true but unspecific.

To liberate the interaction ritual theory explanatory power, Shu argues that the theory of publics based on networks and encounters, can supplement it at some critical points. Inspired by Habermas' "public sphere" and social network theory, Shu argues that people from different networks encounter in publics, experiencing a process of "decoupling" themselves from the previous networks. Consequently, previous identities are suspended, and people tend to be engaged in ritualistic behaviors. Therefore, the encounter is open to new cognitive patterns, communication styles, and new identities.

From its inception, the empirical studies of publics are devoted to the informal and emergent networks and spheres in civil society. Following this trend, Shu pays close attention to how the state-society relationship shapes the boundary of the emergent public and how this macro-level political structure and its situational variation influences the interaction rituals within the public. Therefore, the theory of publics is a useful supplement for Interaction Ritual Theory. The combination of the

two theories can generate a more convincing theoretical framework that specifies the mechanisms linking the micro to the macro and relations to culture. Shu lays out three major theoretical mechanisms:

a) State-society relationship and publics (macro-to-micro).

State-society relationship shapes the boundary of the emergent public by enabling and constraining movement of information to and participants between the existing publics and the emergent public in the wake of the disaster or other incidents. This enabling and constraining could be the result of either the state's intentional action or the power structure between the state and civil society. The result of open boundary is more converging networks and information, which lead to a space for interaction rituals to proliferate and compete with each other. The closed boundary will lead to reduction of interaction rituals.

b) Interaction rituals and public's influence (micro-to-micro)

In addition, there is a less obvious aspect of the emergent public influencing interaction rituals by direct influencing their ingredients; thus, it is a *micro-to-micro* mechanism. An open emergent public will lead to more converging networks on the site and therefore more *bodily co-presence*. The more and quicker participants cognitively switch from their previous networks positions, the more likely an *identification* is established among them. Also, this decoupling will lead to fewer identities, and thus the participants' *focus of attention* will be less distracted from institutions and structures outside the public. All these lead to a higher level of collective effervescence and then solidarity on local level. Negative on the two aspects, i.e. closed or restricted boundary and less decoupling and switching will lead to lower level solidarity.

c) Emotional feedback loop and formal rituals (micro-to-macro)

The emotional energy accumulated in the interaction rituals in the emergent publics and existing publics converge. Open boundaries enable this flow, while restricted boundaries impede it. The emotional energy flow eventually is solidified in large-scale formal rituals.

AN ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM: EDUCATION AS FREEDOM[2]

The roots of an alternative paradigm in higher education and the contribution of higher education for creating a democratic citizenship lie in the notion of education as freedom as proposed in the book edited by Noel Anderson and Haroon Kharem

---

2   Anderson and Kharem (2009).

(2009). And also in the book by the African American writer bell hooks: *Teaching to transgress. Education as the practice of freedom*.

And for higher education to be a practice of freedom, universities must be thought as public goods. The notion here of public implies four questions, as rightly put by Craig Calhoun (2006): (1) where does the money come from? (2) who governs? (3) who benefits? and (4) how is knowledge produced and circulated?

No scholar better than Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2010) proposed an alternative analysis to the role of the University in the XXI century. Boaventura identified three crises facing the university at the end of the twentieth century. First, the crisis of hegemony was the result of contradictions between the traditional functions of the university and those that had come to be attributed to it throughout the twentieth century. The second crisis was a crisis of legitimacy, provoked by the fact that the university ceased to be a consensual institution in view of the contradiction between the hierarchization of specialized knowledge through restrictions of access and credentialing of competencies, on the one hand, and the social and political demands for a democratized university and equal opportunity for the children of the working class, on the other. Finally, the institutional crisis was the result of the contradiction between the demand for autonomy in the definition of the university's values and objectives and the growing pressure to hold it to the same criteria of efficiency, productivity, and social responsibility that private enterprises face.

According to him, the mercantilization of the public university resulted in the monopolization of reformist agendas and proposals by the institutional crisis. The public university's loss of priority in the State's public policies as a result of the general loss of priority of social policies (education, health, social security) was induced by the model of economic development known as neoliberalism or neoliberal globalization.

The response, Boaventura proposes, must be a counter-hegemonic globalization of the university. Counter-hegemonic globalization of the university-as-public-good means that the national reforms of the public university must reflect a country project centred on policy choices that consider the country's insertion in increasingly transnational contexts of knowledge production and distribution. This country project has to be the result of a broad political and social pact consisting of different sectoral pacts, among them an educational pact in the terms of which the public university is conceived of as a collective good. The reform must be focused on responding positively to the social demands for the radical democratizing of the university, putting an end to the history of exclusion of social groups and their knowledges for which the university has been responsible for a long time, starting long before the current phase of capitalist globalization. From now on, the national and transnational scales of the reform interpenetrate. Without global articulation, a national solution is impossible.

Also, Boaventura proposes that University must reclaim legitimacy through 4 processes:

- *Access*

In the area of access, the greatest frustration of the past two decades was that the goal of democratic access was not attained. The University must account for the access of marginalized groups and minorities.

- *Extension*

The area of extension is going to have a very special meaning in the near future, according to Boaventura de Sousa Santos. At a moment when global capitalism intends to functionalize the university and, in fact, transform it into a vast extension agency at its service an emancipatory reform of the public university must confer a new centrality to the activities of extension and conceive of them as an alternative to global capitalism, attributing to the universities an active participation in the construction of social cohesion, in the deepening of the democracy, in the struggle against social exclusion and environmental degradation, in the defence of cultural diversity.

- *Action-research*

Action-research and the ecology of knowledges are areas of university legitimacy that transcend extension since they act both at the level of extension and at the level of research and training.

- *Ecology of knowledges*

The ecology of knowledges is, for Boaventura de Sousa Santos, a more advanced form of action-research. It implies an epistemological revolution in the ways research and training has have been conventionally carried out at the university. The ecology of knowledges is a kind of counter-extension or extension in reverse, that is from outside to inside the university. It consists of the promotion of dialogues between scientific and humanistic knowledge produced by the university, on the one side, and the lay or popular knowledges that circulate in society produced by common people, both in urban and rural settings, originating in Western and non-Western cultures (indigenous, African, Eastern, etc.), on the other.

Boaventura also proposes a new institutionalism for the University based on: network, where the idea is that of a national network of public universities upon which a global network can be developed; internal and external democratizing, in which the new institutionalism must work toward the deepening of the university's internal and external democracy; participative evaluation; and, finally, the new institutionalism entails a new system of evaluation that includes each of the universities and the university network as a whole.

An alternative paradigm must be based on a dialogic approach to education (Fle-

cha, 2011), constructing critical fora for exchanging experiences, proposing new
concepts, challenging established ideas and, through access policies, pedagogical
activities, curricula content and policy oriented recommendations contribute to the
construction of a common world, based on critical inquiry, freedom, solidarity and
democratic citizenship.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Benedict (1991), *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of National-ism*. London: Verso Books.

Anderson, Noel S.; Kharem, Haroon (eds.) (2009), *Education as Freedom. African American Educa-tional Thought and Activism*. Lexington Books.

Arendt, Hannah (1979), *The Origins of Totalitarism*. New York: Harcourt Brace.

Benadusi, Luciano (2001), "Equity and Education. A critical review of sociological research and thought", *in* Walo Hutmacher et al. (2001), *In Pursuit of Equity in Education. Using International Indicators to Compare Equity Polices*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 25-64.

Burnett, Nicholas (2007), "Higher education and social cohesion: an introduction", *Prospects*, 37:287–289.

Calhoun, Craig (2006), "University and the Public Good", *Thesis Eleven,* 84:7, pp. 7-43.

Collins, Randall (2004), *Interaction Ritual Chains*, *Princeton studies in cultural sociology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Dubet, François, Duru-Bellat, Marie and Vérétout, Antoine (2010), *Les écoles et leur societé. Emprise du diplôme et cohesion sociale*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Dupuy, Jean-Pierre (2009), *La marque du sacré*. Paris: Carnets Nord.

Espinoza, Oscar (2010), "Solving the Equity/Equality Conceptual Dilemma: A New-Goal Oriented Model to Approach Analyses Associated with Different Stages of the Educational Process" *in* Jo-seph Zadja (ed.), *Globalization, Education and Social Justice*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 127-143.

Field, Simon; Kuzcera, Malgorzata; Pont, Beatriz (2007), *No More Failures. Ten Steps to Equity in Education*. Paris: OECD.

Flecha, Ramón (2011), *"*The dialogic sociology of education", *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 21:1, pp. 7-20.

Green, Andy, Preston, John and Janmaat, Jan Germen (2006) *Education, Equality and Social Cohe-sion. A comparative analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Green, Andy, Janmaat, G. and Han, C. (2009) *Regimes of Social Cohesion*, published by the Centre for Learning and Life Chances in Knowledge Economies and Societies. Consulted on 17 March 2011: http://www.llakes.org.uk.

Habermas, Jurgen (1994), *Técnica e ciência como ideologia*. Lisboa: Edições 70.

Halsey, A. H. (1993), "Trends in Access and and Equity in Higher Education: Britain in International Perspective", *Oxford Review of Education,* 19:2, pp.129-140

Hechter, Michael (2001), "Solidarity, Sociology of", *in* N. J. Smelser and P. B. Baltes (eds.), *Interna-tional Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam; New York: Elsevier, pp. 14588-14591.

Heuser, Brian (2007), "Academic social cohesion within higher education", *Prospects*, 37:293-303.

hooks, bell (1994), *Teaching to transgress. Education as the practice of freedom*. New York: Routledge.

Hutmacher, Walo et al. (2001), *In Pursuit of Equity in Education. Using International Indicators to Compare Equity Polices*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Lorenz, Chris (2006), "Higher Education Policies in the European Union, the 'Knowledge Economy' and Neo-Liberalism", *Social Europe*, vol. 2, 2, Autumn 2006, pp. 78-86.

May, Todd (2008), *The Political Thought of Jacques Rancière. Creating Equality.* Edinburg: Edin-burgh University Press.

OECD (2006), *Measuring the Effects of Education on Health and Civic Engagement.* Proceedings of the Copenhagen Symposium. http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/23/61/37437718.pdf (consulted on 16 March 2011).

Post, David et al. (2004), "World Bank okays public interest in higher education. A review of Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise, Task Force on Higher Education and Society (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2000)", *Higher Education*, 48: 213–229.

Rosa, Eugene (2008), "White, Black, and Gray: Critical Dialogue with the International Risk Governance Council's Framework for Risk Governance" in Ortwin Renn and Katherine Walker (eds), *Global Risk Governance. Concept and Practice Using the IRGC Framework*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 101-111.

Room, Graham *et al.* (2005), *The European Challenge. Innovation, Policy Learning and Social Cohesion in the New Knowledge Economy.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Santiago, Paulo et al. (2008), *Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society. OECD Thematic Review of Tertiary Education: Synthesis Report*. Paris: OECD.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa (2010), "The university in the twenty-first century. Towards a democratic and emancipatory university reform", *Eurozine*, October.

Sen, Amartya (1992), *Inequality Reexamined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, Amartya (2011), "Values and Justice", paper presented at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC), Portugal, 14 March.

Shu, Bin (2010), "Solidarity Among Strangers: Interaction Rituals and Publics in the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake in China", Proceedings of the American Sociological Association Meeting.

Somers, Margaret (2005), "Let them Eat Social Capital: Socializing the Market versus Marketizing the Social", *Thesis Eleven,* 81: 5-19.

Somers, Margaret (2008), "Let them eat social capital: how marketizing the social turned Solidarity into a bowling team" *in* Margaret Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship. Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 6, pp. 213-253.

Theo, Thomas (2005), *The Critique of Psychology. From Kant to Postcolonial Theory*. New York: Springer.

World Bank (2000), *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise, Task Force on Higher Education and Society.* Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (2002), *Constructing knowledge societies: New challenges for tertiary education. Directions in Development.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

José Manuel Mendes
Centre for Social Studies
Faculty of Economics
University of Coimbra

JOSÉ EUSTÁQUIO ROMÃO

Chapter 3

EPISTEMOLOGY OF THE OPPRESSED

The way to enhance the intercultural dimension of citizenship education

> "Perhaps it is that the world must change some
> more before the scholars are able to theorize it
> more usefully." (Wallerstein, 2001, p. 4).

INTRODUCTION

First of all, I would like to thank all who participated in this event, as well as its-coordinators, Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Manuela Guilherme; and sincere thanks on behalf of the Paulo Freire Institute of Brazil, and myself. This is not a formal or traditional "thank you very much," but a sincere recognition for having been invited to come here as guest speaker, despite the fact that I am neither a member of this European project[1], that is hosting this meeting, nor European. With this presentation[2], I hope to contribute to the discussion about inter-cultural approaches, and propose some theories about science and epistemology, because I think the last uncolonized territory is the space where cultures are constructed and intermingled; and culture, despite transcending spiritual formulations and their expressions, is based on knowledge that creates concrete realities.

Sometimes, in order to expose some new ideas, and perhaps open new scientific and epistemological doors, one has to take the risk of making mistakes and even of

---

1 Keynote Speech delivered at the INTERACT Project final conference at the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, in June 4-5, 2007. The Intercultural Active Citizenship (INTERACT) Project (2004-2007) was funded by the European Commission, VI European Framework, and coordinated by Manuela Guilherme, Senior Researcher at the Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra directed by Professor Boaventura de Sousa Santos.

2 I prepared it in two stages: first, investigating the theme and writing it on my own; second, after presenting it in the "Primer Seminário Internacional: Diálogos Freirianos" (First International Seminar: on Freirian Dialogues), which took place in Mexico City, May 7-June 1, 2007, I rewrote it, with contributions from our discussions in Mexico. Therefore I must thank the colleagues that participated in that event; I am certain that they will identify their contributions in this text.

looking foolish. Reality is more complex than one or more perspectives can address.

These words are necessary at the beginning of our speech because our intentions are not to apply pressure to anyone or to provoke controversy, but to invite our colleagues to simply listen with an open mind before resisting our ideas.

Science has been pressed to rethink the specific premises of its field, "when important new evidence undermines old theories and predictions do not hold," according to Immanuel Wallerstein (2001, p. 1); similarly, we need, now, to "unthink" the presumptions of social sciences' paradigms, and we must transcend them, as they still have a "far strong hold on our mentalities" (*id., ib.*).

In the last years we have heard a lot of theories about the crisis of paradigms, even coming to suppose that there is a crisis of knowledge. In my opinion there is no general crisis of **the** paradigm, nor a general crisis of **knowledge**; however, there is a **crisis** of **a specific paradigm** and of **a precise epistemology**. There are thinkers within the paradigm that is in crisis, the self-labeled "post-modern" ones, for example, who try to overcome it by proposing new paradigms and new methodologies, or sometimes even denying their possibility. Some of them have proposed the impossibility of knowledge, expressing their nihilism. Nevertheless, it is not a question of proposing new paradigms and new methodologies, but of proposing a new geopolitics of knowledge, as stated by Walter Mignolo (2003, *passim*).

So, we are not proposing a new paradigm that will overcome and replace the dominant ones, giving references for all of our social scientific research. Such an attempt would be a contradiction *in limine*; it would constitute an *aporia*. The denial of a legitimate paradigm for all scientific and epistemological construction does not allow for the proposition of a paradigm of the same nature.

Conservative thinkers talk about a "new grammar of knowledge." I think the issue is not a "new grammar," because grammar has always meant (and still means) normalization and regulation, or hegemony and domination. Certainly, a new grammar of knowledge could mean a new form of thinking, if formulated by somebody who accepts that it is possible to think under a sole formula that would direct us to a "self-legitimated knowledge."

On the side of hegemonic thought, there is a political problem with deep epistemological consequences; on the contrary – that of contra-hegemonic knowledge – there is an epistemological problem with many political implications. To overcome this dual problem, we need a new geopolitics of knowledge, in order to recognize other ways of knowing (art, religion etc.), other scientific formulations, which are outside the Western, white, Christian and masculine paradigm. In other words, today, what we need is the recognition and inclusion of the various ideas that come out of scientific dialogue.

It is necessary to recognize that we are living in an era where two realities are possible: the recognition that it is a fallacy to talk about "unique" knowledge; and the recognition that other perspectives, formulated from other *loci* of enunciation, may also be valid. Mastering and understanding this complex universe must transcend paradigms and methodologies.

When the perspectives of a particular paradigm contradict each other, their defenders wait for a new one that will give them a new era of "normal science," as Thomas Kuhn called it (1995). What conclusions can be drawn from this recurrent attitude? First of all, we must see that both paradigms – the old and the new – have a common denominator: the search for "normality," which should be translated as "the search for a new universalism," or "the search for dominant knowledge."

We are have witnessed the savage fighting between paradigms. The positive point in the war between hegemonic knowledge is the emergence of theoretical perspectives of different natures. When the dust of the discussion between dominant paradigms settles, perhaps new theories will arise, whose purpose is not to replace them, but be heard by them. Despite the idea of a presumed abolition of the established epistemology, they may suggest that they do not want to remove conceptions in order to occupy their place, but only to prevent their own space from being occupied by another viewpoint.

We do not want or try to make a radical epistemological upheaval worldwide; what we want is simply to formulate our own symbolic system, which was invaded and mischaracterized five centuries ago by colonialist paradigms, and make it more visible. We do not want nor spread the virus of Brazilian thought that provokes reactions against institutionalized knowledge.

We know that the defenders of the dominant paradigms should not be afraid of thinkers who are at the boundaries of mainstream thought, or of those who come from across the borders and from outside this universe. They should, however, be afraid of thought that comes from the oppressed, who for the first time in history see the possibility of mastering the knowledge that will empower them.

We repeat that the field of knowledge remains the last uncolonized territory in the periphery, for three main reasons: first, because symbolic systems are transformed much more slowly than productive and social systems; second, because knowledge is the main instrument of maintaining domination, despite losing explicit political and economic colonization; and, third, because the dominant knowledge is not merely decorative, but when employed by the "organic, bourgeois-oppressor intellectuals" it turns into a huge, strong, and persistent structure of domination. And the saddest end-result is when colonized people incorporate and employ this structure upon themselves and upon others. The cultural colonization in which the dominated perpetuate their own oppression creates mechanisms so powerful that perhaps it is the most efficient instrument of colonization.

This critical theory was never free from the conservative clutches, because the epistemological changes it proposed would almost always be placed theoretically within the limits of its hegemonic paradigms. When the latter look at threats coming from the wretched of the world, they disqualify and silence them… or they co-opt and mischaracterize them. However when the threats have political use for the conservatives, they do not silence that voice. If a little different from "official" discourses, critical theory believes that it is not as the theories of "others" are, because it has a mission to enlighten and civilize the "lumpen intellectuals" who come

from the periphery. Sometimes its representatives try to justify force as a last resort of counter-hegemonic scientific upheaval. We must not forget that classical (sometimes critical) books became the master models of all further efforts to reduce and to mischaracterize colonized cultures, weakening their strangeness and hostility – sold by the ideologues that had to justify force at the beginning of colonization – in order to bring them closer so as to absorb them into the "civilizing" culture. In colonial culture, it is necessary to transubstantiate bizarre and resistant hostility into submissive and obliging partnership.

The epistemological uprisings, truly anti-systemic conceptions, were perceived in the past five centuries as the fuel of a major qualitative change in the structure of dominant "logic," a turning point in the field of scientific formulations and, therefore, in the economic and political domination. We think it is hopeless to maintain the historical myth, used until now, about the process of legitimating knowledge or science that denies the possibility of a truly epistemological or paradigmatic revolution.

But we do not want to openly espouse causes, as we think we will need the help of every thinker committed to liberation. And this is not a proclamation of self-modesty, but a strong conviction that the dominant thought formulates thesis; the oppressed knowledge does not dare to even construct hypotheses, but only mere "suspicions." In this case, we "suspect" a truly epistemological revolution is possible in a new possible world, where inter-culture will mean the recognition of a new geopolitics of knowledge; in other words, where and when it will be possible to identify new *loci* of enunciation, the audience for silenced voices, the recognition of new subjects, despite their inscription into any single paradigmatic, or into a non-paradigmatic universe.

In addition, it is necessary to say that, on the one hand, class consciousness emerges in specific contexts and draw its references from the material conditions in which one lives; and, on the other hand "… people always constructed reality through eyeglasses that have been historically manufactured" (Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 16). Because of this double dialectical process, capitalist structural crisis is reflected in hegemonic scientific discourses, besetting epistemological convictions that seldom see ways out of the dilemmas and *aporias* that deny the possibility of knowledge. In fact, nihilism is knowledge about the impossibility of knowledge.

The main point I am trying to underline is, that, despite its economic and political successes, the dominant system has provoked a kind of bourgeois scientific and epistemological optimism in the upper strata, conducting them to rationalism; its crises put the bourgeoisie into the scientific and epistemological pessimism as well. In other words, in balanced contexts, the mode of production gave to the dominant classes a symbolic optimism and guides them toward rationalism and universalism; while through the economic crises, they develop pessimism and nihilism, denying the possibility of sure knowledge. Therefore, even while maintaining the common denominator – individualism – there are two formal different positions of the dominant classes into two opposite contexts: in the balanced one, a liberal and conservative state where wisdom lives in the traditional paradigm; in the critical context, there is no possibility of knowing the truth, or even the possibility of any paradigm.

Contra-hegemonic epistemologies are also manufactured into these two same contexts: in the balanced world, and in the critical world. In the former, they have more difficulty seeing alternatives to the dominant thoughts or to allow their own thoughts (constructed by the correlation of historical forces) to emerge. Nevertheless, in the context of crisis, while the dominant thought is practically determined by the turmoil of the structural crisis, and also conditioned by the same references, the dominated classes see more clearly the contradictions that were veiled by "certainties" of dominant thought, that came from the balanced phases of capitalism. Perhaps in this analysis one may find the explanation about the fact that contra-hegemonic science and contra-hegemonic epistemologies have come from the South of the North and from the South of the world. In other words, the dominated classes also live within the real context, in which live the super-strata, but think from different perspectives, and certainly fight a world settled in the opposite direction. For the dominant classes, the cycles of epistemological enthusiasm and disillusionment alternate, but they feel that the latter are more and more frequent, coinciding with increasingly more frequent crises of capitalism.

ALTERNATIVE EPISTEMOLOGIES

Needless to say that the adjective "alternative" is not a good word to qualify knowledge that has been silenced, because it may suggest that there are some "established" epistemologies and some "alternative" ones; the latter being available once in a while, for example, when, and only when, the former cannot solve new problems presented by theory. Furthermore, "alternative" may mislead one to believe that the idea of a thing comes after and emerges on the opposite side of the "normal" scientific *apparatus*. Nobody knows what class of exclusive knowledge one may need to have access to in order to be allowed to classify any cultural product. So, there is no "super-epistemology" that authorizes anyone to state that this formulation is good, while that one is not. It is necessary to remember that all thinkers, from all cultures, impose "corrections" upon reality, transforming raw objects into units of knowledge. What we think is that the alternative epistemologies were born at the same time (even before) the dominant ones and that they are rather unknown than the latter because they were gagged and hidden by them. So, we assume there are no "alternative" theories of knowledge – even though they do not have the hegemonic temptation of being the fallacy of "theory" – but simultaneous ways of "reading the world", as Paulo Freire said. Every theory about the world is a "reading" of it, from the perspective of a singular subject, from the eyes of an idiosyncratic actor. Nobody is reactor in a vacuum; even when receiving messages from others, we are also actors who interpret and re-manufacture the received messages.

Although, as our intent is not to manufacture the clash of cultures or of their respective epistemologies, but to work together, as taught by humanism – the final resistance of disfiguring civilizations – we would like to work towards strengthening the relationship between developed and underdeveloped worlds which has been based on power.

It is necessary to erase the idea about Western cultural superiority, as it was the very result of cultural hegemony over non-Western people. Moreover, underdevelopment is not an inert-fact of nature, neither a phase before development, but a simultaneous product, in the periphery, of the development of the center. As stated by Mignolo (2003), "coloniality" was the hidden face of modernity, and we would suggest that the idea of the Metropolis being superior is an idea with its own vocabulary, conceptions and imagery; and the idea that the colony is inferior becomes a reality for Metropolitans, as a result.

At the very least, hegemonic cultures have always perceived foreign cultures not as they are, but through the lens of their own intellectual *apparatus*; in other words, colonizers always "understood" (and "understand") other cultures for the sake of their own interests, and sometimes for the sake of what they think the interests of the colonized are. Empirical data about colonized areas count very little; what it counts for is the vision that the colonizer has developed about the colonies, their populations and their cultures.

It is a fallacy to pretend that there is no science in knowledge that comes from the "other." To put it more circumspectly, generally the conceptions of dominant thought about dominated people are a projection by the colonizer about what they would like the colonized to be and how they would like them to think[3].

However, as time goes by, the upper strata has no answer for the periodic crises of a mode of economic production in a capitalist society. (As it is happening now with capitalism and the bourgeois society, the dominated are beginning to see through the "veil" that was put on their eyes and that blocked their possibility to see the hidden contradictions of domination.)

To be more specific, the unveiled knowledge we call "alternative reason", are rationalities that have the intention of escaping from the references of the dominant paradigm and as a result are rescuing the silenced voices.

Many thinkers may be viewed through this lens, because voices have flourished worldwide and have echoed back a different reality against hegemonic epistemologies. Each one of them comes from some specific perspective, but always denouncing the auto-referred ethnocentric system (the Euro-American, white, Christian and masculine), and has as its intention, liberating us from the very dilemma of the euro-

---

3 I have just arrived from Mexico, where the most important universities of that country developed a seminar about Paulo Freire´s thought. In its last session, that took place in the city of Colima, happened a beautiful discussion about the possibility of configuring a "feminine rationality", or a "feminine paradigm", I should say a "feminine reason", when became clear that masculine vision about feminine knowledge is what men think; it is not what it really is. Besides that, I learn that my "good" Spanish was a very "portuñol", a "border" idiom between Portuguese and Spanish, and that, in this case, despite the advantages of my cross-eyed condition, my squint idiom damaged our communication. Here, speaking English, it will be more damaging for sure. Although I prefer this English speech, afraid of the statement "traduttore, tradittore" ("translation, betrayal"), demanding a native speaker to translate my text.

centric criticism of euro-centrism. Among them, one may emphasize Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Portugal), Darcy Ribeiro (Brazil), Edouard Glissant (Martinique), Edward W. Said (Egypt), Enrique Dussel (Argentina/Mexico[4]), Walter D. Mignolo (Argentina/USA) and Paulo Freire (Brazil), all of them expressing the perspective of colonized countries and subjugated people by post-colonial imperialism. These authors appear to be transcending the "epistemic squint:" a critical perspective that viewed these theories as limited, defective, or gave them the mark of scientific and epistemological inferiority. On the contrary, these views have come into academic favor, and even have an advantage more recently.

As I do not have time to develop the ideas of them all, but as they deserve to be mentioned here, I will say only a few words about each one of authors, inviting you to read their books. So I will synthesize their epistemological intentions as "reasons".

BOAVENTURA DE SOUSA SANTOS AND THE "PRUDENT REASON"

From the *Discourse on the Sciences* to *Prudent Knowledge for a Decent Life*, and in several other works, Boaventura de Sousa Santos has developed a clear relation between science and politics. He states that modern rationality emerged five centuries ago, and despite becoming an unprecedented technological and economic-social transformation, it is also an authoritarian model, as it denies rationality to all forms of knowledge that did not abide by its own epistemological perspective.

This epistemic denial took place, simultaneously as modern rationality became a global model, which was a Western modern project of society, which then became a project of empire, and finally, it became standard as a model of emancipation and regulation of knowledge.

DARCY RIBEIRO AND THE "MESTIZA[5] REASON"

In this topic one may place Darcy Ribeiro, my professor and my friend, who died a few years ago; Néstor García Canclini (Argentina), with his "Hybrid Cultures," and Serge Gruzinski (France), with his study about the colonization of the symbolic world.

Let me begin with Gruzinski, who has developed powerful critical ideas about hegemonic reason and has given voice to the colonized people. Nevertheless, perhaps because its place of enunciation (Europe), he does not succeed in overcoming the Euro-American-centric perspective. He has studied the culture of native, colo-

---

4 When the names of two countries appear, the first one is the birth country and the second the country where the thinker actually lives).

5 "Mestiça", in Portuguese, or "mestiza" in Spanish, is a metaphor that comes from mixed races.

nized people who lived in Mexico before the arrival of the Spanish conquerors. He wrote about a "mestiza culture" and expressed the idea that the Mexicans who remembered pre-colonial times had "double sight:" "at the same time, sensible to the thoughts from the (*Nauatl*) past, the natives were opened to new relationships…" (2003, p. 103).

His conception of "cultural *métissage (?)*" is that for the colonized Mexican, Spanish reality became the dominant reality, even replacing his or her own prior perspective. His deep analysis about the work of Mexican natives in the *codex* ("pictures" of pictographic signs) and about "relaciones" of the 16th century (writings of lists with Spanish phonetic letters, produced from questionnaires imposed by colonizers), demonstrates how the natives were adept at assimilating and adapting the dominant codes, and how this unconsciously supported their cultural domination. In short, for Gruzinski, the pre-colonial Mexicans march in the direction of submission and cooperate in the subjugation of their own imagination.

Nestor García Canclini is an Argentinean that was born in 1938, and lives in Mexico City, where, since 1990 he has worked at the Universidad Autónoma de México (UAM), in Iztapalapa. In 1995, he also wrote *Culturas híbridas: estrategias para entrar y salir de la Modernidad* (*Hybrid cultures: strategies to go in and go out Modernity*)[6].

He understood "hybridization" as a socio-cultural process that happens continually within existing singular structures or concrete practices, combining cultural beliefs and ideas to generate new structures, objects and practices (García-Canclini, 2007). He emphasizes that the "separated forms" are not pure, but the product of past hybridizations.

While he defends his biological metaphor, it is inadequate in its application to social science. The origins of the word "hybridism" feels sterile in contrast to the richness of the cultural diversity he describes.

Interestingly, we can compare "hybridization" with "translation", because the latter word always carries in its etymology and its historical perspective a denotation of betrayal.

Darcy Ribeiro, the Brazilian anthropologist who died in 1997, also speaks about "Culturas Mestiças" ("Mixed Cultures"), although differently than Serge Gruzinski. He points out that Mestiças have advantages in the field of science and epistemology, as he describes the "cross-eyed knowledge" as superior as those "one-eyed" ones. Well-known to most, his description of societies that confronted each other in America, beginning in 1492: *Transplanted People* (European people in America); *Witness People* (the natives of America) and *New People* (the mixed people that came into historical context). According to Professor Darcy, the latter has an epistemological comparative advantage over the formers.

---

6   The book was translated into Portuguese and had already its second edition in 1998.

EDOUARD GLISSANT AND THE "CRIOLLA REASON"

First of all, we are very proud of having been working in the university that published Glissant´s only book, edited in Brazil (2005).

Glissant was a poet, novelist, and a philosopher. After, he wrote a defense of Afro-American theory, based on the work of Frantz Fanon, which became an important inspiration for Paulo Freire, who later wrote *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1978). Often he points to concepts that situate him in the universe of alternative epistemologies.

In 1959, he founded the "Antillean Front of Autonomy," which resulted in his being exiled. In 1995, he went back to Martinique where he founded "Martinican Studies". He lived in New York, and was a distinguished professor of French literature at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York until his death in 2011.

Glissant in contrast to "hybridism", sees the historical possibility of a civilization without hegemony. What he terms as "creolization" is the "meeting, the interference, the shock, the harmonies and disharmonies among the cultures of the world,"(Glissant, *apud* Mignolo, 2003, p. 71), and which creates the possibility for "the re-articulation of global projects from the perspective of local histories." (Mignolo, *ib.*)

EDWARD W. SAID AND "POST-COLONIAL REASON"

The book *Orientalism*, by Edward W. Said, took more than three decades to complete – its first edition was in October 1979 – and is a critique of Western historical, political and cultural perceptions of the East, and has become a modern classic. Said traces the formulation of "Orientalism" and its development as a collective self-view of Middle and Near East society that defined itself as "other" rather than Western in order to enhance its own power.

Said, an observer of the Western view of Arab culture, has succeeded, according to *The New York Review of Books*, in unifying a divided world, as he denounced the entrenched Western ideas about "the other" and showed that colonialism goes on, despite the process of decolonization of the nation-state. The "post-colonial reason" is an expression that serves to account for the dominant Western rationality, that justifies viewing the East with suspicion (even more after "September 11th"), and to silence Eastern thought.

ENRIQUE DUSSEL AND THE "ANALECTIC OR EXTERIOR REASON"

Dussel was born in 1934, in Argentina, but, like his compatriot García-Canclini, currently lives in Mexico City, since his exile in 1975. He has had a long and diversified academic career, studying philosophy, theology and history. He has written so many books that it would be possible to fill a library with them. His long academic career is the product of his long and varied studies (two undergraduate degrees and two Ph.D.s) and of his work in the Department of Philosophy of UAM.

Dussel developed the concept of "Externality," a rationality that is constructed outside the Euro-American reason. He has since left this theme to dedicate himself to other subjects, such as Theology of Liberation and Ethics, coming to the obscure concept of "Analectic," a word he created with the intention of replacing "dialectics."

WALTER MIGNOLO AND THE "BORDER REASON"

Walter Mignolo is an Argentinian who lives in the United States, works at Duke University (Ohio) and belongs to the group of "Subaltern Studies." Until 1982, "Subaltern Studies" meant people who intended to see modern history of India from an alternative perspective, different from the recognized one by the historians until that time. Later, it became something nearer to general studies about post-colonialism, inspired by Edward W. Said, especially by his book *Orientalism* (*op. cit--1978*).

Mignolo is one of the editors of *Neplanta*, an epistemological journal whose first issue was dedicated to develop various perspectives of "border" sciences and epistemologies. According to Mignolo, "Neplanta", from *nauatl* idiom, means "to live between", and it is an unhappy position of one who is situated in the middle, and it is a general question about knowledge and power (2000, p. 2).

The most important contribution of Mignolo was his reasoning about a rationality he termed "Border Thinking", in his book *Local Histories/Global Designs: Subaltern Knowledge and Border Thinking* (2000)[7].

Mignolo, himself, wrote about "border thinking":

… I will use the word *gnosiology* to state a discourse about gnosis and I will take gnosis in the direction of general knowledge, including *doxa* and *episteme*. The border gnosis, as knowledge under a subaltern perspective, is knowledge conceived as thought in the outside borders of the modern colonial system; it is marginal gnosiology as a discourse about colonial knowledge, is conceived as the conflictive intersection between the perspective of modern colonialism (rhetoric, philosophy, science) and knowledge produced from the perspective of modern colonialities by Asian, African, Latin American and Caribbean thinkers (2003, p. 33).

As one may see, the provocative style of Mignolo in this very summary presentation whets our appetite for more of his works.

---

7 In the Brazilian edition (2003) "border thinking" was translated as "pensamento liminar" (liminar thinking), and "liminar" means at the same time, the threshold and the frontier of thinking.

PAULO FREIRE AND THE "OPPRESSED REASON"

Until now, Professor Paulo Freire, the northeastern Brazilian thinker, has not succeeded in being recognized by academic studies, particularly in Brazil. Despite his deep and wide contribution, mainly in the political field, defending the oppressed of the world, his presence as a scientific and epistemological thinker has not reached importance in the academic world as of yet. The reasons, in my opinion, for this massive oversight are varied, but one reason, perhaps, is the very advantage that Paulo Freire assigned to oppressed knowledge. Many scholars take and proclaim his statements as genial intuitions, but consider them too close to the issue, to literature, and for that reason, they view it as distant from strict scientific thought. Paulo Freire wrote and developed, in his life (1921-1997), "pedagogies of **the** oppressed", and not "pedagogies **for** the oppressed". One will be mistaken if one thinks that "pedagogy," for him, must be taken in the strictest sense as a science ("looking the world and the word"), or as an epistemology. He constructed an "epistemology of the oppressed," and invited us to re-invent it.

THE WORLD-SYSTEM WITHOUT FUTURE AND UTOPIA

The majority of the thinkers that have been mentioned up to this point have been greatly influenced by the works of Immanuel Wallerstein, who developed the monumental *The Modern World-System* (three volumes, completed in 1989.)[8]

For Wallerstein, the planet is living a final crisis of the world-system, and even while being generous to oppressed people, his view is highly pessimistic, as he does not see a solution for mankind. He thinks that the world that will come into the anomic phase of 50 years at which time life will become unpredictable, because, today we have neither the data, nor the competent scientific *apparatus* to understand and explain it yet.

> The picture I have been painting is not agreeable, I know. It is scenery of a big mess, uncertainty and of personal insecurity. It is a picture of structural and fundamental problems to which there is no easy solution, neither that the *status quo* will get better as well. It is a picture of a historical system that is living a big crisis. Somebody would say it is a very pessimistic vision; I would say it is a realistic one, but not a pessimistic vision necessarily. It is clear that you think you have lived in the best possible world till today, you will not be happy hearing that this world is coming to an end. Although you have had any kind of doubt about this world being the best possible one, you will be able to see future with a little more cold blood (Wallerstein, 2003, p. 84-85).

Wallerstein unveiled the causes of his pessimism saying that it began the exhaustion of the modern world-system, that have been no more than the "capitalist world

---

8 Only the two first volumes were translated into Portuguese and published (without date).

economy [that] have been happening since XVI century" (*id.*, *ib.*, p. 18). Really it is a "capitalist system that operates on the basis of primacy of permanent capital accumulation, through the transformation of all into market products" (*id.*, *ib.*, p. 19). In short, with the half century of a violent transition, the perspective of destruction of more than one generation is global. There is no doubt that Wallerstein's sufferings will awaken the more conscious people about the mistakes of the best possible world he describes, but if he believes that his warnings are not really pessimistic, but realistic, he will lose support for his theories from the writers of this essay.

It is very ironic that in the moment that concepts of globalization occurred and the construction of a kind of "capitalist-bourgeois *pax*," or, the consolidation of the modern world-system, the meta-narratives lose their defenders. In this direction, Wallerstein and his inspiration, Fernand Braudel, contributed much, maintaining and developing the latter.

Despite criticizing the post-modern authors, Wallerstein joins them in their pessimism:

> If I have been arguing that we really are passing through a really difficult transition, walking from our actual world-system to another system or systems, and the future is uncertain, I have two questions: (i) which world do we want and (ii) which way it will be necessary to reach it. Nevertheless the first question is related to utopia, I want to make it in terms of "utopistic", as to say, from a serious evaluation of historical alternatives, exercising our judgment about the substantive rationality of possible historical systems. The second question has been made as regard as the "incoercible" progress, and I want to present it as uncertainty, as to say: the progress is possible but not inevitable (Wallerstein, 2003, p. 87-88).

From this universe, painted with such a shadowed color, whose dilemmas and challenges will be put to a Freirean educator who hopes utopia, or another world, is possible?

For sure it is very interesting to contrast the thought of a third world thinker against that of a scholar of the first world, especially as the former wrote:

> I must emphasize that this book is hopeful and optimist, but it was not written with an ingenuous false optimism, neither with vain hope. Intellectuals, even from leftist positions, for whom the future lost its problematic reasoning and is a given datum,[9] would say this book is a delirium of an uncorrectable dreamer. I do not hate them for thinking like that. I only regret their position because they have lost sense of History (Freire, 2004, p. 18).

The fatalist ideology on which the neoliberal discourse is based, walks freely worldwide. With its post-modernist spirit, it insists in going on proving that we can do

---

9 Here, Paulo Freire makes a pun with the Portuguese word "dado" (given) and the equal word "dado" (datum).

nothing against reality that became "almost natural" (*id.*, *ib.*, p. 19).

I cannot finish this text without mentioning what happened at the "First International Seminar: Freirean Dialogues (Primer Seminário Internacional: Diálogos Freirianos)," that took place Mexico City, last week[10]. It enhanced our conviction about contemporary colonization being a kind of scientific and epistemological domination. So, decolonization today would not longer be a process of liberation from the colonies to create independent nation-state, but, rather than a process of recognition of various sciences and epistemologies. And this process would not be complete if it continues to hide feminine scientific and epistemological points of view and of other "minority" theories.

Epistemic diversity will be necessary, including the emergence of feminist epistemology as a critique of the patriarchal foundations of scientific rationality.

Finally, in my opinion, this latter will be the most important fact of XXI century: the overcoming of the millenary domination of women by men.

REFERENCES

Bhabha, Homi K. *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Dussel, Enrique. *Ética da libertação na idade da globalização e da exclusão*. Tradução Ephraim Ferreira Alves, Jaime A. Clasen, Lúcia M. E. Orth, 2. ed. Petrópolis RJ: Vozes, 2002.

___. *Teologia da libertação*: Um panorama de seu desenvolvimento. Tradução Francisco da Rocha Filho, Petrópolis RJ: Vozes, 1999.

Frantz, Fanon. *Les damnés de la terre*. Paris: La Découverte, 2002.

Fanon, Frantz. *The wretched of the earth*. Translation Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 2004.

Freire, Paulo. *À sombra desta mangueira*. São Paulo: Olho d'água, 1995a.

___. *Ação cultural para a liberdade*. 8. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982.

___. *A educação na cidade*. 2. ed. São Paulo: Cortez, 1995b.

___. *A importância do ato de ler*. 26. ed. São Paulo: Cortez/Autores Associados, 1991.

___. *Cartas a Cristina*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1994.

___. *Conscientização*. São Paulo: Cortez e Moraes, 1979a.

___. *Educação como prática da liberdade*. 18. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1983.

___. *Educação e mudança*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979b.

___. *Educadores de rua: uma abordagem crítica*. Bogotá: UNICEF, 1989.

___. *Extensão ou comunicação?* 10. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1992a.

___. *Pedagogia da autonomia;* Saberes necessários à prática educativa. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 2004 (Col. "Leitura").

___. *Pedagogia da esperança*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1992b.

___. *Pedagogia do oprimido*. 6. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978.

___. *Política e educação*. São Paulo: Cortez, 1993 (Col. "Questões da nossa Época", 23).

___. *Professora sim, tia não;* Cartas a quem ousa ensinar. 7. ed., São Paulo: Olho d'Água, 1995c.

___ e Betto, Frei. *Essa escola chamada vida*. 6. ed., São Paulo: Ática, 1988.

___ *et al. Vivendo e aprendendo;* experiências do IDAC em educação popular. 9. ed. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985.

___; Faundez, Antonio. *Por uma pedagogia da pergunta*. 3. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1985.

___, Gadotti, Moacir; Guimarães, Sérgio. *Pedagogia: diálogo e conflito*. 3. ed. São Paulo: Cortez/

10 This text was presented in Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon, Portugal), one week after its presentation in the mentioned seminar in México City, at UNAM.

JOSÉ EUSTÁQUIO ROMÃO

Autores Associados, 1989.

___; Guimarães, Sérgio. *Aprendendo com a própria história*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987.

___; Macedo, Donaldo. *Literacy: reading the word and the world*. Mass.: Bergin Garvey, 1987.

___; Shor, Ira. *Medo e ousadia: o cotidiano do professor*. 5. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1995.

Glissant, Édouard. *Introdução a uma poética da diversidade*. Trad. Enilce Albergaria Rocha, Juiz de Fora MG: Ed. UFJF, 2005.

Gruzinski, Serge. *A colonização do imaginário*: Sociedades indígenas e ocidentalização no México Espanhol – séculos XVI-XVIII. Tradução Beatriz Perrone-Moisés. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003.

Hardt, Michael; Negri, Antonio. *Multitude*: War and democracy in the age of empire. New York: Penguin Books, 2004.

Holloway, John. *Mudar o mundo sem tomar o poder*. Tradução Emir Sader, São Paulo: Viramundo, 2003.

Held, David; McGrew, Anthony. *The global transformations reader*: An introduction to globalization debate. 2. ed., 2. reprinted Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005.

Kuhn, Thomas. *Estrutura das revoluções científicas*. 3. ed. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1995.

Lampe, Armando (org.). *História e libertação*: Homenagem aos 60 anos de Enrique Dussel. Petrópolis RJ: Vozes; São Paulo: CEHILA1996.

Mignolo, Walter. Introduction: From cross-genealogies and Subaltern Knowledges to *Neplanta, Neplanta*: Views from the South. Durham, v. I, issue I, 2000.

Ribeiro, Darcy. *Os brasileiros*: I Teoria do Brasil. 4. ed. Petrópolis RJ: Vozes, 1978.

___. *O processo civilizatório*: Etapas da evolução sociocultural. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.

___. *Cultura e imperialismo*. Tradução Denise Bottman, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. *A crítica da razão indolente*: Contra o desperdício da experiência. São Paulo: Cortez, 2000 (v. 1 – Para um novo senso comum: A ciência, o direito e a política na transição democrática).

___ (org.). *Conhecimento prudente para uma vida decente*; "Um discursos sobre as Ciências" revisitado. São Paulo: Cortez: 2004.

Smart, Barry. *A pós-modernidade*. Tradução Ana Paula Curado, Lisboa: Europa-América, s.d.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Unthinking social science*: The limits of nineteenth-century paradigms. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

___. *O sistema mundial moderno*: A agricultura capitalista e as origens da economia-mundo europeia do século XVI. Porto: Afrontamento, s.d., v. I.

___. ___: O mercantilismo e a consolidação da economia-mundo europeia, 1600-1750. Porto: Afrontamento, s.d., v. II.

Wierviorka, Michel. *Em que mundo viveremos?* Tradução Eva Landa; Fábio Landa, São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2006.

José Eustáquio Romão
UNINOVE S. Paulo
Instituto Paulo Freire

MANUELA GUILHERME

Chapter 4

"GLOCAL" LANGUAGES AND NORTH-SOUTH EPISTEMOLOGIES

Plurilingual and intercultural relationships

INTRODUCTION: KNOWLEDGE ECOLOGY – RESTATING THE BALANCE

This chapter builds upon the idea that there have been different knowledge-producing frameworks in the world, profiting from and resisting the unequal relations of power, which correspond to different world and life visions. Science and academia have been reproducing a successful model, one that originated in European history and was formalized during the Enlightenment, and which has since remained unquestioned, and was exported worldwide during colonialism. A scientific model has been imposed through all kinds of evaluation procedures and strengthened by the globalized idea of an "entrepreneurial university" (Barnett, 2011), and the English language has been used as a powerful vehicle to further this idea (Guilherme, 2007). However, since the late 1960s, higher education institutions all over the world have reconsidered the organization of curricula and introduced new content, mainly related to native ethnic groups, or others who had not, until then, been represented in the academic canon. This was a movement that started in the United States with the civil rights movement and intensified there with the impact of affirmative action. This tendency has now become globalized to higher education institutions around the world and the argument for epistemological equity and cognitive justice is now gaining momentum (Santos, 2007a/b). In the meantime, academics, focusing on international research projects, have attempted to translate and negotiate the complexity of meanings for work relations and for interaction principles; however, such practices and remaining difficulties at the grassroots level have not yet been given voice, or the space for critical meta-analysis.

The "North/South" metaphor shall be adopted here in order to represent different world visions, a variety of knowledge-producing frameworks, as well as different perspectives about concepts such as multiculturalism and interculturality. There have been several Latin American authors contributing to this metaphor in a critique of Eurocentric imposed views, meaning that the South is also entitled to have a

say in world politics and economy; moreover, that this contribution is indispensable for the world's ecological balance and, therefore, its sustainability (e.g. Estermann, 2010; Mignolo, 2000, 2011). This has also been the strong message by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, who has opened a North/South dialogue for the advancement of counter-hegemonic globalization (Santos, 2009, 2010a/b). For example, in *Si el Sur fuera el Norte* (*If the South Were the North*) Estermann states that intercultural philosophy in Latin America is promoting a dialogue between North and South; that is, between European traditions of thought (as developed in Latin America) and indigenous Amer-Indian traditions. However, the focus is on developing a mutual respect between the two cultures, without aiming at a synthesis. This is despite the difficulty in translating between different cosmological visions, concepts, living and moral standards (Estermann, 2008, pp. 66-67). Furthermore, Northern concepts of the "good society" (Lippman, 1937, 2004) are substantially different from the Southern notions of "buen vivir" (Mamani, 2010); and, nowadays, in globalized societies, individuals and communities need to negotiate common grounds, which are not necessarily uniform, on which to live and work together.

Such a dialogue goes beyond mere linguistic translation, and strongly argues for a "diatopical hermeneutics," an expression introduced by Panikkar (Estermann, 2008), that implies a philosophical standing upon differing *topoi*; in this case, different cultural cosmovisions. This expression was also developed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, who insightfully defined the concept and described its ontological and epistemological implications (Santos, 1999, 2009). According to Santos, "diatopical hermeneutics" is based on the idea that "the *topoi* of an individual culture, no matter how strong they may be, are as incomplete as the culture itself" (1999, p. 222). In contrast, modern European thought has tended to unilaterally impose hegemony, in its own terms, despite it being based upon dichotomies, mainly in the form of colonial thought, which have been comprised of "the traveling theories [that] were traveling from North to South," whose "languages in which they dressed and traveled were the colonial languages, chiefly French and German" (Mignolo 2000, p. 174). It is also worth noting that English in North America was high in the colonial symbolic representation, whereas Spanish and Portuguese, even in their own colonies and despite their status of official languages, were placed at the intermediate level of colonialism. Native languages were, if not completely eradicated, kept hidden in zones of darkness, which gave them a fragile chance of survival (Souza, 2006; 2008; 2012). The hierarchy of languages in multilingual, postcolonial settings, between European colonized languages and indigenous languages, and even among themselves, reveals the complex relationship that multiculturalism and multilingualism has shared throughout history. Hence, the introduction here of the term "glocal" languages, to be discussed below, refers to predominant European languages in postcolonial settings, some with the status of "official language," and others claimed through global supremacy, such as English.

Acknowledging that such zones of shadow and darkness were, in fact, forged has been imperative for the process of epistemological "decolonization" (Mignolo,

2011). For that purpose, Santos again has put forward a sociological framework that allows for the unveiling of such a historical manipulation, and which consists of a two-phased process: firstly, that of the "sociology of absences*"* which consists in actually proving, in sociological terms, that what does not exist is, in fact, actively produced as non-existent by hegemonic criteria of rationality and efficiency. The counter-hegemonic strategy of the "sociology of absences" consists of replacing a regime of "monocultures" by a regime of "ecologies." Secondly, a "sociology of emergences" opens up the horizon of what is possible, of what may be considered as alternative, by identifying traces of future possibilities in whatever voice has resisted the process of destruction (Santos, 2010b). Among the five ecologies identified by the author, "the ecology of knowledges," calling for the validation of previously discredited knowledge(s) that may offer alternative criteria of rigor, illustrates the kind of change in attitudes that such an epistemological transformation entails.

"GLOCAL" AND POSTCOLONIAL CITIZENSHIPS

With the unfolding of colonialism and globalization, which have constituted different phases of a continuing process led by capitalism at both its early and later stages, North and South have, to some extent, been de-territorialized, and therefore permeated every society in both hemispheres, although symbolic representations remain geographically situated (Canclini, 2005). To be more precise, North and South are not only geographical concepts (Santos, 2010b), but also cultural, political and socio-economic references to, respectively, the dominating and dominated social layers of urban centers in postcolonial global societies, both colonizers and colonized. However, if postcolonial academic practices tend to "deconstruct the colonial narrative as written by the colonizer, and try to replace it by narratives written from the point of view of the colonized;" that is, "privilege[s] textual exegesis and the performative practices to analyze the systems of representation and the identity processes" (Santos, 2002, p. 13), as it is likely to happen, then this move will likely lead to societal changes in power relations, although cultural influence by global media as well as economic models imposed by global economy may still have some weight.

The World Social Forum (WSF) also represents an alternative to hegemonic globalization and, therefore, offers not only a different worldview but also guidance for the development of global practices, processes, and products within a "radical critique of present-day reality and the aspiration to a better society" (Santos, 2003). The WSF defines itself, in its Charter of Principles, as an "open meeting place" (point 1) that "brings together and interlinks only organizations and movements of civil society from all the countries in the world" (Point 5). Moreover, besides offering a forum for transnational exchange between social movements and organizations from all over the world, as an alternative political parties, government leaders or multi-national corporations, the WSF has, according to Santos, "created a certain symmetry of scale between hegemonic globalization and the movements and NGOs" (Santos, 2003: 69).

Furthermore, the difference between the concepts of migration and mobility accounts for the existence of two types of cosmopolitanism, if we focus on citizenship issues, which correspond to two types of bilingualism or multilingualism that have been dominant in our societies: (a) deficit cosmopolitanism and (b) elite cosmopolitanism. The first, intrinsic to the contemporary nature of the nation-state, lies in the multicultural fringes of society, generally restricted to the lower socioeconomic levels, which are only recognized by a monocultural state to the extent that they are expected to go through transitory bilingualism in order to reach monolingualism and to keep their multicultural irreconcilable spaces apart, designating two spaces, the private and the public. The second, extrinsic to the nation-state, lies in the upper socioeconomic levels of society, where multilingualism is the goal and the dialogue between cultures is possible and, therefore, intercultural competencies are valued, regardless of how they are achieved, as long as they are strategically effective. However, it is not only vertical and horizontal, but spatial as well as epistemological mobility that has intensified across and within societies and cultures; and (a) upper class cosmopolitanism has increased with the inclusion of media-produced *nouveaux riches*; (b) middle class cosmopolitanism has become ubiquitous with globalization and "glocalization" and the resulting exchange programs in education; and, (c) lower class cosmopolitanism has become more educated, therefore individually reaching the upper levels or establishing global links at a group level.

Although the feasibility of an effective transnational citizenship is considered premature because access to social and political rights still depend very much on rules and regulations established by the nation-state (Falk, 2000), the growing importance of transnational organizations, and of "globalization-from-below" movements, such as the WSF, requires a different attitude towards language. If, on the one hand, strong foreign languages, like English and Spanish, are becoming more and more widespread, then, on the other hand, "glocalization" and "cosmopolitanization" also provide for a greater contact with minority languages, promoting a world that Beck describes as "the internalized global," both at an individual and national level (Beck, 2002). As citizenship acquires a de-territorialized transnational dimension, it allows for the "globalization" and, consequently, "glocalization" of a few of the most widespread and most powerful languages, namely English, but also for recurrent contact with and interest in other languages. These may be either minority or majority languages, such as Mandarin in Asia, Swahili or Shona in Africa, or Portuguese, a minor national language in Europe, although widespread across the world.

Kymlicka also supports a holistic idea of a society that is culturally diverse and provides us with a new citizenship paradigm consisting of a multicultural statehood framework encompassing an intercultural citizenry; specifically, states need to recognize the multicultural composition of society and be based upon a multicultural representation supported by institutions that equitably reflect the multicultural fabric of society, so that citizens may play their roles interculturally. Although the author states that "the precise details vary from country to country," he proposes to

replace "the idea of a nation-state with that of a 'multination' state" (2003, p. 150-151). This is not a new idea and there have been an increasing number of examples, both in Europe and in Latin America, of states acknowledging their "plurination-hood" in official documents, in terms of linguistic and cultural diversity. However, Kymlicka admits different ways of perceiving and defining a multicultural state and therefore he concludes that "a 'multicultural state' is one that reforms itself to enable … various forms of multicultural membership in the state" (p. 153). As for the understanding of intercultural citizenry, Kymlicka clarifies that it involves "a range of more positive personal attitudes towards diversity" (p. 157) and eventually a serious commitment to the workings of a multicultural state, and he insightfully adds that "the goal of building and sustaining a multicultural state requires citizens to privilege local interculturalism over global interculturalism" (p. 161). In short, multiculturalism and interculturality/interculturalism should be made inseparable from each other and are, above all, not extrinsic, but intrinsic, to any society.

There is a wide understanding that, within the political limits of the nation-state, multiculturalism encompasses sub-state groups that, according to the particularities of each region, may include more or less immigrant communities or native communities that survived the "homogenization" process, understood in the intellectual construct of nationality as an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983). Although paradoxical, we must admit that the preservation of specific cultural communities within the national context has historically been made possible by discrimination and even more so by segregation. Kymlicka, for example, proposes a set of varieties of liberal multiculturalism, namely: (a) indigenous peoples; (b) substate/minority nationalisms; (c) immigrant groups (2007, pp. 66-71); however, such a frame presents several uncertainties, for example, whether the category of "indigenous people" does or does not coincide with that of "substate/minority nationalisms;" or, even still, the many variables within "immigrant groups," a broad term that begs the question of their territorial and socioeconomic origins, and particular immigration waves and generations. In general, it seems to offer no discussion that "as a discourse, multiculturalism can broadly – and without, for the moment, further specification – be understood as the recognition of co-existence of a plurality of cultures within the nation" (Stratton & Ang, 1998, p. 135). It is also common understanding that the description of a society as "multicultural" implies that the different elements – cultural groups – are awarded equitable social and political recognition or, at the very least, acknowledgement. This is the minimum requirement for the formal "multiculturality" of a national society, which, however, does not ensure that this given society is intercultural. We can detect the societies where the pendulum falls on either side of the spectrum, either in relation to how their members describe their accomplished cultural diversity, or with regard to how they live with it (Guilherme et al., 2010). On the one hand, this idea seems to imply that these different cultural communities have the ability or the desire to survive independently from each other in 21st century societies, in such a widespread culture of networking and mobility. On the other hand, this seems to go against the notion of nationality as the

ethnic "horizon" and support of the nation-state. Kymlicka's citizenship model of "multicultural states and intercultural citizens," as described above, may be viewed as offering us a kind of a "third-way" solution that deserves serious appreciation.

THE ROLE OF CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

While intercultural citizenship education is also making its way to higher education (Palaiologulu & Dietz, 2012, Souza, 2006, 2008, 2012), higher education institutions are themselves becoming aware of their important role in promoting equity and social cohesion in the closer and wider communities (Teodoro, 2010). This is happening not only in Latin America but also in Europe, as shown by the outputs of the EU-funded project "Inter-university Framework Program for Equity and Social Cohesion Policies in Higher Education" (http://www.riaipe-alfa.eu/). Therefore, despite the official re-inforcement of the "entrepreneurial" model, higher education institutions everywhere are taking special responsibility in promoting epistemic and social justice not only through academic internationalization but also through their cooperation with surrounding communities within the scope of research and intervention projects. However, while it is widely accepted that interculturality entails "setting up communication bridges and deep changes in every sphere in society" (Molina, 2013, p. 91, author's translation), Yapu concedes that neither universities nor society in general – not even in Latin America – have given priority yet to a topical political issue, which would be the introduction of indigenous knowledge in traditional universities. And he becomes more specific: "therefore, all experiments [*experiências*] (graduation programmes on intercultural health, intercultural education, cultural diversity in higher education, etc.), indigenous universities included, are outsiders to the system: they are nothing but experiments" (Yapu, 2013, p. 117, author's translation).

Nevertheless, all over the world, communities resulting from all types of intercultural mobility penetrate cultural barriers, both social and professional, from which they emerge and create very particular dynamics, with both positive and negative effects. Intercultural mobility creates a rich and complex holistic process, which goes beyond mere displacement, straightforward multicultural interaction or detached cross-cultural communication. As Barton & Tusting point out, "discourse and power are central to understandings of the dynamics of communities of practice" (2005). Thus, from our point of view, the development of intercultural expertise requires not only an awareness of the meaning-making mechanisms, or "conscientização" – a recurrent theme in Freire's works – but also dialogical tools for engaging in cross-cultural interaction and communication. It is also necessary to develop an ability to manage and explore these mechanisms and tools in order to achieve effective intercultural communication and interaction, which are fundamental for living in new and emerging communities as well as being active citizens in those communities (Guilherme, 2000).

Critical pedagogy meets the challenge of dealing with culture by "bringing the laws of cultural representation face-to-face with their founding assumptions, con-

traditions and paradoxes" (MacLaren, 1994, p. 216). It is also interwoven with the notion of ethics, both observant of universal human rights and attentive to particular stories located in specific contexts. Giroux, one of the strongest advocates of critical pedagogy in North America, states that, "ethics must be seen as a central concern of critical pedagogy …" and in his view, within the framework of a critical pedagogy, "ethics is taken up as a struggle against inequality and as a discourse for expanding basic human rights" (Giroux, 1992, p. 74). In relation to ethics, issues of human suffering, dignity and emancipation are concerns that are central to critical pedagogy. Within this framework, critical pedagogy is vital for the accomplishment of multicultural/intercultural democratic citizenship education programs. In Freire's words, "to be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world," and he adds, "men relate to their world in a critical way," as "they apprehend the objective data of their reality (as well as the ties that link one datum to another) through reflection – not by reflex, as do animals" (1974, p. 3). These axiomatic statements also invite us to reflect upon the nature of the world to which humans relate and the nurturing of humans who, in turn, relate to one another.

Critical pedagogy includes teaching as part of the teaching/learning process, viewed as a dialectical and dialogical reproduction as well as production of knowledge. Secondly, it implies both an epistemological turn, in that it is aimed at the critical apprehension and re-building of knowledge; and a methodological shift, in that it focuses mostly on purposeful action; that is, what to do with knowledge in order to cooperatively transform society for the better, rather than on the interaction aimed at acquiring "ready-to-consume knowledge." Finally, the implementation of critical pedagogy always takes into consideration the "situatedness" of the individual in place and time, each of which should be understood in their different concentric circles – from local to global and vice-versa – and in relation to their historical layers. It is therefore very much concerned with identity issues, with the learner's individual and collective heritage and, as a result, with her/his social and political empowerment as a subject of knowledge, since "critical pedagogy identifies the subjects who form the discursive community of learners and knowers" (Hovey, 2004, p. 248). On the whole, critical pedagogy may respond to the needs of contemporary education at all levels, from basic to higher education, as well as to the challenges of a global era, cosmopolitan societies and an epistemological turn: "Critical pedagogy can provide insight and direction for this global turn in higher education by identifying sites of knowledge production resistant to change and offering productive ways of engaging in international or intercultural themes" (ibid, p. 247).

As Torres reminds us, "from his notion of cultural diversity, he [Freire] identified the notion of crossing borders in education suggesting that there is an ethical imperative to cross borders if we attempt to educate for empowerment and not for oppression" (Torres, 2007). The conceptual framework of critical pedagogy makes all the difference for the definition of "effective" intercultural communication and interaction, in that it develops the concept of dialogue in complexity; that is, by

moving beyond the idea of apparent consensus and superficial harmony. Since a critical pedagogy looks suspiciously on power dialectics, dialogue is not "naïf," in Freire's words, and, therefore, "it cannot exclude conflict," since they "interact dialectically" (Freire, 2007 [1st. ed. 1979], author's translation). Within this view, "effective" critical intercultural dialogue does not aim at a final consensus or expect enduring cordiality throughout. Instead it is built upon unstable and dynamic platforms of understanding/misunderstanding and temporary agreements/disagreements, based on reciprocal and respectful communication and collaboration, to be negotiated again and again with an eye on the power issues to be fought for and against.

CONCEPTUAL DIALECTICS ON CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The interpretations of what multiculturalism, interculturality, and transculturality stand for, as abstractions, are eventually deeply rooted in cultural traditions and ontological standpoints. In addition, the suffixes also vary from "-ism" (e.g., multiculturalism, interculturalism, pluriculturalism, transculturalism) to "ity" (e.g., multiculturality, interculturality, pluriculturality, transculturality), presumably with different but apparently fixed meanings. Also to note are other expressions such as "the" multicultural, "the" intercultural, "the" pluricultural or "the" transcultural. By and large, all these prefixes and suffixes, as well as the modifier "the" plus the descriptive noun, have specific standardized meanings; however, the ideological, historical, political and social connotations vary and certainly have implications upon different academic options and discussions.

Terms such as "multicultural," "intercultural," and "transcultural" are now all becoming quite common around the world, both in academia and in official policy documents. However, each one of them is more or less familiar to each society, either with positive or negative connotations, depending on the academic traditions and the historical developments of each one of the terms in each context. This means that such terms are not universal signifiers either, although they are often paradoxically understood as such despite their own particular reference to difference. In sum, the interpretations of what multiculturalism, interculturality, and transculturality stand for, as abstractions, are actually deeply rooted in cultural traditions and ontological standpoints (Estermann, 2010). In addition, there are subtleties of difference to be weighed within each one of these terms; for example, while "interculturalism" can be interpreted as being connected with the intensification of mobility, a concession by states to respond to the need to pacify pluricultural societies, and by global business to respond to the needs of investment, "interculturality" points to the existential character of societal bonds that need to be re-conceptualized due not only to contemporary ethnic and cultural diversity in our society, but also to the strengthening of critical awareness and empowerment of individuals and groups that were formerly marginalized. Therefore, not only does critical *interculturality* demand systemic change of social and political institutions, but the terms

under which this change occurs need to be multilaterally negotiated, as opposed to unilaterally imposed (Viaña, J., Tapia, L. & Walsh, C., 2010).

In Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Iberian-American contexts on the whole, the word *interculturalidad(e)* is becoming more and more common and substantively refers to the ontological dimensions of both the individual and society. In Latin America, there remains a great challenge in making visible the original cultural diversity that has survived the colonial and immigration segregation and assimilation processes, as well as bringing awareness to the national homogenization that was carried out after independence. It is evident that Anglophone academia has, for almost half a century now, taken the lead in theorization and policy design of multiculturalism; therefore, the term "multiculturalism" has become ubiquitous in academia, in the media, in political debate, and has become a part of the mainstream cultural vernacular. It is not long ago that European scholars, teachers, and politicians, etc. could not even recognize the word "intercultural;" however, due to the increasing use of this term in transnational official documents by the UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the European Commission, for example, its use has recently become more common. It's important to note that the increased use of the phrase does not imply consensus among those who are using it, neither for scientific interpretation nor for ideological approval. The word still sounds strange, a neologism, in Anglophone circles, while it has, from the beginning, sounded familiar in Spanish and Portuguese, and generally in Iberian-American circles. Generally speaking, in Europe, at least in southern countries, the term was promptly and easily adopted, despite its different connotations; for example, in Spain there was a stronger focus on pluri-nationalism, and a more cosmopolitan flavor in Portugal, which is understandable, for historical reasons. By and large, in the United States, it is lately becoming more used but still falls short of recognition of a singular community identity; whereas in Latin America, the phrase is widely used although many have raised concerns about neglecting to recognize the historical power relations and abuse that was so much a part of Latin America's colonial past. However, the notion of *interculturality* is also gaining momentum in addressing society as a whole, but this does imply a holistic concept of culture; on the contrary, it suggests that the intercultural character of life in society is not a matter only for those who are different, either immigrants or natives/indigenous, that is, "se a categoria da interculturalidade tem algum sentido é no abarcar da sociedade como um todo: não é exclusivamente 'assunto de e para migrantes', 'de ou para, indígenas', 'de ou para minorias' sejam elas alóctones ou autóctones" (Giménez-Romero, 2010, p. 19), but rather, it is the cultural diversity in society as a whole. In sum, it is everyone's issue; that is, everyone is someone else's Other.

In English, "interculturalism" is preferred over "interculturality," perhaps because the former is viewed as overlapping with "multiculturalism." It is nevertheless often understood as an updated and more fashionable term that tends to avoid the conflicting and relativistic connotations of the latter. For example, Anglophone multiculturalists such as Meer and Modood believe that "multiculturalism pres-

ently surpasses interculturalism as a political orientation," and that "until interculturalism as a political discourse is able to offer an original perspective … it cannot, intellectually at least, eclipse multiculturalism" (2011, p. 192). This is not, however, a consensual understanding, since both terms are politically loaded and "interculturalism" cannot be understood without its ideological and economic values considered, even though both terms are generally assigned different and even diverging political orientations. Their common suffix, "ism," may also signify that both represent a social movement; nevertheless, both terms are assumed to convey a common meaning or, at least, to provide the same solution for a problem – in this case, a dominant paradigm that assumes a single perspective and a single world vision. On the contrary, Walsh claims for "*una interculturalidad crítica,*" which aims not only for recognition, tolerance or integration of cultural diversity within a western/Eurocentric dominated structural matrix, that is, "su proyeto no es simplemente reconocer, tolerar o incorporarlo diferente dentro de la matriz y estruturas estabelecidas" (2010, p. 79). A critical *interculturality* aims to de-center, re-conceptualize and lay new existential, epistemological and sociological foundations for equitable institutions and environments; that is, "es re-conceptualizar y re-fundar estructuras sociales, epistémicas y de existencias que ponen en escena y en relación equitativa lógicas, prácticas y modos culturales diversos de pensar, actuar y vivir" (ibid).

The Modern Language Association's report (2007) identifies "a specific outcome" for language education, which they name "translingual and transcultural competence." This is defined as "the ability to operate between languages," and adds that "transcultural understanding [is] the ability to comprehend and analyze the cultural narratives that appear in every kind of expressive form" (pp. 3-4). This report offers an interpretation of the transcultural dimension of interculturality that is also rather common and that places it in-between languages and cultures, somewhere where they can converse with each other. Kramsch, a member of the Report Committee, draws upon the "symbolic nature of transcultural competence" and explains that it entails a "risky circulation of values across historical and ideological time scales, the negotiation of nonnegotiable identities and beliefs," in sum, that it implies "reflecting on the way that our and the Other's realities mutually construct each other through symbolic systems" (2012, p. 18).

Therefore, the conceptualization of "interculturality," if it is to be a critical one that acquires ontological and epistemological connotations, requires an equal dialogue in society between people of different cultures who must remain identifiable and recognizable groups comprised of individuals who freely identify themselves as members of different cultures. Finally, we cannot have real interculturality without true multiculturalism; both remain ideological and, consequently, political and pedagogical tools for building interdependent societal relationships. Nevertheless, according to Bhabha, "the multicultural has itself become a 'floating signifier' whose enigma lies less in itself than in the discursive uses of it …" (1998, p. 31) All these concepts whose definitions we have been attempting to discuss, and put into dialogue with each other, namely, "multiculturalism" and "interculturalism"/"inter

culturality," are simultaneously ideologically loaded and culturally slippery. They are, however, unavoidable concepts in contemporary social and cultural studies, which need academic digging. To start with, multiculturalism has, to some extent, fallen into a vague notion, not only in the definition of the term but also in the identification of its elements.

UNESCO provided simple, basic and helpful working definitions of the terms "multiculturalism" and "interculturalism/interculturality" from a pedagogical context; where the former "describes the culturally diverse nature of human society," the latter, using indiscriminately the first or the second terminology, is described as "a dynamic concept [that] refers to evolving relations between cultural groups" (2006, p. 17). The positions where different cultural groups stand in society, and how each one views itself – how each group sees its position and role in society – are in fact disregarded here. However, the document adds that "interculturality" presupposes "multiculturalism," which is a relevant clarification for the purpose mentioned above, but nevertheless, it ignores the question as to whether or not "multiculturalism" presupposes "interculturality," which is, in my opinion, equally relevant.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN A "GLOCAL" WORLD

Researchers and practitioners from all over the world have published the results of their work, theories and best practices related to identity-building and hybridization, intercultural conflict, either in society or at work, and have discussed the concept of the "intercultural speaker" introduced by the Council of Europe, through its "Common European Framework of Reference for Languages" (CEFR, 1996) and introduced different models for developing interculturally- competent citizens (e.g. Deardorff, 2009). Transnational organizations, such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO, have themselves supported studies on related areas (UNESCO, 2013). Other collective work has focused on power pressures on communication, on the relationship between communication and transnationality, languages and cultures in contact, intercultural pragmatics and rhetoric, stereotyping, on intercultural training within business education, and other fields of professional development programs (Jackson, 2012; Paulston et al., 2012).

Having the above studies in mind, we may conclude that intercultural experience does not equate with intercultural competence, and, furthermore, that there is no single model of intercultural competence that fits every intercultural experience. There is, however, a need for the development of certain principles and strategies that may provide the person and the group, both from an individual and from a collective point of view, with the knowledge and predispositions towards multiculturalism, interculturality and intercultural dialogue, which will allow the intercultural experience to turn into an opportunity for personal, societal and professional reflection and enrichment.

Risager also broadens the concept by stating that "intercultural competence is very much the competence of navigating in the world, both at the micro-level of

social interaction in culturally complex settings, and at macro-levels through trans-national networks like diasporas and media communications" (Risager 2009: 16). Nevertheless, being "intercultural" may also be viewed as an ontological-like lens through which one sees the world (Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004). Both authors envision a "critical cultural awareness," a term introduced by Byram (1997, 2008), and a disposition to act that is developed through education, and entails moving beyond the individual dimension towards a collective one by undertaking "a philosophical, pedagogical, and political attitude towards culture" (Guilherme, 2002: 219). This process leads the "intercultural speaker" through "a critical cycle," that motivates "a reflective, exploratory, dialogical and active stance towards cultural knowledge and life that allows for dissonance, contradiction, and conflict as well as for consensus, concurrence, and transformation" (ibid.).

This reasoning also suggests a move beyond the concept of "intercultural competence" towards a notion of "intercultural responsibility," which adds a social, relational, civic and ethical component to the conception of intercultural competence (Guilherme et al. 2010). This concept was introduced by the author within the scope of ICOPROMO – Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility – a project, funded by the Leonardo da Vinci Programme (2003-2006), aimed at building a bridge between pedagogy and training, and producing materials for professional development in intercultural communication and interaction (www.ces.uc.pt/ico-promo). This concept – "Intercultural Responsibility" – has been pointed out as one of the key terms within the UNESCO "Conceptual Vocabulary for Intercultural Competences" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 17). Intercultural responsibility is understood here as a conscious and mutually respectful relationship among the members of a "glocal" community, in both the professional and personal realms, assuming that they have different ethnic backgrounds, either national or otherwise. This means that members-in-interaction demonstrate that they are aware of the particularities of collaborating with their co-citizens and/or co-workers, either in an inter- or intra-national context, recognizing that their identities have been politically, socially and culturally constructed based on different ethnic elements and influences which have brought to bear varying importance, at different stages. Furthermore, intercultural responsibility implies that every member is responsible not only for identifying and recognizing the cultural idiosyncrasies of every other member-in-interaction, but also for developing full and reciprocally-demanding civic and professional relationships with them. The notion of intercultural responsibility adds a moral, although cosmopolitan, element to global ethics.

"GLOCAL" LANGUAGES IN ACADEMIA

The European Commission, the Council of Europe, and the European Union nation-states to varying degrees, are among those official entities in the world that lately have acted in a more consistent manner to ensure multilingualism, at least with respect to official recommendations or legislation. Going beyond transitory bilingual-

ism, they have made an argument for enduring bilingualism and even trilingual-ism through formal education (Mercator, 2011). Although the dominant national languages have taken greater advantage of these efforts across Europe, even less dominant national languages, including sub-national and heritage languages, and immigrant ones, have also benefitted from some state support.

The three strands of the EU's multilingualism policy, according to the *New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism* (Communication by the EC, 2006), are:

– Encouraging language learning and promoting linguistic diversity in society;
– Promoting a healthy, multilingual economy;
– Promoting social integration though improved knowledge and acceptance of languages.

However, the revitalization of European languages over the world, the new *corpora*, roles and challenges that they have undertaken and are currently undertaking in "glocalized" societies, have not received sufficient attention from official organizations, nor have they benefitted from research from either the North or the South on both sides of the Atlantic. For this reason, I have called them "glocal" languages, using the composite word introduced by Robertson (1995), keeping in mind his statement that "the 'global-local' is more complex than an 'action-reaction' relationship," since they have become global, de-territorialized, and again been reinvented locally. "Glocal" languages are, therefore, confronted with issues of power, as they compete with each other and subjugate other languages, at the intra-, inter- and trans-national levels.

From this perspective, the focus has been mainly on the implementation of different approaches in foreign language education, mainly the teaching/learning of "English as a global language" (Guilherme, 2007). Notions such as English as a "world language" and English as *lingua franca* have now become popular. The teaching of Spanish and Portuguese, as foreign languages, has predominantly followed the trends set by English language education. However, my proposal of a new terminology, that of "glocal" language (Robertson, 1995), seeks to offer an alternative to *lingua franca*. As I understand it, *lingua franca* originally refers to the notion of a linguistic tool generally used for transactional purposes:

1. It is a language that, for a number of reasons, turns into a helpful vehicle for a simple exchange and which is "tax-free", that is, unloaded, made free of its cultural, historical and sociological heritage, which makes communication flow without restraints;

2. It is a language that is made "naked" of any complexities, e.g., emotional, cognitive, or other, that may constitute impediments to simply achieve the objective result that was foreseen beforehand, and which fulfills the interest of just one side of the interlocutors, mainly through (self-)persuasion;

3. It is a language that is fictional, reinvented upon the original language itself, which then operates in compliance with the conceptual backdrop of the speakers' mother tongue, both of which are responsible for misunderstandings that rest critically unattended.

However, English, or any other language acting as "global," is a politically loaded language that is manipulated everyday mainly by those who have greater access to power and affluence, and that it is itself a powerful vehicle for the exercise of a global citizenship, in the cosmopolitan sense (Santos, 2009). Therefore, a critical pedagogy of it, which is implicit in the concept of "glocal" language, is something that deserves to be fully explored. This calls for a critical and conscious use of linguistic tools and offers plentiful opportunities for critically active cosmopolitan citizenship, while also making room for expansive cross- and inter-cultural *savoirs* (Byram, 1997).

The conceptual framework embodied in the term "glocal" language also responds to Santos' theories about the forms of production of globalization, namely: (a) "globalized localism" – "the process by which a given local phenomenon is successfully globalized, be it the transformation of the English language in *lingua franca;*" (b) "localized globalism" – "the specific impact of transnational practices and imperatives on local conditions that are thereby destructured and restructured in order to respond to transnational imperatives;" (c) "cosmopolitanism" – "the opportunity for subordinate nation-states, regions, classes or social groups and their allies to organize transnationally in defense of perceived common interests and use to their benefit the capabilities for transnational interaction created by the world system;" (d) "common heritage of humankind" – namely, "the emergence of issues which, by their nature, are as global as the globe itself" (Santos, 1999: 217-218). Not only do humanities departments in universities, both in Europe and in Latin America, need to be aware of the implications described above while managing their curricula, but researchers also need to be aware of the subtleties, both implicit and explicit, in their multilingual and intercultural communication and interaction while networking internationally.

CONCLUSION

Intercultural communication and interaction today require challenging conceptual frameworks because new paradigms of communication and interaction through and within cultural systems are taking shape. Therefore, dichotomies that were intrinsic to a structural modern way of thinking are currently being questioned, as shown with the statement, "the dichotomy of global scale versus local setting is false, [however], for if we live in a globalized world, we live it through local circumstances, and the terms global/local are necessarily linked" (Collins et al., 2009, p. 1). Not only is the former notion of space being put into question, but the notion of time needs to be reconsidered, as well. Viewing cultural representations as if they were "between mirrors," i.e., taking reciprocal looks at each other's conceptual frameworks while necessarily assuming that they have the same validity, brings us to a level of "critical cultural awareness" which enables us to critically reflect upon the foundations of our judgmental assumptions. Following this line of thought, we conclude, for example, that, "besides the colonial representation of linear progres-

sive time that denied coevalness to the difference between the colonizing and the colonized cultures and languages, the colonial conception of *representations* of the colonized as being synonymous with the colonized themselves was also another instance of the same denial of coevalness" (Souza, 2007, p.138).

Furthermore, it is not only a matter of space and time, or global versus local, colonizer versus colonized, since power relations are also propagated and multiplied at the grassroots level. For example, "while non-Western communities were busy working on one project (decolonisation), the carpet has been pulled from under their feet by another project (globalisation)" (Canagarajah, 2005: 195-196) and, therefore, while new nation-states were emerging, they were also being pressed from the outside by economic forces that made them waver from their own freedom and autonomy. From the linguistic point of view, in order to counter such pressures, we have seen the emergence of hegemonic local languages, in Africa mainly, that have threatened other minority local languages, sometimes alongside authoritarian regimes. This has led to the use of English and other European languages as symbolic tools for claiming democracy, economic and social justice, as well as legal equity, as well as "the main medium of an Afrocentric counter-discourse" (Mazrui, 2004: 100). Moreover, "the impetus to use non-native languages of wider communication [will] emanate[s] [more and more] . . . from an investment in reinforcing transnational affiliations," which may be global or simply regional (Adejunmobi, 2004: 205). Therefore, the idea of an "ecology of languages" and, even beyond, of an "ecology of literacies" (Creese et al., 2008) that bring about the quest for epistemological exchange, balance and equity, is currently at the center of academic discussion and research both in Europe and Latin America, and beyond.

Research is therefore leading to new questions:

– Being that global European languages are also the languages of colonization and hegemonic globalization, how can they simultaneously be appropriated and used as emancipatory tools? Can they provide common ground where different appropriations of the represented cultures can dialogue? And one into which the various home cultures and epistemologies can be translated?

– Can native languages find room to grow? What does this involve? Changes in schooling? Changes in the media? In other models?

– How do both the "glocal" and the local languages work in the formation of identities and in the fulfillment of citizenship rights and duties, in both the local and global spheres,?

– Do the tenets normally included in the definitions of "Intercultural Competence(s)" fully and adequately respond to academics' professional and personal demands? Do IC "best practices" displayed in published material effectively support them in their communication/interaction?

– Can the notion of "Intercultural Responsibility" respond to *Glocademics*' (a term for "glocal" academics, which I am introducing here) challenges in international networking? Can it provide ground for concept- and collaboration-mode negotiation? Can it promote a scientific approach that accounts for knowledge ecology?

MANUELA GUILHERME

– Which are the main possibilities and risks in epistemological exchange within and among multilingual and multicultural *Glocademics*? Which are the main historical pressures to be overcome? What initiatives can higher institutions take in order to make research international networking more effective? In what directions should research in the field go?

REFERENCES

Adejunmobi, M. (2004) *Vernacular Palaver: Imaginations of the Local and Non-native Languages in West Africa.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso.

Barnett, R. (2011) *Being a University.* London: Routledge.

Barton D. & Tusting, K. (2005) Introduction. In D. Barton & K. Tusting (Eds.) *Beyond Communities of Practice: Language, Power, and Social Context* (pp. 1-13). Cambridge: CUP.

Beck, U. (2002) The cosmopolitan society and its enemies, *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19: 1-2: 17-44.

Bhabha, H. (1998) Culture's in between. In D. Bennett (ed.) *Multicultural States: Rethinking difference and identity*, (pp. 29-36). London: Routledge.

Byram, M. (1997) *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, M. (2008). *From Foreign Language Education to Education for Intercultural Citizenship: Essays and Reflections.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2005) Accommodating tensions in language-in-education policies: An afterword. In A. M. Y. Lin & P. Martin (eds.) *Decolonisation and Globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice* (pp. 194-201). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Collins, J., Slembrouck, S. & Baynham, M. (2009) Introduction. In J. Collins, S. Slembrouck & M. Baynham (eds.) *Globalization and Language in Contact: Scale, Migration and Communicative Practices* (pp. 1-16). London: Continuum

Creese, A., Martin, P. & Hornberger, N. H. (2009) *Ecology of Language.* In N. H. Hornberger (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Language and Education*, 2nd edit., vol. 9. Springer. Deardorff, D. K. (2009) *The SAGE Handbook of Intercultural Competence*. London: Sage.

Estermann, J. (2008) *Si el Sur fuera el Norte: Chakanas interculturales entre Andes y Occidente.* La Paz: Bolivia

Estermann, J. (2010) *Interculturalidad: Vivir la diversidade*. La Paz: ISEAT.

Falk, R. (2000) The decline of citizenship in an era of globalization, *Citizenship Studies*, 4(1): 3-17.

Freire, P. (1974). *Education for critical consciousness*. London: Sheed and Ward.

Freire, P. (2007). *Educação e Mudança*. (1st edit. : 1979). SP: Paz e Terra

Garcia-Canclini, N. (2005) *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Giménez-Romero, C. (2010) *Interculturalidade e Mediação*. Lisboa: ACIDI – Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural.

Giroux, H., (1992). *Border Crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education*. New York: Routledge.

Guilherme, M. (2002). *Critical Citizens for an Intercultural World: Foreign language education as cultural politics*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Guilherme, M. (2007). English as a global language and education for cosmopolitan citizenship. In *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 7: (1), 72-79

Guilherme, M., Keating, C. & Hoppe, D. (2010). Intercultural responsibility: Power and ethics in intercultural dialogue and interaction. In M. Guilherme, E. Glaser & M. C. Mendez-Garcia (eds.) *Intercultural Dynamics of Multicultural Working*, (pp. 77-94). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Hovey, R. (2004) Critical pedagogy and international studies: Reconstructing knowledge through dialogue with the subaltern. *International Relations*, 18: (2), 241-254.

Jackson, J. (ed.) (2012) *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication*. London: Routledge.

Kramsch, C. (2012) Theorizing Translingual/Transcultural Competence. In G. S. Levine & A. Phipps (eds.) *Critical and Intercultural Theory and Language Pedagogy*, (pp. 15-31). Boston, Ma.: Heinle.

Kymlicka, W. (2003). Multicultural states and intercultural citizens. In *Theory and Research in Education*, 1: 2, 147-169.

Kymlicka, W. (2007) *Multicultural Odysseys*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lippmann, W. (1937, 2004) *The Good Society*. Piscataway, NJ:Transaction Pub.

McLaren, P. (1994) Multiculturalim and the Post-modern Critique: Toward a pedagogy of resistance and transformation. In H. Giroux and P. McLaren (Eds.), *Between Borders: Pedagogy and the politics of cultural studies* (pp. 192-222). New York: Routledge.

Modern Language Association (2007) *Foreign Languages and Higher Education: New Structures for a Changed World* (http://www.mla.org/flreport, accessed on 06.11.2012). Mamani, F. H. (2010) *Vivir Bien/Buen Vivir: Filosofia, políticas, estrátegias y experiencias regionales*. La Paz: Bolívia.

Mazrui, A. M. (2004) *English in Africa after the Cold War*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Mercator – European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning (2011) *Trilingual Primary Education in Europe*. Leeuwarden: The Netherlands.

Mignolo, W. D. (2000) *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mignolo, W. D. (2011) *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global futures, decolonial options*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Palaiologulu, N. & Dietz, G. (2012) (eds.). *Mapping the Broad Field of Multicultural and Intercultural Education Worldwide: Towards the development of a new citizen*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Pub.

Paulston, C. B., Kiesling, S. F. & Rangel, E. S. (2012) (eds.). *The Handbook of Intercultural Discourse and Communication*. Chichester, W. S.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Phipps, A. & Guilherme, M. (2004) *Critical Pedagogy: Political approaches to language and intercultural communication*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Risager, K. (2009) Intercultural competence in the cultural flow. In A. Hu & M. Byram (eds.) *Interkulturelle Kompetenz und Fremdsprachlices Lernen/Intercultural Competence and Foreign Language Learning* (pp. 15-30). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Robertson, R. (1995) Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In Featherstone, M., Lash, S. & Robertson, R. (eds.) *Global Modernities* (pp. 25-44. London: Sage.

Santos, B. S. (1999) Towards a multicultural conception of human rights. In M. Featherstone (ed.) *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World* (pp. 214-229). London: Sage.

Santos, B. de (2003) *The World Social Forum: Toward a counter-hegemonic globalization*. (www.ces.fe.uc.pt/bss/documentos/wsf.pdf accessed in January, 2004).

Santos, B. S. (orgs.) (2007a), *Another Knowledge is Possible*. Beyond Northern Epistemologies. Londres: Verso.

Santos, B. S. (orgs.) (2007b). *Cognitive Justice in a Global World: Prudent Knowledge for a Decent Life*. Lanham: Lexington.

Santos, B. S. (2009) *Una epistemología del Sur: la reinvención del conocimiento y la emancipación social*. México: CLACSO & Siglo XXI.

Santos, B. S. (2010a) *Descolonizar el saber, reinventar el poder*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce.

Santos, B. S. (2010b) *Refundación del Estado en América Latina. Perspectivas desde una epistemología del Sur*. Lima: Instituto Internacional de Derecho y Sociedad.,

Souza, L. M. T. M. (2007) Entering culture quietly: Writing and cultural survival in indigenous education in Brazil. In S. Makoni and A. Pennycook (eds.) *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages* (pp. 135-169). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Souza, L. M. T. M. (2008) Going beyond "Here's a Culture, Here's a Literacy": Vision in Amerindian literacies. In M. Prinsloo and M. Bainham (eds.) *Literacies, Global and Local*. (pp. 193-213). Amsterdam: John Benjamin.

Souza, L. M. T. M. (2012) Engaging the global by resituating the local: (Dis)locating the literate global subject and his view from nowhere. In V. de O. Andreotti & M. L. T. M. de Souza (eds.) *Postcolonial Perpspectives on Global Citizenship Education* (pp. 68-83). London: Routledge.

Stratton, J. & Ang, I. (1998) Multicultural imagined communities: Cultural difference and national identity in the USA and Australia. In D. Bennett (ed.) *Multicultural States: Rethinking difference and identity* (pp. 29-36) . London: Routledge.

Teodoro, A. (2010) (ed.) *A Educação Superior no Espaço Iberoamericano: Do elistismo à transnacionalização*. Lisboa: Edições Universitárias Lusófonas.

Torres, C. A. (2007) Paulo Freire, Education, and Transformative Social Justice Learning. In C. A. Torres & A. Teodoro (eds.) *Critique and Utopia: New developments in the sociology of education in the twenty-first century* (pp. 155-160). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Pub.

UNESCO (2006) *Guidelines on Intercultural Education*. Paris: UNESCO (accessed August 2012: – http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001478/147878e.pdf).

UNESCO (2013) *Intercultural Competences: Conceptual and Operational Framework*. Paris: Unesco.

Walsh, C. (2010) Interculturalidad crítica y educación intercultural. In J. Viaña, L. Tapia & C. Walsh (eds.) *Construyendo Interculturalidade Crítica*, (pp. 75-96). La Paz, Bolívia: CAB – Instituto Internacional de Integración del Convenio Andrés Bello.

Viaña, J., Tapia, L. & Souza, C. (eds.) (2010) *Construyendo Interculturalidade Crítica*. La Paz, Bolívia: CAB – Instituto Internacional de Integración del Convenio Andrés Bello.

Yapu, M. (2013) Transformación del Estado y desafíos de la interculturalidad en educación superior: Dónde está la descolonización. In A. Teodoro, C. H. Mendizábal-Cabrera, F. Lourenço & M. Villegas-Roca (eds.) *Interculturalidad y Educación Superior*, (pp. 95-123). Buenos Aires. Editorial Biblos.

Molina, R. (2013) La interculturalidad jurídica o interlegalidad y el pluralismo jurídico en Bolívia. In A. Teodoro, C. H. Mendizábal-Cabrera, F. Lourenço & M. Villegas-Roca (eds.) *Interculturalidad y Educación Superior*, (pp. 65-94). Buenos Aires. Editorial Biblos.

Manuela Guilherme
Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, ULHT, Lisbon

Part II

MAPPING THE HIGHER EDUCATION AREA(S)

ANTÓNIO TEODORO, CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES
& JOSÉ EUSTÁQUIO ROMÃO

Chapter 5

INSTITUTIONAL NETWORKS IN LATIN AMERICA

Building new paths in academic cooperation

INTRODUCTION

The creation of institutional networks in the recent history of Latin America has contributed decisively to the processes of developing and consolidating the social sciences as a whole and education in particular. These processes can be explained within the framework of the so-called knowledge society and social *reflexitivity*. Both phenomena – the configuration of a network society and growing access to information – are the product of a time in which producers of social networks and knowledge are also reflected in actual experiences in the educational sphere.

In this chapter we present – by way of example and without trying to be exhaustive – some relevant cases of existing institutional networks in the areas of the social sciences and education in the Latin American context. All of them represent a form of collaborative work and a mode of building and generating knowledge through dialogue. In the first place, the contributions of three initiatives are given that appeared during the second half of the twentieth century: The Latin-American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), created in Buenos Aires in 1964; the Latin-American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), created in 1957 at the initiative of UNESCO and some governments of the region; and the Latin American Educational Documentation Network (REDUC), founded in 1977 with the goal of preserving the memory of educational production in the region. In the second place, we describe a singular experiment that begins in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the initiatives underway taken by the Ibero-American Network for Research in Educational Policies (RIAIPE), created in 2006, with the participation of institutions of higher education in Latin America and Europe.

ANTÓNIO TEODORO, CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES & JOSÉ EUSTÁQUIO ROMÃO

A NETWORK SOCIETY

Never have social networks been so talked about as they are today, when the so-called "knowledge society" seems to have become the buzz word. Several sociologists have referred to it, particularly Manuel Castells and Anthony Giddens.

Manuel Castells dedicated an enormous first volume of his trilogy about the contemporary world to characterize the *Network Society* (1999). According to the Spanish sociologist, his concept of a network society characterizes the emerging social structure in the information era, gradually replacing the industrial society. The network society is global, with specific characteristics for each country in accordance with its history, culture and institutions. It is a matter of a network structure as a predominant form of organization of any activity. According to Castells, *the network society* does not come about because of technology, but without information and communication technology (ICT), it could not exist. In the past twenty years, the concept has come to characterize almost all social practices, including sociability or socio-political mobilization, based on the Internet and on mobile platforms.

Anthony Giddens in his book *Beyond Left and Right* (1994), in trying to explain contemporary social phenomena, developed the concept of social "reflexitivity." According to the English sociologist, reflexivity speaks to knowledge disseminated beyond the spheres of the experts, outside what he calls the "expert systems," precisely by means of the information and communication networks that have been established through the development of computer technology and the Internet. That is, thanks to these new means of communication, information, even that coming from experts, has become accessible to Internet surfers, going beyond the limits of the universes of the initiated (researchers and scientists).

We know that access to information does not automatically produce a social network among its users. It is necessary, beyond access, for network actors to appropriate the information.

The enlightened vision of dissemination of knowledge had a single direction: from its producer (researcher, scientist, and thinker, intellectual) to the receptive mass. If, on one hand, the western thinkers of the eighteenth century developed rationalist optimism (the capacity to know oneself and to change everything through knowledge) as well as encyclopedic optimism (it is sufficient to know everything, preferably in alphabetical order, in order to dominate and transform everything); on the other hand, they also developed a sort of gnostic pessimism of the majority, and in this way, epistemological elitism commonly called "vanguardism."

Paulo Freire, in a number of his works, mentions the evil of "vanguardism," but he also warns of the dangers of its opposite face, that of "basism." Not everything developed by the intellectual elites solves the problems posed by humanity, but not everything that comes from the social base means that it is better, or that it is an alternative to hegemonic knowledge, because most of the time, the masses "host" the dominant ideas and read the world from their perspective.

Social knowledge networks came along to restore the possibility of a gnostic democracy, already implied in the concept of reflexivity, and then added to the concept of "dialogic democracy" (Giddens, 1994). In a social order that is more reflexive and globalized there is a need to add more radical forms of democratization. A dialogic democracy is, for Giddens, part of a process of democratization of democracy, consisting of the creation of a public arena where controversial matters can be resolved through dialogue, and not through pre-established forms of power. Both in daily activities, as well as in social organizations, or even in the formal political sphere, individuals forge social practices and act together to find alternatives and overcome their problems and insufficiencies collectively and reflexively.

Other expressions and concepts may come to the surface when one talks of social networks: shared knowledge and experiences, participatory democracy, interlocution, alliances, collective action (or trans-individual), connecting links, communicational process, interlace, and culture of the encounter, among so many others that could be mentioned. The common basis of it all is unity in diversity, thought, action, theory, and practice.

So then we can attempt to enunciate one of the possible concepts of the social network, but first we must remember the already classical categorization into primary and secondary networks. Primary networks come from spontaneous, involuntary nexuses, and are therefore informal (family or neighborhood networks, for example). Secondary networks result from determined desires to communicate and take joint action, voluntarily agreed to, and consist of formal entities. It should be added that, according to Both (1976), social relationships that constitute networks do not have a common border.

Thus, a *social network* may be defined as a set of connections, involuntary or voluntary, of persons or groups, whose frontiers of action are not the same, but which are presented as a structure that, in certain contexts, acts with common goals. The social network is a type of response to social fragmentation, at times imposing itself as an alternative, and at other times, as mediation between the state and society, between the public arena and the private arena. In all social networks, norms are established of complementarity and reciprocity, not always explicitly, but implied in the common contextual interests. Just as in communication, in addition to the sender, the receiver, the common code, the channels, and the message (which is secret – if the content of the message were known by the interlocutors there would be no communication), the different competencies are manifest in the interaction of the social networks. These competencies complement each other and the diverse interests that are satisfied because of another's action. Thus, there are pacts, agreements and adjustments for entry and permanence in the networks, so that the different and mutually complementary types of expertise, mediated by the challenges of reality, can overcome these challenges.

When we use the *Internet* as an example of a social network, we are really talking about a "network of networks," as explained by the etymology of the word: *inter + net* or "between networks" as it should be translated. Most of the time, when someone refers to "network," he is really speaking of the "between networks"

which lead to strategic alliances or simply tactical ones, considering the consolidation of common objectives.

Is this not the way that corporative networks work, resulting from the linking of productive or service units, accomplishing such linking in order to acquire comparative advantages in the capture or consolidation of markets?

Networks appeared in sociological literature in the 1980's, especially as the political coordination of western societies began to move toward a market orientation, or rather, toward corporations. Networks appeared as a type of response to this relocation, given that the market does not have any way to aggregate social interests. Most of the time, social networks respond to a deficit of representativeness and political coordination, previously proclaimed as responsibilities of the state and to which the market was not able to respond efficiently, or even effectively.

In a certain way, social networks, while being social fabrics armed in everyday dealings and expressing ideas, concepts, doctrines, aspirations, and collective projections, end up as instruments of active citizenship and participatory democracy, as demonstrated by the context and future of Latin America among other examples.

THE LATIN AMERICAN CONTEXT

The history of the social sciences in Latin America is tied to a complex set of phenomena that it would be impossible, and probably daring, to describe and analyze in a few pages. Perhaps it is sufficient to say the following: as is natural, thinking tied to the social sciences, both epistemologically and theoretically, is biased by different ideologies, theoretical paradigms, and political and scientific rationalities that have existed or still exist in the region.

The twentieth century could be characterized as a century in which revolutionary processes came together in seeking social transformation. Some were successful revolutions, like the Mexican Revolution, the Cuban Revolution, and the Nicaraguan Revolution – while others, tied to guerilla warfare and to the attempt to take power by armed force, either failed or inaugurated a decade of authoritarianism in the region, especially in the Southern Cone, with the response of the Leviathan States. These revolutions produced consequences that are still being felt in countries' social imagery. In the images brilliantly captured by newsman Luiz Suárez López in one of his books, Latin America was living *between the shotgun and the word* (Suárez López, 1980).

Along with this revolutionary experience, another characteristic of the twentieth century is the expansion of education in the region, which reached levels never before imagined, under populist and developmentally-oriented governments. It was precisely under developmental governments, and with the inestimable contributions of UNESCO and other organizations such as the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada, that the most important experiments were run in the region, such as the Latin-American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), or the Latin-American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) in Chile.

THE EDUCATIONAL SCENARIO OF NETWORKS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

The twentieth century is marked by the extension of educational opportunities to all children and young people of all social classes in Latin America. The twentieth century was the Century of Education, where the role of the state in promoting public education was decisive to achieve this goal. In that century, especially over the last five decades, significant public resources were invested in providing basic education for children, young people, and adults; the years of obligatory school attendance were extended significantly; beginning and pre-school education were offered to an ever-larger number of families, especially those with limited means. Access to school was facilitated for children with learning or other disabilities, and there was a significant improvement in the equality of educational opportunities for poor, immigrant, and indigenous populations.

Without doubt, the twentieth century is marked also by the feminization of educational enrollments. Along with this expansion of educational opportunities, renewed state efforts were aimed at improving the ability to retain students at the lower and middle levels and the possibility of pursuing secondary school and, in many cases, post-secondary and higher studies.

In the same way, the theme of quality and relevance of education was a secular concern of thinkers, public intellectuals, professors, union leaders in education, and members of government management, having its repercussions in the needs expressed daily on the school grounds and in classrooms, as well as at public forums by mothers and fathers concerned about the education of their children.

Latin American populations, like all peoples around the world, accepted the argument of Enlightenment, widely disseminated by liberal states, that education constitutes a lever for progress and is a value in and of itself. This modernist premise is reinforced with theoretical developments in the economy of education, which have had undeniable repercussions in Latin America. The central aspect of the message of the economy of education is that there is little likelihood of social advancement without greater and better educational levels. That is, education appears not only as a consumer product, but also as an enormous investment in individual and social profitability with high rates of return, which vary according to the educational level. It may be concluded that a more educated population will be a population with higher levels of social tolerance and ability to live together, more productive and competitive in national and international markets.

This worldwide expansion, diversification, and broadening of educational opportunities has been perceived also as a *sine qua non* condition for the expansion of Kantian categorical imperatives of social justice and individual responsibility, especially in the various versions of the social welfare state. Expansion and universalization of education appear, therefore, as signs of modernity, a mark of greater rationality in social action, but also, paradoxically, as a pre-condition for these to occur.

In the meantime, equity, quality (including effectiveness, equality and efficiency in the management of educational systems), and the relevance of education continue

as critical questions of educational systems. These questions have become particularly sensitive for Latin American states at the end of the twentieth century, a result of the contradictions of development in the region and of the actual logic of bureaucratic actions that have generated enormous difficulties in increasing the financing of education. These difficulties have also increased as a result of the neoliberal educational agendas that have postulated the defense of privatization of education and abandonment of government responsibilities in providing it, at least in some sectors of teaching. This process has developed in some countries with the election of post-neoliberal governments, which have included, once again, the neglect of the provision of education as one of the responsibilities of the welfare state (see the case of Brazil, Sader, 2013).

In this contradictory context, the successes in expansion, diversification, and improvement of educational systems – which we would like to call, rhetorically, "the greatness of education" – are obscured by the perverse miseries of Latin American education.

Elementary and secondary education in the region continue to be segregated by social class, in which the poor study in public schools and the middle and upper classes flourish educationally in private institutions. With few exceptions, in the countries of the region early childhood education (or pre-school), which is decisive for cognitive development in childhood, is still not available for the majority of the poorer classes on the continent, although it has expanded notably compared with the mid twentieth century when it was a privilege of the very few. Illiteracy continues to be a big problem, like a multi-headed Medusa, in which the disadvantage of women and indigenous groups, in relation to the rest of society, appears enormous. Bilingual education, although it has advanced considerably in the past three decades in several countries in the region, especially in Bolivia and Ecuador, is still a long way from answering to a policy of recognition of differences and intercultural dialogue, in recognition of the worth of the knowledge and culture of indigenous populations.

Unfortunately, adult education, which had been an important rhetorical concern in certain alliances between governments and social movements in the 1960's and 1970's, became marginalized in the following decade, in spite of the demand and the size of the problem. It became practically non-existent at the end of the century, or was replaced, as in Brazil, by types of second-chance educational opportunities for young people expelled from school at a certain age. Teaching literacy by computer and advances in communication place the problem of functional illiteracy (by Internet and computer) at the same level where "absolute" illiteracy had been at the beginning of the twentieth century. As in the Greek tragedy of eternal return, and in spite of advances in levels of schooling, we once again contemplate a crisis in the education of adults that is wide and deep as we enter the twenty-first century.

The training, and especially the pay, of teachers continue to be two of the Gordian knots in educational policy, accentuated when neoliberal governments carried out strong policies of reducing public financing. In most governments of the region,

there lacks a lucid and effective policy to augment the training and qualification of teachers, including an increase in salary, which is still very poor when compared nationally with other professions requiring higher education and the prevailing standards in other regions of the world.

Matters of curriculum policy to promote the scientific and humanistic training of the population face new challenges with technological advances and the explosion of knowledge in an increasingly globalized world, segmented by class, racial and gender distinctions, with growing regional markets that are more and more distanced from the dynamics of globalization. Most of the populations of the region remain literally outside the circuits of production, circulation, and consumption of the worldwide system, with very great educational, social, political, and economic repercussions. The link between education, work, and employment, as well as the increasing levels of poverty, especially of the less educated people in the region, are other important matters that affect public policies.

The Latin American region took leave of the twentieth century with numerous conflicts in higher education, and began the first decade of the twenty-first century with demonstrations by Chilean students, who were confronting the neoliberal state of that Andean country for its educational policies, showing that the student movement continues to be an important social force in the region. These and other situations, similar in extension and dimension, show that the public university in Latin America continues its struggle to build an identity. It swings between its honorable reformist tradition – the complex processes of negotiation with political regimes that have little sympathy for strengthening the public institution – and difficulties in understanding and managing the typical pressures of globalization (and its repercussions on the national and local planes) over university management. The greatness of public education of that century ran the risk of being left in the dark by the miserliness of public policies that renounce their democratic-liberal tradition, with known damage in the form of citizenship, one of the central tasks of the state in education.[1]

THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOCIAL SCIENCES (CLACSO)

The creation of the CLASCO goes back to 1964, the year in which the Conference on Comparative Sociology took place in Buenos Aires, organized by the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, with co-sponsorship of the International Social Science Council (ISSC) of UNESCO. On the initiative of Latin American participants, the meeting passed a resolution which initiated the process of building an organization charged with promoting coordination and articulation among centers dedicated to teaching and research in social sciences in the region. Greater and more active cooperation among these institutions was identified as an urgent need. To create an organization dedicated to such a purpose then constituted a high-priority challenge.

---

1 For further developments on the educational situation in Latin America, see Torres (2002).

Two years later, an organizing committee of the mentioned organization was convoked, with the special participation of Enrique Oteiza, Aldo Ferrer, Osvaldo Fals Borda, Felipe Herrera, Hélio Jaguaribe, Luis Lander, José Matos Mar, Carlos Massad, Raúl Prebish, and Victor Urquidi. In October 1966 at the Central University of Venezuela in Caracas, the First Latin American meeting of Directors of Research Centers and Institutes in Social Sciences was held, an occasion on which a new organizing committee was constituted, this time made up of Francisco Ortega, José Matos Mar, Luis Ratinoff, Victor Urquidi, Aldo Ferrer, and Enrique Oteiza.

On October 14, 1967, at the CEDES of the University of the Andes in Bogotá, the second meeting of Directors of Research Centers and Institutes in Social Sciences took place, at which the mentioned committee presented its proposal to constitute formally the Latin American Council on Social Sciences (CLACSO). Those historic meetings also approved the functional bylaws, the first committee chairman was elected, Aldo Ferrer was designated as its first executive secretary, and the coordinators of the committees and working groups were appointed, through which the academic activities of that brand-new Council began.

Over its forty-year history, the CLACSO has gone from an initial membership of 60 research centers to, in 2013, 345 research centers and more than 600 graduate programs in the social sciences and humanities (masters and doctors degrees), based in 25 countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, the United States, and Europe. With its headquarters in Buenos Aires, the CLACSO is led by an executive secretary elected by the Assembly of the institution every three years, and by an executive committee of directors of research centers, also elected at the General Assembly.

The tasks of the CLACSO include working groups, one of the oldest and most active being the Working Group on Education and Society. Along with the working groups, the organization of the Assemblies, which are held periodically, represents the state of the art in topics that are researched in the region and are an occasion for dissemination and crossing of Latin American studies, making up a true agenda for comparative research. Moreover, the CLACSO has promoted different types of graduate courses in distance learning (virtual seminars), opening to the public a rich virtual library (network of virtual libraries in the social sciences) which, with around 30,000 texts, constitutes an extraordinary collection of research in the field. From the editorial point of view, the CLACSO publishes and/or coordinates a series of publications, among them the C*adernos de Pensamento Crítico*, the *Revista OSAL,* the *Observatório Social da América Latina*, the *Revista Crítica,* and *Emancipação*, and others.

Finally, the CLACSO holds annual research competitions and offers fellowships (for junior and senior researchers), as well as selective processes for giving courses by distance learning. The financing of the Council depends on its own resources, through contributions by the centers, as well as through international support, especially form northern European countries, with special relevance of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).

Like other institutions in the region, the CLACSO played a very important role during the tragic decades of the Latin American dictatorships, promoting the protection and transfer of researchers to other countries, in this way saving their lives and their contributions to the social sciences. With the return to democracy in these countries, it has played an important role in the consolidation of the social sciences, with a very critical position in relation to Neoliberalism.

THE LATIN AMERICAN FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES (FLACSO)

As its bylaws state, the FLACSO is an autonomous and regional international organization created in 1957 on the initiative of UNESCO and some governments of the region. Its main objective is to promote the social sciences in Latin America and in the Caribbean.

What is called the classical FLACSO is the functioning of the institution in Santiago, Chile before the military coup in 1973.[2] The then General Secretary of FLACSO in Chile, Ricardo Lagos Escobar (1972-1973), an important Social Democrat leader, would be elected president of the country (2000-2006) in the post-Pinochet period. Important intellectuals, some European, participated in FLACSO activities, as was the case of the Spanish Republican immigrant José Medina Echavarría,[3] one of the first directors of the Latin American School of Sociology (ELAS), within FLACSO, in 1958 and 1959.

Considering the difficulties created in research and teaching in Chile under the dictatorship of Pinochet, the FLACSO had to find a new seat of operations, opening it through an agreement with the Argentine government in Buenos Aires in 1974. Thus began the plans for then General Secretary Arturo O'Connell (1974-1979), opening the headquarters in Argentina and continuing with the masters degrees in political sciences and sociology. Although the headquarters were open, which continue working today, the circumstances of the political struggle in Argentina and the pandemonium of violence that occurred starting in 1975, made it impossible to inaugurate the planned masters degree. Thanks to the efforts of the government of Mexico, in 1976 a new seat was opened in that North American country, which harbored a great number of young intellectuals, many of them having emigrated to flee the political persecution of dictatorial governments of the Southern Cone, as well as many of the former professors of the Chilean FLACSO, and other intellectuals who had to relocate (or go into exile) in order to continue their professional work. The most detailed study on the history of the FLACSO is the text published by Héctor Pérez Brigtnoli, *Los 50 años de FLACSO y el desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en América Latina* (Pérez Brignoli, 2008).

---

2 On this period, see Franco (2007).
3 Among other contributions, José María Echevarría was responsible for the translation into Spanish of the book by Max Weber *, Economy and Society,* thus avoiding the problems of the English translation coordinated by Talcott Parsons.

Today, the General Accord of FLACSO has 17 member countries, all in Latin America and the Caribbean. The functioning of FLACSO is governed both by its internal rules as well as directives issued by government agencies. The coordination of the working of the Faculty, as well as its legal representation, is the responsibility of the General Secretariat, which has been based in Costa Rica since 1979.

FLACSO carries out a number of academic activities: teaching, research, dissemination, extension, and technical cooperation. These activities are developed in ten academic units (seven centers and three programs). The member countries are: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Surinam, and Uruguay.

THE LATIN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENTATION NETWORK (REDUC)

The Latin American Educational Documentation Network (REDUC), created in 1977, has the goal of preserving the memory of Latin American educational production. It has its Center for Research and Educational Development (CIDE), located in Santiago, Chile, which does general coordination.

Although it began in a timid way, with few centers (nodes in the network), the REDUC has expanded a great deal and, according to some researchers, it has become the largest network for educational documentation the world, with more than twenty participating countries.

In spite of its size, the REDUC is structured in a very simple way. In addition to the Coordinating Center, it is made up of three categories of centers: (i) Associate Centers; (ii) Specialized Centers; and (iii) Disseminating Centers. The Associate Centers, one in each country, in general care for the collection, summary, systematization, and dissemination of the most important educational documents produced in the country. The Specialized Centers, as their name indicates, take care of collection and systematization on specific themes. Finally, the Disseminating Centers deal with the distribution of information and training users in the REDUC system.

One of the features of the REDUC is the flexibility that it has, for example, in relations between the Coordinating Center and the other units (Associate, Specialized and Disseminating Centers), considering the institutional characteristics, the community of researchers and educational agents, as well as thematic orientation.

In Brazil, the REDUC has a real sub-network, since at the present time there are fourteen centers in the country, nine located at federal universities (UFRJ, UFMG, UFF, URGO, UFUB, UFRN, UFMS, UFSC, UFPE), three at state universities (USP, UNICAMP and UNESP), one at a private university (PUC-SP) and one at the Foundation for Development in Education (FED) in São Paulo. In general the defenders of this concentration justify it by pointing out the greater facility of access and availability of resources. Today we understand that access would not be an obstacle to get to other regions of the country and the question of resources depends

on a better policy of distribution. This critical observation is justified because information is one of the most powerful elements for transformation of any structure or process and, for this reason, it should be located precisely in those regions with the most serious educational problems, in a sort of progressive educational justice. Obviously, the centers are non-profit.

Until the mid 1990's, the REDUC expanded in the form of Associate Centers, with few Specialized Centers; the Disseminating Centers began to be implemented only in that mid decade.

The REDUC, either through its Coordinating Center or through Associate Centers, publishes the *Analytical Education Summaries* (RAE) as well as other formats of educational information, as is the case of "States of the Art," in which Brazil has specialized, particularly with the support of the Anísio Texeira National Research Institute (INEP) of the Ministry of Education (MEC).

The great accumulated collection of the REDUC does not make sense unless it is accessed and consulted by policy makers and by users in general. For this reason, starting in the first half of the 1990's effort was placed on visibility and accessibility of the network. In Brazil, the Carlos Chagas Foundation assumed coordination of the project to expand the network. In the meantime, in spite of the competence and efforts of that Foundation, the difficulties have been great, especially because of the growing volume of Brazilian academic production in the area of education and because resources are always short of the need. Each piece of work – by professors at the designated Centers and by students in graduate programs in the area, selected by the local committee – must be deposited for preparation of the respective *Analytic Education Summary*.

In short, the REDUC is a Latin American system for collection of educational data, information, and analysis, making it available to users. A network like this one allows educational discussions to reflect the identity of the region so far as it allows the establishment of a true network for idiosyncratic reflection, that is, referenced in the singularity of specific contexts.

In the early years of its existence, the REDUC was constituted as a network dedicated in the production of *Analytic Education Summaries* (RAE's); in the second phase of its history, it evolved into microfilming the original texts summarized in the RAE's; finally, it became a network in the modern sense of the word, that is, it became a virtual network with all of the resources of information and communication technologies.

Referenced in the theoretical discussion of networks and social networks at the beginning of this text, it may be affirmed that the REDUC is a social network, therefore, a network in the good sense of the word. And this first judgment of quality may be made on the basis of the fact that the REDUC was able to solidify a regional system of information on education on the Latin American sub-continent. However, there are other aspects that deserve mention and, therefore, are commented upon here.

1. Progressively, it has been successful in establishing cooperative management among the Associate, Specialized, and Disseminating Centers, although the latter have only recently received much attention from the network.
2. With all of its difficulties, the REDUC has collaborated to achieve greater visibility for research, data, information and questions about education in Latin America. This is an area of scientific research that has received only a small part of its financing from development agencies, certainly because of its invisibility and/or disqualification by those who occupy strategic positions in these agencies.
3. In addition to the collaboration that the REDUC has done in educational research, it has also contributed to recognition of the value of the researcher in the field of education.
4. Historically, Latin American educational research has concentrated on a relative essayism, a type of impressionism lacking empirical data. However, no doubt because of this tradition, the area still shows a certain disdain for empiricism, stemming also from a confusion of criticism of positivism, functionalism, and Cartesianism with the use of data from reality. The REDUC has been collaborating to overcome this research weakness in the social sciences in general, and in educational sciences in particular.

In the meantime, the network still faces great challenges to its development. Among them, in the first place, special attention must be given to an attempt to bring researchers and policy makers together, that is, giving weight to the results of educational research in the formulation of educational policies in the region. In the second place, the low levels of access to the REDUC data bases is undoubtedly due to limited resources for greater development of the contemplated policies in the creation of the network of Disseminating Centers.

According to researchers in library science, the REDUC belongs to the universe of information networks which, due to their nature, perform the functions of acquisition, organization, and dissemination of information until it gets to users. Like other information networks, the REDUC has built itself as an important information network in the field of Latin American education, certainly with emphasis on making greater contributions from the sub-continent to pedagogical thinking worldwide, which is Popular Education.

IBERO-AMERICAN NETWORK OF RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL POLICIES (RIAIPE)

In 2006 a group of nine research centers, bringing together social scientists (and militants) from different fields – education, sociology, anthropology, political science, and economics – and from different countries (Argentina, Brazil, Spain, Mexico, Paraguay, and Portugal) presented a proposal to the *Programa Iberoamericano de Ciencia y Tecnologia para el Desarrollo (CYTED)* to build an Ibero-American

Network of Research in Educational Policy (RIAIPE).[4] With financing approved for
four years, the Network started working at the beginning of 2007.

The RIAIPE Network, in its first phase, had the main goal of coordinating research
in the field of educational policy analysis, which the member teams developed. With the
intention of building a theoretical and analytical framework to permit mapping and ana-
lyzing public education policies over recent decades – both those conducted by govern-
ments and proposals and projects from the most influential global agencies or from social
movements or local administrations, the network established as its general objective that
of reinforcing (and coordinating) research done on the impacts of globalization in public
educational policy, in particular in the areas of inclusion and equality, in the countries
that make up the Ibero-American sphere to which the member teams belong. Taking
this mapping process as a reference, it was intended to develop a series of indicators that
would favor the dimensions of inclusion and equality in public policies, and which could
be submitted in opposition to the hegemonic indicators built in the realm of organizations
like the World Bank or the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
(OECD), used to exhaustion in reports, examinations, and comparative statistical inquir-
ies, and which had become an influential instrument of regulation of public policies.

The Network promoted the creation of strong ties of scientific and academic coopera-
tion, as well as the development of new projects, both of a bilateral and multilateral na-
ture. The most important result of the work carried out was, without doubt, the transfer of
knowledge among the teams, in terms of epistemologies, methodologies, and practices.
This reciprocal learning allowed the strengthening of advanced training, the participa-
tion of researchers in international conferences and seminars, and increases in the publi-
cations of the teams and, therefore, their impact within their own scientific communities.

Once the connection was ended with the CYTED program, it was necessary to find
new sources of financing. The Alfa program of the European Commission, which has
the main goal of fostering cooperation among Higher Education Institutions (HEI), in
the European Union and Latin America, was the sought alternative, permitting an en-
largement of the network and building a design for strong intervention. Such interven-
tion could contribute to the improvement of quality, pertinence, and access to higher
education in Latin America, as well as to the process of regional integration within the
region, making possible advancement in the creation of a common area in higher learn-

---

4   The participation of the team from Paraguay (Universidad Católica de Assunción, Facultad
    de Filosofía y Ciencias Humanas) lasted only a few months. In May, 2007, a team was ad-
    mitted from Chile and in November of the same year, two new teams were admitted, one
    from Mexico and the other from Uruguay. The make-up of the Network at the beginning
    of 2008 was the following: Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, ULHT
    (Lisbon), in Portugal, coordinator; Instituto Paulo Freire, IPF (S. Paulo), Universidade Fe-
    deral da Paraíba, UFPB (João Pessoa), Universidade Metodista de S. Paulo, UMESP (S.
    Bernardo do Campo) and Centro Universitário 9 de Julho, UNINOVE (S. Paulo), in Brazil;
    Universidad Autónoma de México, UNAM (Mexico City) and Universidad de Guadalajara,
    in Mexico; Instituto Paulo Freire, IPF (Buenos Aires), in Argentina; Universities of Barce-
    lona and Valencia, in Spain; Universidad de Ciencias de Informática, UCINF, in Santiago,
    Chile; Universidad de la República (Montevideo), in Uruguay.

ing in the region and empowering their synergies with the university system of the EU.

By considering inequality and exclusion as determinant in the trends of the policies of equality and inclusion in the HEIs of the LA region, the problem is approached from a perspective that emanates from within the national higher education systems (policies of inclusion in the HEIs, government systems, pertinence of university programs, projects in combining their efforts) and also, according to the external dynamics and the global context in which we work, the need to maintain a high degree of collaboration among the HEIs in order to recognize the different dimensions of the problem (lack of a common agenda for equality, common policies, and norms adapted to each context, and implementation of parallel thematic diagnostic activities.) This may allow identification of its causes, determining factors, and the future impact in the region, in order to overcome inequality and exclusion as a strategy to reach the sustainable development of societies.

Within this scenario, the actions that we propose in the area of RIAIPE3 conform to the objective of the Alfa III Program: reform and modernization of the institutions and of systems of higher education in the benefitting countries, giving special attention to the least privileged or most vulnerable groups and to the poorest countries in the region. The general goal of the project is linked to substantial growth and qualitative improvement of equality and social pertinence for social cohesion in the HEIs of LA, having the specific goal of developing the Inter-university Framework Program with proven institutional strategies to favor structural transformation of the IHLs in LA, through models of intervention that allow improvement of the pertinence of the university functions in balanced social development, empowering equality and social cohesion.[5]

The RIAIPE3 proposal places the universities themselves at the center of change in the systems of higher education, converting them into active agents in the pro-

---

5 In the new network, called RIAIPE3, a number of institutions participate from the EU and from LA. In Europe: Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias (coordinator) and the Centro de Estudos Sociais (Universidade de Coimbra) Portugal; Universitat de Barcelona and Universidad de Valencia (Spain); Université Lumière Lyon 2 (France); Universiteit voor Humanistiek (Netherlands); Università degli Studi della Tuscia, Italy; University of Brighton (United Kingdom). From Latin America: Universidad de Buenos Aires, Universidad Nacional de la Plata/Instituto Paulo Freire, Universidad Nacional de San Martín and Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina; Universidad Loyola de Bolivia, Bolivia; Universidade Federal da Bahia, Universidade Nove de Julho e Universidade do Sul de Santa Catarina, Brazil; Universidad UCINF, Chile; Universidad de Nariño and Universidad del Rosário, Colombia; Universidad de Costa Rica, Costa Rica; Universidad de La Habana, Cuba; Universidad de El Salvador, El Salvador; Centro Universitario de Occidente (Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala), Guatemala; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras, Honduras; Universidad Autónoma de México and Universidad de Guadalajara, México; Universidad Autónoma de Asunción and Universidad Nacional de Asunción, Paraguay; Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina, Perú; Universidad de la Republica, Uruguay. As associates the following universities participate: Università di Bologna, Italy, the Universidade Federal da Paraíba, Brazil, and the Organization of Ibero-American States. The website www.riaipe-alfa.eu has a lot of information about the activities carried out and the work products available.

cesses of cohesion and development, starting from a perspective of knowledge located on the local, national, regional, and international levels.

The logic of the actions is directed to the strengthening and consolidation (that is, empowerment) of universities as social agents and to reinforce their structures, their possibilities, and their coordination to establish criteria of high social impact, and at the same to establish itself as a point of reference for other networks, institutions, and social agents.

CONCLUSION

This brief and incomplete report on some of the networks that constitute central nodes in the construction of modern social sciences in the region indicates to us that the model of working in a network, with the developments of globalization, have acquired an extraordinary predominance on Latin American soil. Some of the most important judicial-legal and international developments in the region, such as the creation of Mercosul, pushed institutional networks and increased the models of inter-regional collaboration in a way that was unthinkable a few decades ago.

We know that the future is always a collective construction that takes the past and the present into consideration; but it is also built by the set of our aspirations, our utopistics, in the expression of Wallenstein (1998), or the *inédito viável* ("viable new things") in the words of Paulo Freire (2007[1970]). In this construction of the future, Latin American universities (like those of other regions of the world), are facing two enormous challenges in this first quarter of the twenty-first century.

The first challenge is in the ability of the universities and higher education to think outside the rationale imposed by Neoliberalism. Neoliberalism was not just an economic doctrine; it is a whole new rationale (Laval and Dardot, 2013) based on the idea that the market is omniscient and that competition is the only human action that generates innovation and progress. Under this assumption, neoliberal thought assumed the mission of carrying out a "revolution" in social and human relations, starting with social engineering that radicalizes and transforms capitalism which, in the twentieth century, had learned to coexist with democracy and a welfare state. This new rationality deeply penetrated the universities and higher education policy. To locate the assumptions and the consequences of this rationality, and to build others, constitute, surely, one of the missions of intellectuals, academics, and political actors determined to overcome one of the darkest (and most dangerous) periods in the recent history of mankind.

The second challenge is the ability of the university to think as a community of learning, open to change and innovation, capable of including and permitting empowerment, or *conscientização* ("awareness"), if we prefer Freire's concept, of a growing number of young people and adults who, without gender, class, or ethnic discrimination, seek and accede to university training. The university is progressively becoming no longer a space for the "elect," where, behind a violent meritocratic selection, the most violent and effective forms of reproduction of inequalities

and symbolic violence lie, as Pierre Bourdieu so well demonstrated.

The construction and affirmation of academic cooperative networks, like those described in this chapter, are inserted into this search for another way of working in the academic profession, where cooperation, solidarity, transference and the dialogue of knowledge and mutual learning constitute the core of scientific work and social intervention.

REFERENCES

Both, E. (1976). *Família e rede social.* Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves.

Castells, M. (1996). *The Rise of Network Society.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Franco, R. (2007). *La Flacso Clásica (1957-1973)*: *Visicitudes de las Ciencias Sociales latinoamericanas.* Santiago de Chile: FLACSO-Chile.

Freire, P. (2007, 1st English Ed. 1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* New York: Continuum.

Giddens, A. (1994). *Behond Left and Right. The Future of Radical Politics.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Laval, C. & Dardot, P. (2013). *La nueva razón del mundo. Ensayo sobre la sociedade neoliberal.* Barcelona: Gedisa Editorial.

Pérez Brignoli, H. (2008), *Los 50 años de FLACSO y el desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en América Latina.* San José de Costa Rica: Editorial Juricentro.

Sader, E. (org.) (2013). *Dez Anos de Governos Pós-Neoliberais: Lula e Dilma*. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial/FLACSO Brasil.

Suárez, L. (1980). *Entre el fusil y la palabra*. México: UNAM.

Torres, C. A. (2002) Grandezas y miserias de la educación latinoamericana en el siglo veinte. In C. A. Torres (comp). *Paulo Freire y la Agenda de la Educación Latinoamericana en el Siglo XXI.* (pp. 23-46). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Wallerstein, I. (1998). *Utopistics or historical choices for the Twenty-First Century.* New York: The New Press.

WEBSITES

http://www.clacso.org.ar
http://www.flacso.org
http://www.reduc.cl
www.riaipe-alfa.eu

António Teodoro
Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades & Technologias, Lisbon
Carlos A. Torres
University of Calofornia, Los Angeles
José E. Romão
Universidade Nove de Julho (UNINOVE), São Paulo

AMÉLIA VEIGA

Chapter 6

RESEARCHING THE BOLOGNA PROCESS THROUGH THE LENS OF THE POLICY CYCLE

This chapter examines the dynamic of the Bologna process across a 'policy cycle' (Ball, 1990; Bowe, et al., 1992) with the aim of providing insightful elements to outline it within a broader process of policy integration and coordination in the field of higher education. We assume the 'policy cycle' as valuable to analyse the articulation of different contexts of policy formulation and implementation.

The Bologna arena of policy formulation and implementation has been disputed at the European and national levels and by the constituencies in higher education institutions. The latter remain "potentially free and autonomous resisters or subverters of the status quo" (Bowe, et al., 1992: 6). As policy implementation evolved, it unfolded a number of concepts, ideas and discourses that need to be brought together, if only to ensure their consistent meaning. The production of meaning, however, is "neither stable, nor precise, nor exogenous" (March & Olsen, 1989: 163). The theoretic-methodological device founded on the 'policy cycle' (Bowe, et al., 1992) allows the analysis of programmes and policies from their initial formulation to implementation in the context of practice and its effects. While underlying the complex and controversial nature of policies, policy analysis is focused on the nature of processes. The action of micro political actors dealing with institutional policies in the 'context of practice' assumes a key role.

Despite the fact Bologna that has been developing its own 'policy cycle' at the European, national and institutional levels, our analysis through the 'policy cycle' will underline the interaction between institutions at different levels. This contributes to an integrative approach of policy implementation. The focus on both the formation of policy discourse and the actors' active interpretation involved in the 'context of practice' implies identifying processes of resistance, accommodation, subterfuge and conformity.

The 'policy cycle' (Bowe, et al., 1992) assumes that production of a policy text takes place in different contexts. The 'context of influence' involves interested groups in constructing policy discourses and establishing key policy concepts (e.g. mobility, attractiveness, social dimension, employability) reflecting the interaction between institutions at different levels of analysis. The 'context of text production' sees texts as representing policies. Official texts (e.g. Bologna Declaration, legal framework at national level) and policy documents (e.g. studies promoted by Bologna Follow-Up Group, EUA and ESIB studies) produce interpretations trying to

make sense of policy, travelling across policy implementation and opening up ideas for new meanings. Interaction between institutions at different levels gives primacy to a wide range of interpretations of the political texts. Within the 'context of text production', more than official texts, policy documents assume a key-role because "groups of actors working within different sites of text production are in competition for control of the representation of policy" (Bowe, et al., 1992: 21), which appears as extremely insightful in analysing Bologna. The proliferation of seminars around specific topics, for instance, aims to provide and make interpretations available for Bologna's readers. Responses to texts had consequences in the 'context of practice' because "policy writers cannot control the meanings of their texts" (Bowe, et al., 1992: 22).

To these primarily distinctive 'policy contexts', Ball (2004) added the 'context of outcomes' and the 'context of political strategy' which included feedback loops from 'context of practice' to 'context of influence'. The 'context of outcomes' is where the effects of policies are evident as second order effects (in contrast to first order effects evidenced in the 'context of practice' as related to change in practice or structures) – interaction between institutions at various levels supported institutional reconfiguration of structures and processes. The 'context of political strategy' identifies political activities to handle the negative effects of outcomes. In our view, these policy contexts provide insightful glimpses into non-intended effects and the feedback loops involving different levels of policy making and development.

By analysing the 'context of influence' the focus is placed on efforts occurring to influence Bologna policy: what are the global and international influences affecting Bologna? Who were the interested groups which were able to exert influence? To keep with the 'context of text production', the analysis emphasises the following questions: Who were the stakeholders represented in the production of policy texts within Bologna? Who were those present and absent in the production of policy texts? Was the policy text consensual amongst governments? Besides official texts, were there production of other policy texts? Trying to broaden the views about the 'context of practice', the analysis addresses questions such as: What are the changes envisaged with impact on national higher education systems? What are the policy instruments used to steer change and adaptation? What is the perception at the European and national levels about changes at the institutional level? Detecting the effects on the 'context of outcomes', the analysis focuses on the impact of the changes enacted: What is the impact of Bologna on academic staff, students and administrative and management staff? Are there unintended consequences or unexpected results? Are there any differences between assessments of policy progress by policy actors? What are the main changes? And in identifying attempts to define a new 'policy cycle' in the 'context of political strategy' of Bologna: What are the political strategies for tackling integration and coordination of education policies?

The concept of policy as discourse (Ball, 1990) allows to identify discursive frameworks that are articulating and constraining action. Interaction between these

dynamics was worth exploring as institutions at different levels of analysis gave prevalence to specific discourses. The dynamics between institutions are particularly relevant especially in the 'text consumption', where the recipients of a policy statement or policy strategy incorporate others' practices into the construction of their own.

CONTEXT OF INFLUENCE OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

Since 2000 the deadlocks of the European political project were impacting the reconfiguration of institutional frameworks – the enlargement of the EU, the rise of a threatening crisis in monetary policies – reinforcing the role of European institutions (e.g. the Central Bank). Tensions between European and national institutions characterised the construction of European political identity. Yet these tensions presented opportunities to reframe future action within the EU and contributed to shedding light on the construction of policy discourse of European higher education policies.

The 'context of influence' of Bologna has been determined by European and national initiatives. Despite the initiative of national governments to agree on Bologna, the role of European institutions inspired the idea of establishing the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). At the European level, activities of governance are fragmented across scales (e.g. European, national, regional, institutional) impacting the 'context of influence' of Bologna. The gradual growth of policy-making at the European level (e.g. European Commission creeping competence) (Pollack, 2000) impinged on higher education policy (Amaral & Neave, 2009; Hackl, 2001) while not affecting principles of subsidiarity.

To grasp the setting of discourses within Bologna, we used the report *Two Decades of Reform in Higher Education in Europe: 1980 onwards* (Eurydice, 2000). It identified as catalysts for reform in higher education: increase in demand, restriction on public spending, globalisation of economies, technological progress and decentralisation. These factors constitute the imperatives affecting the 'context of influence' of the Bologna process.

The Sorbonne Declaration (1998) was used as an instrument to increase the level of concern about European higher education, but emphasis was put on the national level. Other European countries that did not welcome this enactment by the four major states (France, Germany, Italy and United Kingdom) rejected the initiative, which was formally condemned in the Education Council meeting in Baden in October 1998 (Ravinet, 2008).

The Bologna Declaration broadened the attempt to benefit at the national level – ministers had a justification to reform – while at the European level the intergovernmental initiative was an opportunity to enhance the influence of the European institutions (e.g. European Commission), interpreted in terms of its creeping competences within the EU, as well as to strengthen the organisational capacity towards the purpose of the EHEA.

The European Commission's agenda actively enlarged the plan of action since initially it lacked a European dimension. In Froment's view, only the European Universities Association (EUA), the European Commission (EC) and the European Students' Union (European Students' Union ESU) underwrote European arguments (Veiga, 2010). In his perspective, governments were pushing the reforms forward; they could even revise the degree structure in their own countries, while using the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and the Diploma Supplement in the Bologna process. However, universities could merely limit themselves to giving a new name to all diplomas without major changes.

The European level used the national level to promote its own agenda, as it was likely that universities would interpret the requirements in their own terms. We must keep in mind that institutions at the European and national levels were using normative (e.g. social obligation) and mimetic (e.g. emulation of practice) mechanisms to influence policy actors.

The Bologna process emerged from different sources: European institutions, national institutions and higher education institutions. Institutions at the European and national levels were involved in the process of decision-making and definition of policies. These actors had the power to intervene in the decision making-process and in defining action plans. The Follow-Up Group of the Bologna process is composed of two different types of political actors: voting actors (e.g. the 47 countries participating in Bologna) and consultative actors. The balance of power among voting actors evolved and the European Commission was invested as a voting member in 2005 (Bergen Communiqué, 2005). As consultative members, there are a number of stakeholders: the Council of Europe, the National Unions of Students in Europe (ESIB), the Education International (EI) Pan-European Structure, the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), the European University Association (EUA), the European Association of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE), the European Centre for Higher Education (UNESCO-CEPES) and the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE).

From 2002 onwards, the activity of European institutions focusing on education grew swiftly, especially in 2005 and 2006, reinforcing the link between European policies and the Bologna process. Interference by the European Commission could be seen as "strengthening an organisational capacity for collective action and the development of common ideas, such as new norms and collective understandings" (Olsen, 2002: 929) towards completing the EHEA. That is to say, that the establishment of the EHEA overlapped with a political process driven by European Union, namely by the Lisbon strategy launched in 2000.

In the Bologna Follow-up Group there are representatives of the 47 countries participating in the Bologna process and the European Commission. By the initiative of the Finnish presidency, a two-group structure was created and between 2001 (Prague Communiqué) and 2003 (Berlin Communiqué) the Bologna Follow-Up Group was formalized. The Follow-up Group prepares the work plan according to the priorities defined by the Ministers and set up in working groups (e.g. Social

Dimension, Qualifications Frameworks, International Openness, Mobility, Recognition, and Reporting on the implementation of the Bologna process).

The process of setting the agenda was unclear. It reflected the balance of powers among different institutions. Birkland (2001) argued that there are four levels of agenda that help understand the complexity of the Bologna process. The general agenda comprises all ideas that could be discussed within society at large; the systemic agenda comprises topics set by policy actors important to discuss publicly; the institutional agenda contains successful ideas that have emerged from the systemic agenda. There is a stage of issue emergence (Kogan, 2005) in policy making that in the case of Bologna was difficult to set.

The general agenda contained topics to be handled at the national level. The Follow-Up Group influenced the agenda setting at the national and institutional levels, while the governments and higher education institutions had influence as well. Academics were, however, not represented as social partners as, in Neave's view, the EUA represented essentially leadership and institutional capacity-building, therefore a very different relationship than that of academia (Veiga, 2010). Higher education institutions individually "seek actively to interact with environmental constituents in order to shape and control dependency relations" (Gornitzka, et al., 2005: 50). In its implementation, the Bologna process has been shaped by the process of translation from the European to the national and institutional levels. This interactive process comprises goals of policy makers and goals of policy implementers that may not coincide. Hence, the distinction between policy makers and policy implementers was blurred. Within higher education institutions, governance bodies handled the topics according to their own capabilities and priorities, and in Neave's perspective, the policy was put forward as an assumption about the lack of involvement of all higher education institutions' actors (Veiga, 2010).

Looking at policy discourse which were focusing the restriction of public spending and the globalisation of economies pressures, the signature of the Bologna Declaration raised awareness about efficiency and mobility and contributed to the argument about a shift in the concept of mobility from intra-European to international. The alertness about a lack of efficiency and enhancement of mobility were a drawback in Haug's view because the experience of European mobility programmes showed incompatibilities of education systems (Veiga, 2010).

The Bologna Declaration was signed deliberately and intentionally without the European Commission, while other European countries (beyond the European Union) were invited to join the declaration, spreading the EHEA beyond the European Union. However, since 2005 the European Commission has been an 'additional member' with voting power. This empowerment of European institutions might be important as policies and activities developed at the European level could intertwine with both national institutions and higher education institutions. The capacity-building of the European Commission surpasses the capacity of individual member states. The conditions, priorities and strategies are likely to differ across states involved with Bologna, weakening the bargaining power of national institu-

tions, while the European Commission is developing its strategy towards the reinforcement of the European dimension of national policies.

The political discourse was dominated by the efficiency of higher education systems, and the enlargement of the EU also played a role. In Haug's view, access to the labour market, efficiency and attractiveness were goals shared by the countries, confirming the reason why the Bologna agenda has been relatively successful, even though it was not obligatory (Veiga, 2010). This reinforced the legitimising power of Bologna while underlying its national adequacy.

The knowledge economy discourse placed higher education in a more competitive position (European Council, 2000) supporting the diffusion of Bologna to tackle challenges related to the economic centrality of knowledge. The European level responded to globalisation and economic competitiveness pressures by launching the Lisbon strategy with the aim of creating the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world (European Council, 2000). This initiative aimed at increasing the investment in a knowledge-based and highly productive society used Bologna as the instrument of European Commission to push forward the EHEA.

The EU has used economic, technologic and social policy arguments to justify higher education policies since 1984, instead of developing a direct action towards the development of a European policy in higher education, a stance criticised by higher education institutions on both quantitative and qualitative grounds (Barblan, Kehm, Reichert, & Teichler, 1998; Barblan & Teichler, 2000; Teichler & Maiworn, 2002). With regard to the development of European policy in higher education, higher education institutions criticised the action of the EU for being unable to meet the expectations they had for Europeanization/internationalisation. As for economic driven higher education policies, the higher education institutions upbraided the EU for its lack of investment, which prevented the generalisation of the European mobility programmes to all students – international student mobility remained limited to less than 10% of the student population. The European funding of the Socrates programme to support internationalisation lagged well behind the expectations of higher education institutions. Ironically, Neave (2002) saw the Bologna process as promoting a "Euro elite", favouring the interests of a minority of European citizens.

In the 'context of influence', interaction between institutions veiled the role of national institutions as the European Commission achieved the status of 'additional member' and, at the same time, it has been a powerful interest group by funding the exchange of 'best practices' (e.g. projects, thematic seminars, etc.).

The power of the European Commission allowed for keeping the pace of establishing the EHEA by reasserting the vocational orientation of EU policies in the field of education, while implementing the Lisbon Agenda focused on investment in a highly productive society. Anyhow, Bologna goes beyond the European Union and the substantive influence of the European Commission might not be straightforward in non-EU countries.

CONTEXT OF TEXT PRODUCTION OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

The 'context of text production' has encompassed both political initiatives taken at the European level (e.g. official texts and policy documents) and the passing of legislation at the national level. At the European level, Ministers agree on political statements issuing a formal communiqué every two years. As objectives and lines of action have been increasing, this procedure has been sustaining the impression of progress (Khem, Stensaker and Huisman, 2009; Veiga and Amaral, 2009a; Neave and Veiga, 2013).

Within the Bologna process the 'context of text production' has been particularly relevant and it has been constantly changing, benefiting from interchanges between the 'context of influence' and the 'context of practice'. For instance, the inclusion of the students as social partners in the Prague Communiqué (2001) by pressure of the students' representatives (e.g. ESU); the reinforcement of quality assurance mechanisms based on the emerging of accreditation systems in some countries (e.g. Germany, Norway) in the Berlin Communiqué (2003); the implementation of a national qualifications framework for higher education in the Bergen Communiqué (2005) overlapping with the Lisbon agenda's requirement in the area of vocational training; the data collection included in the London Communiqué (2007) which aimed to overcome the lack of reliable data on mobility of students; the inclusion of student-centred learning as an approach reinforcing the teaching mission in the Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué (2009).

At the national level, the passing of legislation upholds the perception of the Bologna process as a regulatory framework, reinforcing national specificities. Additionally, policy draftsmen do not control the meaning their texts take on. The dynamic of policy implementation intermeshed with the political and with the pedagogical recontextualisation fields. Thus, the 'context of practice' of Bologna at the institutional level interchanged with the 'context of text production' very deeply.

Within the 'context of text production', policy documents assume a relevant role since they proliferated within the Bologna process. However, awareness about these policy documents appeared to be limited to a restricted number of Eurospecialists. The foundation of Bologna was on a policy document *Trends in Learning Structures in Higher Education,* assigning particular importance to policy as text (Ball, 1990). This report was monitored by the Sorbonne Follow-Up Group and it is the first policy text under the framework of Bologna issued under the aegis of the Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences (CRUE) and the Association of European Universities (CRE) (The two organisations merged in 2001 to create the EUA – European University Association). These institutions were representatives of European universities' leaderships. The financial support to prepare the report was provided by the European Commission.

The report *Trends in Learning Structures in Higher Education* was a policy document which raised concerns about growing governmental push towards shorter studies. First, this aimed to reduce the real duration of studies to their official length

(which is typically exceeded by two to four years in many countries), and to introduce first degrees in countries with traditionally long curricula without an intermediate exit point. In the mid to late nineties, reforms in Germany and Austria introduced new bachelors/masters curricula on an institutional voluntary basis alongside traditional diplomas, whereas in Italy and France existing curricula were being re-arranged in a first and postgraduate cycle. Elements of two-tier systems existed in many other European countries, and it seemed that only a few countries in the EU/EEA were not experimenting with the two-tier curricula (Haug, Kirstein, & Knudsen, 1999: 3-4). And governments in many countries have tackled this issue for more than a decade, but with increased determination in recent years. Their first efforts seem to have gone into bringing actual duration more in line with the national official duration, mainly through financial measures such as the limitation of the duration of grants (e.g. Germany, Netherlands, Denmark), the exclusion of "late" students from the count on which state grants to institutions are based (Finland) or differential tuition fees for undergraduate and postgraduate studies (Ireland, or UK in a different way).

The attention paid by many governments in Europe to the development of a strong, competitive but shorter vocational sector, as well as the increasing shift of student enrolments to this type of higher education, also pointed in the direction of shorter studies. Governments have articulated plans to reduce the theoretical features and duration of studies, and the attractiveness of models featuring vocational training followed by postgraduate studies for a smaller number of students has grown. The move towards bachelor and master degrees in countries where they were not traditional can also be explained in these terms (Haug, et al., 1999: 11). The Bologna Declaration was rooted in the assumption that those obstacles may be overcome by joint efforts of governments. The report stated:

> The combined impact of the suggested action lines would also make European higher education more understandable and attractive to students, scholars and employers from other continents; they would enhance European competitiveness and thus help to consolidate (or in the eyes of many, to re-establish) its role and influence in the world (Haug, et al., 1999: 5).

Additionally, the Bologna Follow-Up Group has been amongst the key producers of policy documents related to the action lines defined by the Ministers biennial meetings (e.g. qualifications frameworks, joint degrees, mobility, stocktaking etc.). More to the point, there were the studies undertaken by consultative members of the Bologna process and the recommendations set out in Bologna seminars. The studies by ESU (e.g. *Bologna with students' eyes*, *Black book of Bologna*) focused on dimensions related to students' academic life and underscored facts grounded on reality in contrast with the positions at political level. The latter were consistently more positive and optimistic than the view of European students. The studies by EUA comprised political declarations attempting to reinforce the role of universities within the Bologna process (e.g. *The role of universities*, *Strong universities for a strong Europe*, *Europe's universities beyond 2010*, *European Universities: Looking*

forward with confidence), although the association represents solely the leadership of membership institutions. The publication series includes analysis on Bologna topics, such as lifelong learning, doctoral programmes, joint master programmes, aimed at controlling the meaning of these concepts at the institutional level. The publication series includes the *Trends* reports and the *Bologna Handbook – Making Bologna Work*. The recommendations made during Bologna seminars filtered the most relevant issues to the European level, giving the impression that the perception of the institutional level was involved in the decision-making processes.

In the 'context of text production', interaction between institutions brought European level institutions to the fore, as policy documents making sense of official texts (e.g. Bologna Declaration, Prague Communiqué, Berlin Communiqué, Bergen Communiqué, Louvain Communiqué, London Communiqué) were relevant, in actual fact implementers never read some official texts first-hand. By providing (often multiple) frames of reference (e.g. qualifications) policy documents were active shapers of appropriate performance taking the objectives of Bologna. Interestingly enough, as the texts have a clear connection to the contexts where they were produced, interpreted and used, policy was shaped and nuanced by national and local-institutional aspects.

CONTEXT OF PRACTICE OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

In the 'context of practice', policy is subject to translation, interpretation and re-negotiation. Here, the most relevant policy actors were national institutions, bult Bologna reforms also depend on the engagement of the constituencies of higher education institutions (academics, students and administrative and management staff). In implementing the Bologna process, the national level has been active in mediating, or adapting to the European level by interpreting policy in interaction with functional and normative imperatives. Bologna policies remained shaped at national level but policies developed at European level (e.g. mobility programmes) were also relevant in the 'context of practice', at the national and institutional levels.

The interpretation of student mobility reflected both the idea of cooperation and mutual trust in exchanging students between European higher education institutions and the idea of competition between higher education institutions for incoming (and in some cases paying) students. The former relates to the interpretation ascribed to student mobility and the latter to the enlargement of the Erasmus programme – funded by the European Commission – to include non-European students, constituting the Erasmus Mundus programme.

Bologna has thus been promoting a shift in the interpretation of mobility, framing the idea of enhancement of attractiveness with the economic rationales of competitiveness of higher education systems. Another example is the concept of employability that has been shifting its meaning in tune with the development of lifelong learning policies that would keep the individual employable (Neave, 2002).

The first order effects, within the 'context of practice', also dealt with assessment of practice. The national level was not producing stability, uniformity and tighter coordination, contributing instead to developing tools of new governance. As the national level set up intermediary bodies "to reinforce control and oversight in the general area of 'output' management" (Neave & Van Vught, 1991: xii), the use of new governance mechanisms created pressure no longer exerted by the central government through regulative mechanisms. Hence, divergent interpretations for the establishment of the EHEA policy goals emerged.

The analysis of the 'context of practice' focused on policy implementation assuming the idea of its continuous evaluation (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984). At the European level, the latter used the stocktaking method inspired in the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). However, getting acquainted with progress at the national and institutional levels required a timeframe compatible with incremental change.

Stocktaking reports inspired by the OMC methodology reflected the lack of effectiveness of soft law mechanisms when national governments gave priority to their own policies' goals. For that reason, we observed that national specificities were an important dimension of Bologna (Veiga, 2010). On the other hand, the criteria within the stocktaking reports did not allow detecting that the passing of legislation at the national level did not result into actual changes. A critical analysis of these exercises were provided by confronting it with empirical evidence (Veiga & Amaral, 2006; Veiga & Amaral, 2009a; Veiga, Amaral, & Mendes, 2008).

National reports and national action programmes on recognition, stocktaking reports, and the scorecard are the main tools of evaluation within Bologna. National reports became practice in Berlin (2003) since, for the first time, all the countries corresponded to the request made in Prague in 2001. The ministers noted that the National Reports were evidence of the considerable progress being made in the application of the principles of the Bologna Process (Berlin Communiqué, 2003). The implementation of guidelines was used to eliminate the lack of comparability of the 2003 reports. In 2005, the guidelines imposed specific questions, such as those concerning the degree system, recognition, mobility, internationalisation and quality. In 2006, following the recommendation of the Bergen Communiqué (Bergen Communiqué 2005), other policy areas were included such as the implementation of standards and guidelines for quality assurance as proposed in the ENQA Report; the implementation of the national frameworks for qualifications; the awarding and recognition of joint degrees, including the doctorate level; and creating opportunities for flexible learning paths in higher education, including procedures for the recognition of prior learning.

This instrument allowed for the comparison of performance between countries. However, it hardly provided an objective and accurate interpretation of implementation at the national level. The *Trends* report by EUA and studies by ESU are examples of contradictions between the picture presented by national reports and reality. For instance, the *Trends IV* report acknowledged that "In several countries, there is a high risk that concepts and tools (…) are implemented haphazardly to comply with existing regulation, without deep understanding of their pedagogical function"

(Reichert & Tauch, 2005: 18), and the students argued "Sometimes also everything looks very good on the first sight, but when looking more closely at how practices are, it becomes apparent that there are still many challenges left" (ESIB, 2005: 3).

Recognising that 36 out of the 47 participating countries have ratified the Lisbon Recognition Convention (Council of Europe 1997), ministers have committed to draw up "national action plans to improve the quality of the recognition process of foreign qualifications, which aligns the adoption of the OMC mechanisms. These plans will form part of each country's national report for the next Ministerial Conference" (Bergen Communiqué 2005: 3) and follow a common structure and should report on previous and future developments concerning mutual academic recognition issues.

To measure the progress in the implementation of the reforms within the EHEA, the states agreed on the use of the stocktaking exercise (Bologna Follow-up Group, 2005). According to the Berlin Communiqué (2003) the stocktaking report focused on the progress and implementation of intermediate priorities, such as quality assurance, the two-cycle system and the recognition of degrees and periods of studies. The main sources of information for the stocktaking exercise were the national reports prepared by representatives of national governments and the report *Focus on the Structure of Higher Education in Europe* prepared by EURYDICE (Network on Education Systems and policies in Europe). From Bergen (2005) onwards, besides national reports submitted by all countries and the EURYDICE Report, ministers decided to include a number of other sources including the EUA (European University Association) *Trends Report* and the ESU survey *Bologna With Student Eyes*.

Stocktaking reports also feed the exchange of information among institutions involved in policy implementation. For that reason, the stocktaking exercise was seen as an interpretation and translation of the reality emerging from these data sources. The progress was measured using the Bologna scorecard based on agreed criteria that guided the accounting of the progress along the priority action lines. Stocktaking may not accurately measure the progress of policy implementation of Bologna, as there are inaccuracies related to the attempt to reduce the complexity of measuring the progress of the reforms. As research on the matter has been underlining, the Bologna scorecard did not allow for discerning all the changing variables and did not give the right information at the right time. Empirical data showed that the results of the stocktaking exercise favoured an overoptimistic perspective of the Bologna process implementation in Italy, Germany and Portugal (Veiga & Amaral, 2009a) and in Southern European countries (Veiga, et al., 2008), for example. In spite of using apparently very clear criteria, the stocktaking process built on the interpretation of key documents produced by officials of ministries and studies produced by organisations, such as EURYDICE, translating them into the benchmarks.

As a result, the attempt to present comparative data tends to homogenise the information produced in the reports and studies to fit the benchmark. The use of this mechanism induced 'appropriate behaviour'. The stocktaking exercise not only measured the progress of policy implementation, but also fed the implementation of Bologna. Therefore, if the idea that comparable indicators are a way of policy instruments was

accepted (Nóvoa & deJong-Lambert, 2003), stocktaking exercise benchmarks could contribute to policy formulation with the inadequacy of transmitting a virtual reality.

The comparability and transparency of the systems related with the quality of information provided by the stocktaking exercise. The emphasis of any exercise to measure the progress of the Bologna process should reflect the complexity and subjectivity of different action lines. A measurement exercise will have little value unless measures build on evaluation exercises that, by focusing on outputs, compare the actual value with the value that would be expected given the inputs available to different education systems.

In the 'context of practice', interaction between institutions revealed the role of the national level. Appropriate performance was monitored by evaluation and by giving primacy to passing legislation and objective criteria, but this understanding was inducing erroneous belief about the effects at institutional level. The awareness about evaluation of policy was a sensitive issue since the interpretation that different levels of analysis produce about policy change foster or undermine the development of indispensable action that takes the objectives of Bologna.

The analysis of the 'context of practice' of Bologna showed that the process of policy implementation was dynamic and flexible, introducing the notion of a continuous cycle consisting of contexts of implementation, not in phases or stages. Understanding the 'context of practice', the complexities of Bologna are exposed together with mismatches over policy and the process of interpretation. Additionally, it confirmed the idea that the 'context of practice' may be considered a micro-political process (Mainardes, 2006), as within the Bologna process' 'context of practice' to cope with changes at the national and institutional levels, it might be possible to identify a 'context of influence' dominated by the need to report progress and a 'context of text production' influenced by the exchange of alleged good practices.

CONTEXT OF OUTCOMES OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

The 'context of outcomes' of the Bologna process focused especially on the second order effects policies had on issues such as academic freedom and academic work and institutional reconfiguration. Within higher education institutions these effects were better grasped.

In the 'context of practice' it was observed that national and European institutions tended to present favourable pictures about the progress of the Bologna process. Additionally, we noticed the relevance of national specificities to highlight that issues guiding the national reforms (e.g. quality in Norway, increasing system diversity in Portugal, learning outcomes in Ireland, low completion rate in Italy, European harmonisation in Germany) were diverse from the issues incorporating the Bologna's policy dimensions into the national agenda.

The analysis at the institutional level has shown that the assessment of expectations about the plausible goals of the constituencies of higher education institutions were indeed related to very positive expectations on the student-centred paradigm

shift as an opportunity to rethink the teaching/learning offer and to reorganise the curricula (Veiga, 2010; Veiga & Amaral, 2009b). However, these expectations relied on further action within the 'context of practice' of Bologna at the European and national levels to make more resources available.

In the 'context of outcomes', the second order effects were more open to different interpretations. Interaction between institutions brought the institutional level to the front stage, while interpretations within higher education institutions enlarged the spectrum of strategic action, being possible to consider other policy reforms legitimized under the label of Bologna (Veiga, 2012).

CONTEXT OF POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

The 'context of political strategy' of the Bologna process was where political initiatives were directed towards influencing the way negative outcomes were taken up. Bologna, at the European level, induced another policy driver: the 'modernisation' of European higher education: "The modernisation of European higher education will be pursued and it will rest upon increased institutional autonomy, quality assurance and accountability, as well as sustainable funding" (Benelux Bologna Secretariat, 2009).

Bologna emphasised higher education institutions' competitiveness while the EHEA emphasised attractiveness of European higher education. The Bologna Declaration (as political statement) was seen by the EU as an act framed under the quest of modernizing universities and underlying the goal of achieving convergence between higher education systems in Europe.

Grafting the 'modernisation' agenda onto Bologna brought in different issues and set Bologna into a larger process of policy coordination. From this broader perspective, "The Commission, in particular, has claimed that a dynamic knowledge-based economy (and society) requires modernisation of the European University" (Olsen & Maassen, 2007: 6) a clear demonstration that the influence of the European level over the institutional level can also operate directly. This aspect was extremely important in understanding policy definition and the effects such policies have within higher education institutions. The European level, by seeing the Bologna process as a structural reform emphasised changes in the legal framework to impact on higher education's structures. Bologna and the establishment of EHEA focused on the reforms of governance, funding and curricula. This hints at the pressures from the European level on the national level and the institutional level, largely because the reforms to modernise European higher education initiated in the 80s did not yield the expected results (Maassen, 2006).

In short, at the European level the Bologna process merely recycles the issue. Examining the long-term 'policy cycle' in terms of abiding changes, Neave argued that the Bologna 'policy cycle' dated back to 1981. Neave emphasised that: "it is clear in Western Europe, the major reforms re-engineering the task, the resources, the priorities and their verification (…) were largely completed or in process of completion before the Bologna Declaration" (Neave, 2009: 49)

European Ministers of Education "tend to define European cooperation as a cul-
tural project and they emphasize that the need to increase global economic competi-
tiveness must be balanced with the objective of improving the social characteristics
of the EHEA" (Olsen & Maassen, 2007: 9). It appears that economic arguments
built at the European level contaminated the Bologna process. How far the 'context
of political strategy' in the Bologna process will be able to impinge on the 'context
of influence' in the resuscitated topic 'modernisation' is the question. In this light,
the number of official documents emanated at European level is worth exploring
further and following.

The 'context of political strategy' aligning with the time frame of Bologna saw
the modernisation agenda re-entering a new 'policy cycle' by pressure of European
institutions. Interaction between institutions revealed European level institutions
whereas the activities of the European Commission have been focusing on mod-
ernisation of higher education to reframe action and giving impetus for a new (or
recycled) 'policy cycle'.

CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at Bologna as a political process using the lens of the 'policy
cycle' in order to address the articulation of different contexts of policy implemen-
tation. The 'policy cycle' as a way of researching and theorizing policy allowed to
to understand some forms of articulation shaped by interaction between institutions
at different levels of analysis. The 'policy cycle' added-value is grounded on the
integrated view of a political process that involves different levels of analysis.

The 'context of influence' obscured national level institutions. The European
Commission possesses the status of additional member and is a powerful interest
group by funding, for instance, the exchange of best practice (e.g. projects, thematic
seminars.). Within the 'context of text production' the role of European level insti-
tutions was revealed, as policy documents are relevant as making sense of official
texts because implementers never read some official texts first-hand. The 'context of
practice' evaluating the progress of the changes at the institutional level and giving
primacy to passing legislation underlined national level institutions (e.g. national
reports, stocktaking and scorecard). The 'context of outcomes' highlighted higher
education institutions as interpretations within HEIs induced coping strategies. The
'context of political strategy' emphasised European level institutions inducing an
impetus for a new (or recycled) 'policy cycle'.

Also in the field of higher education studies, implementation becomes an interac-
tive process (Gornitzka, et al., 2005) making it difficult to determine the steering
mechanisms of a multi-level policy framework, as "institutional actors at different
levels of activity and responsibility assess, adjust and adapt both the Process and
re-interpret their part in it" (Neave & Veiga, 2013: 74). Furthermore, it cannot be
assumed that policies "move from government to objects of implementation unaf-
fected by the road they travel" (Gornitzka, et al., 2005: 53). Policy implementation

is confronted with resistances that "are likely to strongly affect the extent of goal attainment and the reformulation of goal priorities and implementation structures" (Cerych & Sabatier, 1986: 15). The analysis contributed, then, to corroborate the perspective of implementation as a dynamic process of *enactment*, i.e. the realization of policy in and through practice (Ball, 2004). A key role is thus assigned to interaction between the coordination levels and the 'policy cycle' allowed to perceive in each context of political action the importance (or unimportance) of different institutions involved.

With regard to the 'concept of interaction', the linkages detected between the 'context of influence' and the 'context of text production' in setting the stage for the EHEA, reflected the notion of policy as a *writerly* (Codd, 1988) text inviting the reader to be co-author of the text, encouraging policy *receivers* to participate more actively in the interpretation of the text. Policy is a product formulation process that takes place in continuous relationship in a variety of contexts, opening up new meanings and interpretations to policy *receivers*, according to the specificities of the institutions at different levels of analysis.

Interpreting the Bologna process as a 'policy cycle' enlarges the view about Bologna by depicting the issues relevant in each policy context. In each policy context the most significant aspects of dispute taking place within Bologna were convened with the aim of shedding some light on the complexity of Bologna as a policy process. The elements identified were sensitive issues in terms of their insertion in a larger process of integration and coordination of education policies with repercussion to different levels of analysis. While expanding the view about Bologna, the lens of the 'policy cycle' contributed to enlighten the political process exploring issues and concerns as they developed in the contexts of policy implementation. As they come into view in different contexts of implementation, these issues take up an explicit configuration. The 'context of outcomes' of Bologna revealed higher education institutions which were surprisingly not in the 'context of practice'. As a consequence, changes in institutional practices or structures appeared as the impact of the changes promoted by the Bologna reforms at the European and national levels. Hence, the engagement of the final target group of Bologna reforms was disregarded as the 'context of practice' centred on policy evaluation rather than on the role and feedback of higher education institutions. The 'context of practice' as a micro-political process, opened vistas about the need to address the complexities of Bologna, taking into account the policy cycle(s) stemming from the 'context of practice'.

The analysis also contributed to indicate that, at least in multi-level policy frameworks, it was useful to separate the 'context of outcomes' and the 'context of political strategy' from the 'contexts of practice' and 'influence', respectively. Research performed on the basis of the 'policy cycle' approach usually addresses only the three primary contexts (see for example, Vidovich, 2001; Griffiths, 2006). The decision to use the two other contexts was because the dynamics of political action of Bologna is better seen as a process through which policy is changed into the 'con-

text of influence' of other policy cycles that will develop. While complexity arrives when policy cycles deploy at different levels of analysis, the impact of change in the 'context of outcomes' and its stimulus in the 'context of political strategy' interact with the policy cycle of modernization of higher education, for example. This is an interesting element to detect as much as it broadens the concept of interaction between different 'policy cycles' addressing the issue of continuity and change.

REFERENCES

Amaral, A., & Neave, G. (2009). On Bologna, Weasels and Creeping Competence. Amaral, G. Neave, C. Musselin & P. Maassen (Eds.), *European Integration Governance of Higher Education and Research* (pp. 281-299). Dordrecht: Springer.

Ball, S. (1990). *Politics and policy making in education: explorations in policy sociology.* London: Routledge.

Ball, S. (2004). *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-Structural Approach Buckingham*. Open University Press.

Barblan, A., & Teichler, U. (2000). Implementing European Policies in Universities: The SOCRATES experience. In A. Barblan, S. Reichert, M. Schotte-Kmoch & U. Teichler(Eds.), *Implementing European Policies in Higher Education Institutions* (Vol. Werkstattberichte – Band 57). Kassel: Verlag Jenior & Pressler.

Barblan, A., Kehm, B., Reichert, S., & Teichler, U. (1998). *Emerging European Profiles of Higher Education Institutions.* Kassel: Centre for Higher Education and Work, University of Kassel.

Benelux Bologna Secretariat. (2009). *Bologna beyond 2010 – Report on the development* of the European Higher Education Area. Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Ministerial Conference.

Bergen Communiqué. (2005). The European Higher Education Area – Achieving the Goals. Bergen.

Berlin Communiqué. (2003). Realizing the European Higher Education Area. Berlin.

Birkland, T. A. (2001). *An introduction to the policy process – Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making.* New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Bologna Declaration. (1999). The European Higher Education Area. Bologna.

Bowe, R., Ball, S., & Gold, A. (1992). *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: case studies in policy sociology.* London: Routledge.

Cerych, L., & Sabatier, P. (1986). *Great expectations and mixed performance: the implementation of higher education reforms in Europe.* Trentham: European Institute of Education and Social Policy.

Codd, J. (1988). *The construction and deconstruction of educational policy documents.* Journal of Education Policy 3(3): 235-247.

ESIB. (2005). *The Black Book of the Bologna Process.* Bergen.

European Council. (2000). Conclusions of Lisbon European Council. Lisbon: European Council.

Eurydice. (2000). *Two Decades of Reform in Higher Education in Europe: 1980 onwards.* Brussels.

Gornitzka, A., Kyvik, S., & Stensaker, B. (2005). Implementation Analysis in Higher Education. In A. Gornitzka, M. Kogan & A. Amaral (Eds.), *Reform and change in Higher Education* (pp. 35-56). Dordrecht: Springer.

Griffiths, J. (2006). Curriculum policy: Linking the 'big picture' with school level processes. Paper presented at Engaging Pedagogies. Retrieved 10 October 2006, from http://www.are.edu.au/04pap/.

Hackl, E. (2001). *The Intrusion and Expansion of Community Policies in Higher Education*. Higher Education Management, 13(3), 99-117.

Haug, G., Kirstein, J., & Knudsen, I. (1999). *Trends in Learning Structures in Higher Education*. Belgium: Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences and the Association of European Universities.

Kehm, B., Huisman, J., Stensaker, B. (2009). The European Higher Education Area: Perspectives on a

Moving Target. Sense publishers: Rotterdam.

Kogan, M. (2005). The implementation game. In A. Gornitzka, M. Kogan & A. Amaral (Eds.), *Reform and change in higher education*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué. (2009). *The Bologna Process 2020 - The European Higher Education Area in the new decade*. Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve.

London Communiqué. (2007). *Towards the European Higher Education Area: responding to challenges in a globalised world*. London.

Maassen, P. (2006). *The Modernisation of European Higher Education: a multi-level analysis. Paper presented at the Directors General for Higher Education Meeting*, Helsinki, Finland.

Mainardes, J. (2006). *Abordagem do ciclo de políticas: uma contribuição para a análise de políticas educacionais*. Educ. Soc., Campinas, vol. 27, n. 94, p. 47-69, jan./abr. 2006 47. Disponível em <http://www.cedes.unicamp.br>

March, G. J., & Olsen, J. P. (1989). *Rediscovering Institutions – The organizational basis of politics*. New York: The Free Press.

Neave, G. (2002). *Vale Tudo – ou como a adaptação das universidades à integração europeia encerra contradições afinal inspiradoras*. Boletim da Universidade do Porto, 10.35, 9-18.

Neave, G. (2009). The Bologna Process as Alpha or Omega Or, an Interpreting History and Context as Inputs to Bologna, Prague, Berlin and Beyond. In A. Amaral, G. Neave, C. Musselin & P. Maassen (Eds.), *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education* (pp. 17-58). Dordrecht: Springer.

Neave, G., & Van Vught, H. (1991). Introduction. In G. Neave & H. Van Vught (Eds.), *Prometeus Bound – The Changing Relationships Between Government and Higher Education in Western Europe* (pp. ix-xvi). Exeter: Pergamon Press.

Neave, G., and Veiga, A. (2013). "The Bologna Process: inception, 'take up' and familiarity." Higher Education, 66(1), 59-77.

Nóvoa, A., & deJong-Lambert, W. (2003). Educating Europe: An Analysis of EU Educational Policies. In D. Phillips & H. Ertl (Eds.), *Implementing European Union Education and Training Policy – A comparative study of issues in four Member States* (pp. 41-72). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Olsen, J. P. (2002). *The Many Faces of Europeanization*. Journal of Common Market Studies, 40(5), 921 – 952.

Olsen, J. P., & Maassen, P. (2007). European Debates on the Knowledge Institution: The Modernization of the University at the European Level. In P. Maassen & J. P. Olsen (Eds.), *University Dynamics and European Integration* (pp. 3-22). Dordrecht: Springer.

Pollack, M. (2000). *The End of Creeping Competence? EU Policy-Making Since Maastricht*. Journal of Common Market Studies, 38(3), 519-538.

Prague Communiqué. (2001). Towards the European Higher Education Area. Prague.

Pressman, L. J., & Wildavsky, A. (1984). *Implementation – How great expectations in Washington are dashed in Oakland; or, Why It's amazing that Federal Programs Work at All, This Being a Saga of the Economic Development Administration* (3rd ed.). California: University of California Press.

Ravinet, P. (2008). *From voluntary participation to monitored coordination: why European countries feel increasingly bound by their commitment to the Bologna process*. European Journal of Education, 43(3), 353-367.

Sorbonne Declaration. (1998). Harmonisation of the architecture of the European higher education system. Paris.

Teichler, U., & Maiworn, F. (2002). The policies of Higher Education Institutions. In U. Teichler (Ed.), *Erasmus in Socrates Programme – Findings of an Evaluation Study*. Bonn: Lemmens.

Tomusk, V. (2004). *The Open World and Closed Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vidovich, L. (2001). *A Conceptual Framework for Analysis of Education Policy and Practice*s, Australian Association for Research in Education, AARE 2001 International Education Research Conference, Coldstream, Victoria, Australia.

AMÉLIA VEIGA

Veiga, A., & Amaral, A. (2006). *The open method of coordination and the implementation of the Bologna process*. Tertiary Education and Management, 12(4), 283-295.

Veiga, A., & Amaral, A. (2009a). Policy Implementation Tools and European Governance. In A. Amaral, G. Neave, C. Musselin & P. Maassen (Eds.), *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research* (pp. 133-157). Dordrecht: Springer.

Veiga, A., & Amaral, A. (2009b). *Survey on the implementation of the Bologna process in Portugal*. Higher Education, 57(1), 57-69.

Veiga, A., Amaral, A., & Mendes, A. (2008). *Implementing Bologna in Southern European countries: Comparative analysis of some research findings*. [doi: DOI: 10.1016/j.ece.2008.01.004]. Education for Chemical Engineers, 3(1), e47-e56.

Veiga, A. (2010). *Bologna and the institutionalisation of European Higher Education Area*. Doctoral Thesis. 2 vol. University of Porto, Porto.

Veiga, A. (2012). Bologna 2010. The Moment of Truth? *European Journal of Education, 47*(3), 378-391.

Amélia Veiga
Agency for Assessment and Accreditation of Higher Education and Centre for Research on Higher Education Policies

ANTÓNIO M. MAGALHÃES

Chapter 7

SCENARIOS, DILEMMAS, AND PATHWAYS TO EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION[1]

INTRODUCTION

Departing from the study on futures carried out by the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS) (Enders, et al., 2005), I am attempting to discuss the map of these plausible futures for European higher education. Based on the Delphi and the scenario-writing methods, three possible futures for European higher education and research were traced, having 2020 as a time horizon. Elements in focus in this study are the growing assumption of the market as a structure, processes of regulation and coordination of higher education, and the political management of its expansion, as well as the matter of evaluation and accreditation of quality. But can these higher education futures, based on trends and potentials for development identified herein, be unavoidable destinies? The analysis of future scenarios allows discussion of the very nature of higher education in present-day contexts and emphasizes the agency of social forces and actors as a basis on which the prospect that "There is no alternative" can be critically put in perspective. The goal of the chapter is not to identify, propose, or defend any new grand narrative that puts forward a definitive identification of a sociological and epistemological pathway to the development of higher education. Rather, it is a matter of mapping and promoting the debate around the dilemmas higher education is dealing with. The risk to be avoided, in terms of reflective action, is that the developments in HE might succumb to the mercy of that which is only pragmatically possible.

THE FUTURES OF EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Prospective studies, or in the designation that has been circulating in English-speaking circles, Futures Studies are an area whose epistemology and methodology meander among art, technique, and science. Its use, at the various levels, as a means to support processes of decision-making has been gaining popularity all over the world, and, primarily, among international organizations. These studies may be

---

carried out in a scientific way, but they are not a science in the sense the word has gained in modern times, that is, a search for constant relationships among phenomena such as to make predictability possible. Therefore, it is neither surprising nor discouraging for this area of studies that, although in use for over three decades, such a methodology has not been successful in predicting present day configurations.

Futures studies entail the identification of possible futures leaving to social and political forces to seek out the desirable and the undesirable, and to organize their actions accordingly. As an area of study, it is itself diverse and conflicting within its own objective and object, since knowledge of the future transforms that very future through the influence that it has in the present.

Some instrumental views take futures studies essentially as an instrument for management and technical support for decision-making. These views often deliberately sacrifice to the gods of "how it works" and to the tactics with no strategy. Other perspectives make of it an exercise of reflection in which the relationship between the possible and the desirable is deconstructed in an attempt to refuse reducing the desirable to the possible (Santos, 1944).

In the case of higher education, on the one hand, the futures designed reflect transformations in the social, economic, and political mandates that are addressed to it and, on the other hand, the growing schizoid frenzy of its present identity. The idea of university education has broadened and is diversifying, differentiating, and becoming segmented into university education, higher education, tertiary education, and even post-secondary (Magalhães, 2004). Plausible developments of the present systems and institutions of higher education include the end of the university as a republic of academics, the emergence of the entrepreneurial university, its assumption as a 'complete organization' (Brunsson and Sahlin-Andersson, 2000), its reinforcement as an instrument of the State and its policies, or even counter-hegemonic models of a university (e.g., Santos and Filho, 2008). The question is not just about making a prospective analysis, but rather about the role that the (un)desirability of the futures plays in the agency of social forces, institutions, groups and individuals. The question of the (un)desirability must be placed within the limits of social and institutional reflectivity, overcoming a view of the futures studies as a mere technical-normative prescription, of suspicious neutrality. However, there is no consensus among the diverse actors involved about what is desirable and/or undesirable to point out the pathways of higher education into the future, and therefore, providing clear guidance in decision-making in the present.

The OECD, the United Nations, the World Bank, and UNESCO have carried out futures studies as well as other entities at the national level (e.g., the study of the Swedish Royal Academy of Engineering, "The University of the Future"). The Center for Educational Research and Innovation of the OECD identified four scenarios (CERI, 2006) which were presented at the Forum of the Meeting of OECD Education Ministers, in Athens, 2006. Similarly, agencies of the United Nations, the World Bank, and the OECD have been promoting joint approaches in this area (Georghiou and Harper, 2008). The Millennium Project of the University of the

United Nations, although not specifically dedicated to higher education, implicitly promoted the discussion of the future in this sector, as it involved areas such as curricula, pedagogy, transformations at institutional level, etc. (*ibid*). However, my purpose is not to provide an exhaustive account of these studies, but rather to contemplate a reflexive attitude to be taken before the futures identified.

Scenarios and futures for Higher Education in Europe

There have been several futures studies developed. For example, in 2001, a Strata-ETAN expert group was set up to support European co-operation in foresight for the development of higher education/research relations in the perspective of the European Research Area. The group aimed to identify possible scenarios for higher education, considering 2015 as a time horizon. The dimensions of the analysis were demographics, student consumption, and identification of new actors and new functions, as well as likely impacts of pressures for accountability on the governance of higher education institutions (Strata-ETAN, 2002). Nonetheless, the reference will be taken here of the foresight exercise performed by researchers of the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS), presented in 2004. On the one hand, this exercise seems to serve well the purpose of reflecting on the dilemmas and pathways that higher education is taking. On the other hand, in spite of having been prepared on the basis of different assumptions and objectives, there are significant convergences (Georghiou and Harper, 2008) between the scenarios traced by CHEPS and the results of the prospective of CERI/OECD and of the Strata-ETAN group exercises. This means that, in a certain way, to discuss the scenarios of the CHEPS exercise is also to discuss the possible consensus that supports this and other futures studies in the field of higher education.

On the twentieth anniversary of the Center, in 2004, a study on the futures of European higher education, under the designation of *The European Higher Education and Research Landscape 2020* (Enders et al., 2005), was presented.[2] In the three scenarios described it is possible to identify the fulfillment of what had been seen as different possible trends at the beginning of 2000, specifically those that inspired, and were inspired by, the Process of Bologna. The team that carried out the research used the Delphi and the scenario-writing methods.

The Delphi method was developed by the creation of an interactive communication network made up of 164 specialists, geographically disperse and anonymous, among whom there circulated information and the positions resulting from the questionnaires that, in two rounds, they had filled out (cf. Enders et al., 2005: 17-18). The study was intended to answer the questions: "Will a uniform study structure be implemented across European higher education systems? Will a European Research Council be the most important organization funding basic research?

---

2   CHEPS had already been involved, some years earlier, in an exercise in building scenarios for higher education (Huisman, De Boer and Westerheijden, 2001).

Will academics still play an important role in university management?" (Enders et al., 2005: 18).

Based on data gathered by means of the Delphi method and on their discussion, the researchers designed scenarios for the development of higher education in Europe, considering the horizon of 2020. For the purpose of clarifying between perceptions of what was possible and what was desirable, the research group asked for written descriptions of counter-scenarios in contrast to the majority scenario, designed on the basis of the answers of specialists in European higher education.

Thus, three scenarios were built: *Centralia, Octavia* and *Vitis Vinifera*. The dimensions considered in their preparation were of two different types: the first included factors such as i) the dominant mechanism of coordination: State *versus* market *versus* network; ii) European integration and harmonization; and iii) economic and institutional developments. The second type were those factors considered to be exogenous to the scenarios and assumed to be more stable: i) demography: aging and environmental sensitivity of the European population; ii) economic: absence of major effects of a recession or boom; and iii) the degree of integration of research and higher education (Enders et al., 2005: 21). The topics covered by this exercise were education, research, innovation, funding, quality, higher education, society, and the labour market, as well as institutional governance and management.

The *Centralia* scenario, the City of the Sun, resulting from the great majority of the answers given to the Delphi questionnaire and from the views of both possibility and desirability, was characterized by the strong presence of state coordination of higher education, by equally strong European integration and harmonization and by the existence of large organizations. Curiously, however, as pointed out by the CHEPS researchers, "in scenario presentations across Europe, audiences made up of people with profiles similar to the respondents (actually even including some of our respondents) were largely in favour of the *Octavia* scenario" (Enders et al., 2005: 22). In brief, it presents the concept of a network, given that therein the political coordination of higher education systems, institutions and research was performed through a wide set of global/multinational, local, and inter-regional networks for socio-economic development and innovation. The implicit political configuration of Europe is to be translated into the concept of a network involving partners far beyond their geographic space. The university, as a specific concept, is mitigated in the face of the multiple and diverse mandates addressed to higher education and to its institutions. The visible and invisible hands of the market and of the state play the same game. Finally, in the least favoured scenario, from both answers to the Delphi questionnaire and the audiences to which it was presented, was the *Vitis Vinifera* one. Its main features are the social and political coordination by the market, the prevalence of small organizations and low level of control and integration on the part of the higher levels of the systems.

A scenario is not a prediction of what the world will be like on the basis of cer-

tain present trends and phenomena with an identifiable potential for development, but rather a description of what the world would be like if some of the present developments took particular directions. Between the possible and the desirable, the different scenarios gain, or not, plausibility in the configuration of changes and, therein, the potential for action becomes clear on the part of social actors. Scenarios, in a certain sense, are ideal types that, based on facts or available data, are emphatically centered on a given perspective of development for better identification. The essence of these prospective exercises end up, then, by materializing the present and its management, and therefore should not be assumed to be a reification of the present in the future or a description of actual futures. Whether one likes it or not, these studies are a manner of managing the change occurring in the present through identification of the possibility and of the (un)desirability of some developments.

The City of the Sun, the Spider-Web City, and the City of Traders and Micro-Climates

***Centralia* – The City of the Sun.** In 2020, *Centralia* corresponded to a politically strong European Union, with an aging but prosperous population. The universities and public research centres – many of them resulting from mergers- are similar to those of the present, that is, generically, large national teaching and research institutions, with enormous campuses. These institutions cooperate regularly with international associations or consortia, "often under the friendly but firm guidance of EU civil servants from Brussels" (Westerheijden et al., 2005: 63). The homogeneity of higher education reflects the firmness of Brussels, while the reduced uncertainty mirrors the predictability of the citizens. Therefore, there is little institutional diversity, and due to the demographic characteristics of the population higher education is marked by a strong emphasis on life-long learning. European higher education is characterized by evident stratification, with the most prestigious institutions of the North and West of Europe producing doctoral-level courses, and those of the South and East essentially involved in the lower levels.

In terms of research, in *Centralia*, a post-Mode 2[3] production of knowledge is developed, as public universities had regressed to basic research, taken on as a

---

3 Mode 1 and Mode 2 are terms aiming at to take account the transformation in the modes of production of knowledge (Gibbons et al., 1997) "...«[...] in Mode 1 problems are set and solved in a context governed by the, largely academic, interests, of a specific community. By contrast, Mode 2 knowledge is carried out in a context of application. Mode 1 is disciplinary while Mode 2 is transdisciplinary. Mode 1 is characterised by homogeneity, Mode 2 by heterogeneity. Organizationally, Mode 1 is hierarchical and tends to preserve its form, while Mode 2 is more heterarchical and transient. Each employs a different type of quality control. In comparison with Mode 1, Mode 2 is more socially accountable and reflexive. It includes a wider, more temporary and heterogeneous set of practitioners, collaborating on a problem defined in a specific and localised context» (Gibbons, 1997: 3)

public good, while the functions of R&D are developed separately in private laboratories belonging to businesses, or resulting from public-private partnerships. Thus, in what concerns research there is a clear divide between public and private. The objective of the Lisbon Strategy of 2000 to allocate 3% of the budget to research and innovation was achieved in 2012, largely due to the strong action of the European Research Council.

In terms of the government and governance of the higher education systems and institutions in the City of the Sun, they are very much dependent on the upper European levels administration (the strong arm of Brussels!) that guarantee coordination of the sector by rules and regulations and by financing of research and higher education. Governance and management of the institutions are turned over to professional administrators and managers, but control of the institutions remains in the hands of academics.

The funding continues to be primarily public, based on student numbers, under supranational supervision of the European Union. Without being standardized, as a private funding source that has been extended to all European countries, fees are also the object of public regulation as their limits are set by national governments. This scenario is the one where more barriers are raised against the entry of foreign and private providers of higher education.

Centralia needs a sophisticated system to evaluate quality, as a uniform structure of grades, 3+2+3, was implemented based on a more elaborate European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) applied to modular standardized courses. European Graduate Competence Tests and a system of EU Civil Service Concourses are developed. Nevertheless, the standardization and dissemination of curricula and study materials are a way to guaranteeing the quality of European higher education while "a cultural bias was introduced ... as modules were mostly designed in the North-Western Europe" (Westerheijden et al., 2005: 101). In addition, there is a system of mandatory European accreditation, carried out by the European Accreditation Agency, focused on competences, that is, learning outcomes to be displayed by graduates, in detriment to inputs and corresponding pedagogical processes.

Octavia – **The Spider-Web City.** This scenario has as its key concept 'networks' that become the means of regulation and coordination of higher education and research in Europe. Unlike *Centralia*, the most successful universities are the smaller ones, based on the flows of information and organized in multiple centrerless networks. Given the plasticity of the networks, the size of the institutions is not standardized, being evaluation done case-by-case in view of the needs and the mission they pursue. Some of them are the result of mergers of R&D units of diverse types; others were reorganized around disciplinary or professional groupings.

Research is relocated from organic units to inter-university networks funded by the European Research Council, by national agencies and by international business consortia.

In this scenario, the diversity of types and duration of programs is greater than in the prior one due to the different movable (inter) institutional arrangements. The variety of institutional types of higher education organizations is also greater, especially due to the presence and action of the diverse private partners, whose presence is enhanced by the prevailing network economy. In the Spider-Web City, stratification of higher education is also identifiable with the assumption of a cleavage between the institutions of the North and West of Europe, dedicated to research, and those of the South and East more dedicated to teaching. Mode 2 of knowledge production becomes dominant in *Octavia* and it is organized into public, private or public-private networks.

The system of governance is more complex and difficult to make effectively operational. It is a model of governance at multiple levels in which power and authority are shared among supranational, national, and local actors, with obvious difficulties of coordination. The networks, always flowing and reconfiguring, remove emphasis from material and human resources to place it on the management of their fluidity. In terms of governance and management, institutional leadership appears side by side of – let alone above – supranational and national regulations.

Funding sources of higher education in *Octavia* are both public and private making possible that the goal of the Lisbon Strategy of 2000 to allocate 3% of the budget to research and innovation was reached in 2009. Public funding is primarily directed to teaching with flexible utilization of vouchers at different stages of students' careers. "Students in this scenario are 'protected' mainly by the multitude of access options they had – a trust in large numbers of market parties rather than in market regulation" (Westerhijden et al., 2005: 99).

In regard to quality control, in Spider-Web City the problem is increased by the great diversity of higher education. The lack of consistency derived from the flexibility and decentralization of its regulation – consequences of the multiple level political coordination and the multiplicity and variability of the networks – makes certification of the worth of diplomas by social actors linked to the world of work, primarily employers and come about by means of examination of employed graduates.

Vinis Vinifera – **The City of Traders and Micro-Climates**. The third scenario was the City of Traders and Micro-Climates. The European Union, in terms of its political construction, has not suffered major alterations, and tension remains between the national sovereignties and supranational levels of regulation. However, Europe has not become the most competitive region of the world in the context of economic globalization and of the society and economy of knowledge, having been surpassed in this by the United States of America and Japan. European citizens are very much centered on the question of quality of life, critical consumption, leisure, etc. This means that innovation in the economy of knowledge, as a political driver, has been balanced and even overcome by the centrality given over to these concerns (File et al., 2005).

This scenario is the one in which diversity has become almost extreme, but, interestingly, more extreme in national contexts and more mitigated in the European space. In fact, the increase in the number of private partners encourages and produces a great multiplicity of institutional types. One third of the higher educational institutions are private. Institutional autonomy and the adaptability enhanced by it are crucial and develop on the opposite pole of *Centralia*. It is not so much a matter of mere state's withdrawal from coordination of higher education and research, but rather the assumption that they should be regulated by the market (different, however, from that which is induced by governments under the form of quasi-markets) rewarding with profit the most competitive institutions. The very definition and identity of educational and research institutions are, in this context, profoundly reconfigured.

As far as research is concerned, the European Research Council, by means of a highly selective and concentrated funding structure and process, became central. Innovation and applied research are crucial, bringing up the question whether there is room for Mode 1 type of knowledge production. In *Vitis Vinifera* the goal of 3% of the budget dedicated to research set up in Lisbon in 2000 is fully surpassed in 2020, especially due to private investment on research and innovation.

Governance is even more dominated than in *Octavia* by institutional leadership, given the quality and quantity of extra-organizational relationships and the weight of competition for students and for funding. Since the market is the main source of political coordination and social regulation, in *Vitis Vinifera* higher education and research actors are essentially private and maintain an entrepreneurial type of relationship. Education is seen as a kind of merchandise or product susceptible of being bought and sold. This model of regulation by the market is above all valid for post-graduate training, due to the externalities that it generates, undergraduate education is still under state funding and coordination. Funding occurs regardless of the public or private nature of the institution, and fees vary much from institution to institution.

In this highly volatile scenario, disperse and diverse, where the consumer rules, difficulties are evident in promoting uniform standards of assessment and comparison, such as the ECTS, imposed by the authority of coordination levels. The very idea of national systems of assessment and quality control no longer makes sense, these matters having been put in the hands of the European Union's Higher Education and Training Authority. This agency is a data warehouse for programmes, since the legitimacy and value thereof come from the dynamics of the markets in which they evolve. However, among citizens of *Vitis Vinefera*, concern grows about the quality of higher education institutions. In fact, there are social institutions here that fight for a *critical* and *responsible citizenship*, eventually as a counterweight and resistance to the excesses of regulation through the market.

The Scenarios as Management of Change

The differences among the "cities" end up emphasizing what they have in common, although with different shades. All of the scenarios assume a decline of the nation-state in terms of economic regulation and political coordination in favor of European and global levels. They all presuppose the competitive potential and opportunities for development of the states, for Europe, and *par excellence*, for higher education institutions, of an economy based on knowledge and innovation. In the same way, in all three scenarios, there is the assumption that universities, and higher education in general, must position themselves in the economic milieu led by flexible capitalism and by "academic capitalism" (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997), as well as in view of the organizational model of the university designated by Burton Clark as "entrepreneurial universities"(1998). They also take for granted that the reconfiguration of the organizational models leads to systems and models of institutional governance imported from the private sector and its management, or ultimately to a tension of power between academic professionals and management professionals.

While being possible, these scenarios are not necessarily the future of European higher education. In fact, they are projections of present trends that are not mutually exclusive, neither in the present nor in the future. In this regard, they are more important for the analyses of the present configurations from which they arise than as a prediction. Between the prediction and the future of education a number of present-day phenomena and 'realities' arise making it necessary a critical perspective towards them rather than taken them for granted.

THE RECONFIGURATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION: BETWEEN THE POSSIBLE AND THE DESIRABLE

In the three CHEPS scenarios the influence of neoliberalism and Europeanism, for example, are taken for granted. The normative exercises of futures studies, which project and legitimize and validate present trends, are distinguished from the construction of scripts for reflective action and intervention in the field of higher education.

Work on the concept of higher education and the transformation of modes of production, distribution, and consumption of knowledge by authors like Ronald Barnett, Peter Scott, Helga Nowotny, Michael Gibbons, among others, may inspire this type of prospective. The approach assumed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, whether in his "theses for a post-modern university" (1994), or in his reflections on the "university of the twenty-first century" (Santos and Filho, 2008), appears as exemplary and significant. Santos and Filho aimed to identify and justify "the basic principles of a democratic and emancipatory reform of the public university" (2008:16), appearing the 'futures' and their construction under the form of scripts for social agency based on principles and values pointing out to desirability. Both the possible and the utopic (the desirable) are articulated, and not just plausible extensions of the present with

"merely" possible futures. Sousa Santos assumes that "the only effective and emancipatory way to confront neoliberal globalization is to propose an alternate globalization, a contra-hegemonic globalization" (Ibid: 41).

Since the construction of these scripts for the future is based on the non-reduction of the desirable to the possible it is important for developing the scenario-writings. Dijkstra, et al., writing on scenarios for policy, underlined that "There are enough scenarios for higher education in 2012 or 2020" and they ask "…what can policymakers do with them?" (Dijkstra et al, 2005: 122). However, it is not only for governments and decision-makers that the futures exercises may constitute instruments for the management of change, but for all social actors in the field under consideration. As we are aware about the scenarios, their plausibility, their threats, and their opportunities, what can we as academics, researchers, and citizens in general, do to deal with them?

The Narratives of and Pathways for Higher Education

Until mid-twentieth century, higher education in Europe was a synonym of university education, but since then its identity has multiplied and become fragmented. Nowadays, higher education and tertiary education are common designations for this educational level – see, for example, the title of the OECD report, *Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society* (Santiago, et al., 2008), including under this designation universities, polytechnic schools, research and teaching higher education institutions. It is the very university, as a concept and as an institution, which dilutes itself in this process (Magalhães, 2006). The resurgence of the debate on the idea of a university is simultaneously feeding and fed by its identity crisis. In the analysis of researchers like Cowen (1966), the university is being "attenuated," or like Barnett (2000), who says that the institution is being "dissolved," or even "disappearing," as Rothblath defends (1995).[4]

Evidently, the causes of this phenomenon cannot be sought just in higher education; rather, they cannot be disassociated from the transformations that, globally,

---

4 Cowen wrote about the 'attenuation' (1996: 256) of the university at the level of *space*, (via its international dimension and its connection to the economy); at the *financial* level, (increasing clientelisation of students and their families); at the *pedagogical* level (massification of higher and teachers mutating into 'instructional designers' (ibid: 251)); and in the *quality* domain (academics replaced by managerial expertise in quality judgements relating to the activities and outcomes carried out in institutions). Barnett, in turn, stressed that the university is dissolving both as an institutional unit and as the knowledge centre. He argues that institutions are dissolving into organizational segments and knowledge centres *par excellence,* and knowledge (with capital K) into knowledges (Barnett, 2000: 18). Rothblatt (1995), pinpointed the 'disappearing university' as university boundaries are becoming blurred. External frontiers disappear as university traditional functions are held increasingly to be simulated by other organizations, for instance, awarding of degrees (which can be also awarded by business corporations) and developing research (which is also undertaken by non-university laboratories), etc.

nationally, and locally are occurring at the economic, social, and political levels, as well as from the strong presence, especially since the 1980's, of neoliberalism in the international and national political arenas. Even if not determined strictly by it, the reconfiguration of mass higher education and of its political management and governance must be understood in the widest context of the transformation of production, distribution, and consumption, referred to under the designation of post-industrialism, and of the changes in sociological patterns of relationships among individuals, families, groups, the state, and higher education.

Besides the exercises of identification of possible futures for European higher education, it is important to confront the new narratives impacting on higher education identity we have inherited from modernity.[5] Without the pretension of creating universal consensus, it is fundamental to hold the discussion on what higher education is and what it means, and to identify a set of driving-ideas allowing thinking and critically confronting some "futures" which, in the present, appear as inevitable.

There are several "presents" coexisting in today's European higher education lanscape profiling as plausible futures. Olsen, in an attempt to respond to the question "What type of university for what kind of society?" (Olsen, 2007), stressed that the present dynamics of higher education raises basic questions related to the long-term pact between the university and society, that is, questions linked to its own legitimacy as an institution. He identified four co-existing visions of and for the European university organization and governance: 1. The university as a rule-governed community of scholars built upon values held as permanent identifying the institution and its members (the free inquiry for truth, rationality, and expertise); 2. The university as an instrument for shifting national political agendas; 3. The university as a representative democracy, based on the representation of different interests present in it; and 4. The university as a service enterprise embedded in competitive market (Olsen, 2007).

These visions of the present, if translated into a prospective future, may, at this stage, legitimize today's organizational and institutional forms as inevitable, both in the present and in the future.

The European Commission, a key actor in the process of European integration, although it may promote debate about the university and higher education, remains in the realm of an instrumental, technological-economic concept of the sector, "consistent with the international neo-liberal reform ethos" (Olsen, 2007: 41). This vision also coincides with the one in which the university appears as a central factor in the implementation of policies directed to the market and sees higher education

---

5   The meta-narrative of modernity which may be found in Hobbes, Locke, Adam Smith, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, etc., has its equivalents concerning higher education in von Humboldt and Cardinal Newman, to mention only these two. Assuming, however, different shades, the discourses of these authors have something very strong in common: their modern faith in Man, in Knowledge (that is, science, truth) and in History, meaning 'Progress'. It is in this regard that the founding narrative of higher education of von Humboldt, Newman, or of the Napoleonic model goes modern beyond their differences.

and research as crucial factors for the competitiveness of the global market. The growing influence of the European Commission on the development of the Bologna Process has come to configure it as an instrument at the service of the Lisbon Agenda, and its goal of making Europe the most competitive and socially cohesive region in the world. The organizing drivers of policies emanating from the Commission for higher education have been the economy, markets, and management. Because the objective of the European Union since 2000 has been competing advantageously in the global economy, based on knowledge and innovation, emphasis has been placed on research universities (*versus* teaching universities) and on the diagnosed deficit in the management of traditional universities.

With regard governance and management of institutions of higher education, the future that the diagnosis of a management deficit invokes is also very much present in the current European panorama. Ivar Bleiklie and Maurice Kogan (2007) identified, in their research on the organization and governance of European universities, a tendency to put in place strong managerial structures to act in parallel with, and even overlapping, academic structures built upon traditional academic leadership (also see Magalhães and Amaral, 2007, 2009).

Consequently, thought on the pathways that the university and higher education in Europe are taking may promote the agency of the actors involved in their definition and identity, specifically through a set of driving-ideas (Magalhães, 2004, 2006; Santos, 2008) which confront the diversity and fragmentation that do not possess exclusively the virtues that some post-modernism would attribute to them.

At the end of the 1990s, Ronald Barnett (1997: 2-3) identified three types of positions of social agency in relation to the transformations underway in higher education:

1. **"Let sleeping dogs lie":** in spite of all the criticism higher education, transformed from elite systems into mass systems, continues to work well. It is accepted in general that what is supplied is sufficient.
2. **"Let a thousand flowers bloom":** The banner of the post-modernist perspective. By rejecting all of the grand narratives, different and diverse types of higher education and institutions may flourish breaking simultaneously the link between state regulation and the *master-idea* of higher education.
3. **"Forms of life":** Academic tribes and territories evolve into different incommensurate rationalities and patterns of development. They become so different that their diversification process can never be stopped.

However, these three positions seem to inspire passive philosophies with regard to social agency in the area of higher education. Under inspiration of the Habermassian theory of communication Barnett proposes an active attitude, arguing that higher education should concentrate on the mission of forming "critical beings," while rejecting the reduction of critical thinking to critical thinking skills (1997: 93).

Nonetheless, it is also fundamental to be aware that it is not possible, in present-day social and political contexts, to philosophically 'legislate' over education in

general and over higher education in particular. And this awareness does not correspond to the adoption of the positions identified by Barnett, since what we are proposing here, in the first place, is based on a concept of a reflective strategy concerning the identity of higher education and, in the second place, but no less importantly, on the awareness that the power relations structuring this debate are far from promoting a dialogue among partners on a position of equality in communication.

It is on this basis that the debate may take place. Not to promote it, and not to participate in it, is to run the risk that, upon studying the pathways and dilemmas of higher education, only those already in place will be legitimized. The debate must, therefore, cover dimensions such as i) the public nature of higher education *versus* its potential privatization, both in the sense of not being supplied by publically funded institutions and in the sense of the growing clientisation of students and their families; ii) the transformation of the nature of knowledge and the need to make it socially responsible *versus* its assumption as a competitive advantage; iii) the ways in which knowledge is produced, preserved, and distributed within and among institutions of higher education and society in general; iv) the forms of governance of the institutions and the role played by academics and by the institutional techno-structure; and, finally, but of crucial importance, v), the impact of the afore mentioned issues on the internal life higher education institutions.

In fact, precisely because education is at the core of higher education, the debate cannot ignore the growing pressure on institutions to strictly translate their processes, in educational terms, into results and, especially, into mere learning outcomes. As far as university education is concerned, the research component turns out to be essential for its formative dimension and not an alternative to it. Instead of dilution of the *Bildung* into competencies translatable into learning outcomes, established *a priori* (that is, into that which the student is expected to have acquired and demonstrate at the end of a module, curricular unit or programme), it is necessary to discuss it and reinvent it in the present contexts of higher education, and above all, of university education. The legitimate emphasis given to the training of individuals with competencies to circulate in the highly flexible and volatile labour market in the knowledge society and economy cannot fall into reducing higher education to projects for training employable "selves". In the same sense, the assumption of trans-disciplinarity as one of the central characteristics of the present state of development of knowledge does not legitimize the devaluing, weakening, or even disappearance of certain areas of knowledge or the so-called classic subjects. Under the justification of social irrelevance, a great part of the relevance of the criticism produced and voiced out by them may be devalued or even nullified.

CONCLUSION

Reflection on the present higher education pathways and dilemmas might be seen as an instrument for managing change in the sector. Most researchers in higher education recognize that important reconfigurations are occurring in its expanding and

increasing social and political centrality. The university identity crisis is linked to its loss of social legitimacy and hegemony (Santos, 1994, 2008): the transformation of academic freedom into institutional autonomy; the transformation of collegial modes of governance of higher education institutions, especially of universities, through the importation of modes of governance and management from the private sector, and the consequent distinction and cleavage between academic leadership and managerial leadership; the segmentation and separation between teaching-training and research; the transference of judgments and criteria of quality from the academic environment outwards and its delivery to new actors and institutions; the changes in funding with the aim to promote non-public funding sources; last, but far from least, the impact of these transformations on the citizens equity of access to (and success in) higher education.

Because of the diversity of actors and the incommensurability of social projects, reflective strategies cannot assume the form of a detailed program, let alone a universal program. This was not what I aimed at here, but rather at inspiring permanent vigilance and critical attitude in relation to the discourses, pressures, and dilemmas that higher education is facing. Commenting on the discourse on the dissolution of the university as a central institution of higher education, Ronald Barnett underlined that it is important to continue to reclaim it as such and to act on its transformation in the dialectics between what is possible and what is desirable.

> What is emerging is, perhaps, a glimpse of an "authentic university." Authenticity becomes possible precisely where authenticity is threatened. The authenticity is won in a milieu of inauthenticity... The gaining of the authenticity, too, is, as implied, a set of creative acts, in which new pedagogies, new academic practices, and new research approaches are painstakingly and even painfully developed (Barnett, 2004: 206).

In my view, this apparently more modest ambition is crucial for the debate that is taking place in a context of unequal distribution of claiming and negotiating power. In Europe, where the Process of Bologna is assumed to have entered into a period of consolidation, after the essentially administrative phase of its implementation, this standing appears as important. At the basis of the changes that have been introduced are to be found elements that are indelibly marking European systems of higher education. It behooves us academics, students, non-academic personnel, and all of the actors of the external and internal life of higher education institutions to become actively involved in the debate and to participate in the reconfiguration processes under way. Otherwise, the pathways and future of higher education will confined to a merely possible present.

REFERENCES

Barnett, Ronald (1997) *Higher Education: A Critical Business.* Buckingham: The Society for Research
into Higher Education & Open University Press.

Barnett, Ronald (2000) *Realizing the University in an Age of Supercomplexity.* Buckingham: The Soci-
ety for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press.

Barnett, Ronald (2004) "Epilogue – Reclaiming Universities from a Runaway World" in Walker, Mela-
nie and Nixon, Jon, *Reclaiming Universities from a Runaway World.* Buckingham: The Society for
Research into Higher Education & Open University.

Bleiklie, Ivar and Kogan, Maurice (2007) "Organization and Governance of Universities", *Higher Edu-
cation Policy*, 20, 4, 477-494.

Brunsson, N. and Sahlin-Andersson, K. (2000) "Constructing organizations: The example of public
sector reform", *Organisation Studies,* 21(4): 721-746.

CERI – Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (2006) *Four Future Scenarios for Higher Educa-
tion.* OECD. http://www.oecd.org/document/8/0,3343,en_2649_35845581_37031944_1_1_1_1,00.
html, accessed on July 5, 2009.

Clark, Burton (199*8) Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: organizational pathways to transforma-
tion.* Dordrecht: Springer.

Cowen, Robert (1996) "Performativity, Post-modernity and the University", *Comparative Education*,
vol.32, 2, 245-258.

Dijstra, Frans; Mamahit, Yanti; Rogorg, Renk; and Van Velsen, Jan (2005) "Scenarios for Policy in a
Knowledge Society" In Jürgen Enders, Jon File, Jeroen Huisman, Huisman and Don Westerheijden
(eds.) (2005) *The European Higher Education and Research Landscape 2020 – scenarios and stra-
tegic debates.* Enschede: CHEPS. pp. 119-125.

Enders, Jürgen; File, Jon; Huisman, Jeroen; and Westerheijden, Don (eds.) (2005) *The European High-
er Education and Research Landscape 2020 – scenarios and strategic debates.* Enschede: CHEPS.

Enders, Jürgen; Kaiser, Frans; Theisens, Henno; and Vossensteyn, Hans (2005) "Octavia, the Spider-
Web City" In Jürgen Enders, Jon File, Jeroen Huisman, Huisman and Don Westerheijden (eds.)
(2005) *The European Higher Education and Research Landscape 2020 – scenarios and strategic
debates.* Enschede: CHEPS. pp.76-83.

File, Jon; Beerkens, Eric; Leisyte, Liudvika; and Salerno, Carlo (2005) "Vitis Vinifera, The City of
Traders and Micro-Climates" In Jürgen Enders, Jon File, Jeroen Huisman, Huisman and Don West-
erheijden (eds.) (2005) *The European Higher Education and Research Landscape 2020 – scenarios
and strategic debates.* Enschede: CHEPS. pp.85-94.

Georghiou Luke and Harper, Jennifer C. (2008) "The Higher Education Sector and its Role in Re-
search: Status and impact of Future-Oriented Technology Analysis" In Cristiano Cagnin, Michael
Keenan, Ron Johnston, Fabiana Scapolo and Rémi Barré (eds.), *Future-Oriented Technology Anal-
ysis: Strategic Intelligence for an Innovative Economy.* Berlin: Springer. pp. 115-130.

Gibbons, Michael; Limoges, Camille; Nowotny, Helga; Schwartzman, Simon; Scott, Peter; and Trow,
Martin (1997) *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Con-
temporary Societies.* London: Sage.

Huisman, Jeroen; De Boer, Harry; and Westerheijden, Don (2001) *De Tuinen van der Het Hoger
Onderwijs: scenarios's voor* 2010. Enschede: Twente University Press.

Magalhães, António M. (2004) *A Identidade do Ensino Superior: política, conhecimento e educação
numa época de transição.* Lisbon: FCT/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Magalhães, António M. (2006), "A Identidade do Ensino Superior: a Educação Superior e a Universi-
dade", *Revista Lusófona de Educação*, 7, 13-40.

Magalhães, António and Amaral, Alberto (2007) "Changing values and Norms in the Concept of Gov-
ernance in Portuguese Higher Education", *Higher Education Policy,* 20, 315-338.

Magalhães, António M. and Amaral, Alberto (2009) "Mapping Out Discourses on Higher Education
Governance" in Jeroen Huisman (org.), *International Perspectives on the Governance of Higher*

ANTÓNIO M. MAGALHÃES

Education: Alternative Frameworks for Coordination. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis, pp. 182-197

Olsen, Johan P. (2007) "The Institutional Dynamics of the European University" In Peter Maassen e Johan P. Olsen, *University Dynamics and the European Integration*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 25-54.

Rothblath, Sheldon (1995) "An Historical Perspective on the University's Role in Social Development" In David D. Dill and Barbara Sporn (eds.) *Emerging Patterns of Social Demand and University Reform: Through a Glass Darkly*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Santiago, Paulo; Tremblay, Karine; Basri, Ester; and Arnal, Elena (2008) *Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society*. Paris: OECD. Vol I and II.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa (1994) *Pela Mão de Alice: o social e o político na pós-modernidade*. Oporto: Edições Afrontamento.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa and Filho, Naomar de Almeida (2008) *A Universidade no Século XXI: para uma universidade nova*. Coimbra: Almedina e CES.

Slaughter, Sheila and Leslie, L. (1997) *Academic Capitalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

StrataETAN Expert Group on Foresight for the Development of Higher Education/Research Relations (2002) *Higher Education and Research for the ERA: Current Trends and Challenges for the Near Future* – Final Report of the StrataEtan Expert Group.

Westerheijden, Don; Beverwijk, Jasmin; De Boer, Harry; and Kaulisch, Marc (2005) "Centralia, the City of the Sun" In Jürgen Enders, Jon File, Jeroen Huisman, Huisman and Don Westerheijden (eds.) (2005) *The European Higher Education and Research Landscape 2020 – scenarios and strategic debates*. Enschede: CHEPS. pp.63-73.

Westerheijden, Don; Goedegebuure, Leo; Huisman, Jeroen; and Jongbloed (2005) "A Tale of Three Cities: Highlights and Problems of Cantralia, Octavia and Vitis Vinifera" In Jürgen Enders, Jon File, Jeroen Huisman, Huisman and Don Westerheijden (eds.) *The European Higher Education and Research Landscape 2020 – scenarios and strategic debates*. Enschede: CHEPS. pp.95-101.

António M. Magalhães
Center for Research on Higher Education Policy
Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences
University of Porto

124

ALEJANDRO TIANA-FERRER

Chapter 8

THE IMPACT OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS IN IBERO-AMERICA: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

Analyses, studies and debates on the Bologna Process and its implications have grown. In Europe alone, references are already in their thousands, whilst in other regions of the world the phenomenon is being observed with attention, although its impact varies from one region to another. It is the result of two complementary guiding forces: the need for university systems to adapt to the knowledge society and the call to adapt to a globalised world. It is perhaps, as José Ginés Mora put it, the most important event to have taken place in European universities since the early 19th century (http://alfa2007.eu/documents/El_proceso_de_BoloniaALFA. ppt). One of its central elements is student and teacher mobility, which involves a major effort in promoting convergence between degree and qualification structures in order to increase their transparency and recognition. It can be understood more as a mobilisation model than as an exchange of good practice and results, even though the latter may be one of its consequences. The Bologna Process is part of a trend that is taking further a phenomenon that has already begun to occur in other regions of the world. It may therefore be of interest as an experience that others can learn from in order to avoid making the same mistakes.

This article analyses the impact of the Bologna Process on higher education systems in Ibero-American countries. We will begin with the current situation before considering its reception in the region and analysing certain areas in which its repercussions are important or may become relevant in the future.

RECENT TRANSFORMATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN IBERO-AMERICA

If we cast our minds back several decades, we cannot fail to notice the depth of the changes that have taken place in the area of higher education in Ibero-American countries. The data provided by researchers leave us in no doubt: the degree of its expansion is simply overwhelming. We can recall, for instance, that in 1950 there were only 75 universities in Latin America with a total of 267,000 students. These figures rose to 450 university institutions in 1985 and student numbers hit 7,350,000 in 1990 (Fernández Lamarra, 2007, p. 18).

If we consider more recent times, the late 1980s can be identified as the period when this transformation process began to speed up. From the point of departure

in 1985, we have now moved to a situation in which there are more than 3000[1] higher education institutions in Latin America, with more than 17 million students in the 2005–2006 academic year. Brazil, Mexico and Argentina account for nearly 10 million. This represents a sustained annual growth rate of more than 6% since 1990 which reached 6.8% between 2000 and 2007 (UNESCO, 2009). In short, what these figures demonstrate is that the growth process had already begun in the late 1970s and has dramatically grown in the last 20 years. As a result, it has substantially boosted the tertiary education gross enrolment ratio which went from 2% in 1950, to 23% in 2000 and 34% in 2007. Even so, we cannot ignore the fact that these figures remain below those of other regions in the world, given that in the last of the three years quoted, it had risen to 71% in North America and Western Europe (UNESCO, 2009).

In addition to this major quantitative increase, a parallel process of institutional diversification was also taking place, as can be seen in two complementary phenomena: the rise in private higher education and the growing variety of institutional models. Concerning the first, the sharp rise over the last two decades in private Ibero-American higher education attracts attention. Whereas up until the 1980s, most education on offer was public, usually in state-run universities, more than half the total is now private. The change has been dramatic, covering – to a greater or lesser extent – the entire region. Only Cuba has escaped from this general trend, whilst certain other countries have adopted precautionary policies when authorising private universities.

The second phenomenon concerned the diversification of higher education and the resulting increase in institutional miscellany. Whereas up until the 1970s, most courses were of a traditional nature and were followed at conventional universities, subsequent decades saw an expansion both in the kind of studies and the institutions offering them. In addition to traditional degrees like engineering and medicine, studies in new areas began to appear (IT, tourism, design, commerce and services) with new denominations (e.g. advanced technical degree, expert, specialist or analyst). At the same time, there was considerable growth in the number of master's or postgraduate degrees in a wide variety of subject areas and with very different academic characteristics.

Overall, higher education, until then generally restricted to universities, underwent considerable diversification. This ambivalent phenomenon has proved a double-edged sword, with a positive side in terms of the larger amount on offer and a more negative side in which the necessary guarantees are not always provided, sometimes with pernicious, or at least undesirable, consequences. Many of these new qualifications are no longer taught at conventional universities, but at technological institutions, institutes or higher education centres, technical-professional

---

1 Scholars express doubts and discrepancies about this figure, given the high degree of institutional diversity which has resulted in a certain lack of definition regarding the categories that warrant this denomination.

institutions or institutions with similar names. Moreover, new distance universities began to appear, as did distance studies units at conventional universities, facilitating access to new student sectors and opening the way for mass universities.

The growth of these institutions was uneven and varied. Whereas certain countries experienced a genuine explosion in the number of private universities, in others growth focused on new types of institutions. To cite a few striking cases, in 2004, Central American countries had 17 public universities compared to 131 private ones, even though many more students were enrolled at the former; in Brazil, at the same time, there were 1789 private higher education institutions out of a total of 2013, and universities in the true sense of the term made up just 100 of these. To continue with Brazil, the proportion of university students enrolled at private universities reached 52%, whereas at other kinds of institutions, it exceeded 95% (Fernández Lamarra, 2007).

The speed of growth in privately-owned higher education can largely be explained by budgetary limitations imposed in the 1990s. Financial restrictions and the predominance of neoliberal economic policies converged to displace public education spending to the private sector, which consequently grew much faster. In the absence of sufficient funding to cater for the growing demand for higher education, a solution was found in promoting the creation of private institutions, thus permitting the sector to expand. The State shied away from incurring the cost of the democratisation and diversification of access to higher education, largely transferring this to individuals and their families. In reaction to this, higher education began to be defended as a *public social good* rather than as a *consumer good*, as expressed in the Declaration of the Regional Higher Education Conference in Cartagena de Indias in 2008 (www.iesalc.unesco. org.ve/docs/boletines/boletinnro157/declaracioncres.pdf). According to specialists, one of the main consequences of this was a relaxation in the demands made on these new institutions because they were required to keep down the fees. This often led to a lowering of the standards required to set up higher education centres and the resulting drop in quality of the institutions and the education they offered. Hence, the coexistence of educational offers of very diverse quality. Alongside education for elites – generally given at traditional public universities – there emerged other alternatives, with qualifications of lesser academic status, offered at institutions with little funding by overworked teachers who did not always have the necessary qualifications. Heterogeneity thus became the norm.

Awareness of the risk that the proliferation of this kind of offer entailed was one of the main factors in the decision to set up mechanisms and systems to evaluate the quality and accreditation of higher education institutions and courses, most particularly at universities.The development of these systems as from the 1990s is in direct relation to this concern (Mora & Fernández Lamarra, 2005; Fernández Lamarra, 2007).

Specialists and researchers have highlighted some of the problems in Ibero-American higher education.They include obstacles that will pose major challenges for the years to come (Fernández Lamarra, 2007, pp. 35–37):

– Lack of flexibility, updating and change in the curricular design of university courses;
– Severe disparity in curricula, with very diverse denominations for qualifications and educational objectives;
– Need for closer links between higher education institutions and society;
– Severe disinvestment in public-sector higher education;
– 'Impoverishment' of the teaching profession and non-teaching staff.

Taken as a whole, the situation has areas of light and shade. The positive side of the equation includes the democratisation of access to post-secondary levels, the offering of new kinds of studies and qualifications, and the setting up of a new field of higher education. The negative side includes excessive privatisation and the mercantilisation of this level of education, access inequalities and an insufficient supply, in addition to the problems outlined above (Tünnermann Bernheim, 2008; Teodoro, 2010). The situation is far from satisfactory, but the progress of recent times cannot be denied. The key challenge lies in overcoming these difficulties and strengthening the most positive trends.

THE INADEQUACIES OF R&D&I POLICIES

Another change that universities have been undergoing in recent decades, and not just in Ibero-America, is in their traditional research role with the emergence of new scientific agents and the displacement of research activities to areas and institutions that are often independent of universities, such as research institutes, technology centres or the R&D departments of certain businesses. Indeed, the very definition of scientific research, as it has traditionally been interpreted, has now changed because of a general acceptance that economic and social development are increasingly knowledge-based, or, to put it another way, determined by what has become known as *intangible capital*. This includes educating the population, training the workforce and what sociologists refer to as *social capital* or public trust in institutions (World Bank, 2006). As a result, the term *knowledge economy* is regularly used to refer to new productive models.

In this context, research is no longer considered a task that is exclusive to academics in their more or less isolated ivory towers, but occupies a growing number of people working in different places and contexts. This is particularly clear in Europe – with its emphasis on promoting R&D – where the proportion of university researchers and technologists in 2007 was 37%, whilst those employed by companies accounted for 50% and those working at non-university public organisations for 13% (RICYT, 2007). The contrast with other periods and countries in which most researchers are at university is obvious.

The interest which political leaders and economic administrators have shown for the role of knowledge in terms of its contribution to production, management and dissemination has encouraged the adoption of *public research policies*, promoted

by governments and public authorities, which, at the same time, seek synergies with private operators. As a result, the definition of research themes and lines is no longer in the hands of researchers and academics, but is a key component of national R&D plans. The importance given to such policies in the last decade can be seen in the number of ministries and other senior-level political units with power in the areas of science and technology that have been created in a growing number of Ibero-American countries, such as Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico and Cuba, to mention a few.

Going one step further, we should stress that attention to research in the strictest sense has gradually given way to a growing emphasis on development and subsequently innovation activities, hence the coining of the reference, first to R&D, and later to R&D&I. Although it would be a mistake to consider that all innovation is positive simply because it is new, there can be no doubt that it now has a prominent position in the public agenda. In a region as diverse as Latin America, the challenge lies in combining innovation with the necessary social cohesion and ensuring that it becomes a development instrument which serves the public at large (Arocena & Sutz, 2003). As we have seen in the current situation regarding universities, Ibero-American science and technology systems are also marked by contrast. Let us look at some of the most relevant aspects.

If we consider the number of researchers in the economically-active population as a whole, our attention is drawn to the sustained growth that has taken place since the year 2000, which even surpasses that of other world regions. Yet we cannot lose sight of the development lag at the point of departure and the fact that their number remained lower than that of other regions. Improvement is therefore notable but still insufficient. In order to close the gap, the process needs to speed up and this is not the case. This relative paucity of researchers is due to a combination of factors. On the one hand, doctoral programmes in the region are not generally as solid or as extensive as they should be. In 2007, the number of people completing doctorates in Latin America and the Caribbean reached 13,715 in all knowledge areas combined. In the same year, the figure in Spain was 6,710, whilst in the previous year 56,309 doctorates were awarded in the US (RICYT, 2007). The Latin American figures therefore represent a small proportion of the economically-active population and would need to increase. Brazil is an interesting exception, but the only one. Although doctorate statistics are less than satisfactory, their distribution by knowledge area is relatively balanced (more so than in the case of master's degrees). Thus, in 2007, 37% of the new doctorates awarded in Ibero-America were in natural and exact sciences, 17% in engineering and technology, 11% in medical sciences, 5% in agricultural sciences, 23% in social sciences and 11% in humanities (RICYT, 2007).

Another significant fact is the difficulty experienced by most of this highly qualified personnel in entering the research sector. The small size of the increase in places available has meant that most end up teaching in higher education. The result is a certain endogamy at universities and a parallel ageing of permanent researchers which has an undesirable knock-on effect, leading many well-trained young people

to emigrate to places that are better able to develop their skills and fulfil their aspirations, thus exacerbating the brain drain.

To complete the picture, we must consider the low amounts spent on R&D in the region. In 2005, the only country to have escaped this situation was Brazil, which devoted 1% of its GDP to R&D. Whilst Cuba and Chile reached 0.6%, the remainder did not exceed 0.4% (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2007). It is also worth noting that Latin America and the Caribbean is the region where the business sector invests least in R&D, accounting for only 41.5% of total funding in 2007 (RICYT, 2007). In short, R&D plays a small part in the productive sector, with few researchers within its economically-active population, a predominance of the public sector over the private in this field, and limited funding. Although some indicators point to a certain improvement in recent years, the situation is far from satisfactory. This overshadows IberoAmerica's opportunities for economic and social development and poses considerable challenges for its university systems.

This is the context in which the Bologna Process has started to be seen as a source of inspiration to change the structures, modes of operation and teaching practices at higher education level. In many Ibero-American countries, a sincere interest has emerged to explore the possibilities of a process of convergence.

THE RECEPTION OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS IN IBERO-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

The Bologna Process has recently been the subject of diverse opinions in Ibero-America which, although they express minor differences, in essence, coincide.The conclusion reached by the scholars and academics who have made the most outstanding contributions to the study of the Ibero-American higher education system is that it is of undoubted interest, but would not appear to be applicable as the situation stands today.

José Joaquín Brunner recently stated that 'despite the enthusiasm aroused by Bologna in certain academic and governmental circles in Latin America [. . .] on the current Latin American horizon, it constitutes an inaccessible limit' (Brunner, 2008, p. 120). In his view, this categorical affirmation is supported by several arguments: the lack of more extensive common ground, be it of a political, economic, monetary or knowledge nature; the colonial academic tradition with the import of universities that are 'more nominal than real'; their high degree of privatism leading to the emergence of parallel markets (of customers, academic positions and institutional prestige); the rigid Napoleonic organisation of education and its low level of effectiveness. This leads him to conclude: 'In short, we find ourselves faced with an unavoidable reality. The national higher education systems of the Latin American region, over and above the desires of some of its political leaders, managers and academics – the old Bolivarian dream, the new dream of a common area – suffer from obstacles of a structural, organisational and operational nature which impede

their convergence in the manner of the European systems impelled by the Bologna Process' (Brunner, 2008, p. 128).

Salvador Malo shares this view, claiming that, although the Bologna Process was being widely studied, documented and analysed at the time, 'the possibility of transposing what Europe is doing to our own continent is still a remote one' (www.fsa.ulaval.ca/rdip/cal/lectures/Proceso%20Bolonia.htm). In his opinion, the reasons were to be found in the very set-up of Latin American university systems, still geared towards professional training, with a very limited number of doctoral programmes and structures that hamper mobility or changing course. Other reasons included the resistance of these systems to change and the emphasis given to national visions over regional, continental or global ones. Malo went further than Brunner when he asserted that 'there is little monitoring of the Bologna process and insufficient perception of its implications for the future of Latin American higher education', referring to the 'lack of interest among Latin America's higher education players in what is happening in Europe' (www. fsa.ulaval.ca/rdip/cal/ lectures/Proceso%20Bolonia.htm). We should not forget, however, the growing interest in the development of the Bologna Process in recent years.The different dates at which these two opinions were expressed may explain the discrepancy between them.

This analysis may lead us to think that the region is disregarding the Bologna experience. However, if we observe the phenomenon more closely, we see certain echoes of this process. Between 2004 and 2006, the Tuning-Latin America project was developed to identify and exchange information and improve cooperation between higher education institutions to promote quality, effectiveness and transparency (González, Wagenaar & Beneitone, 2004). A total of 62 institutions in 18 countries took part in the project, motivated by the need to improve the compatibility, comparability and competitiveness of higher education. The project was developed along four lines which coincided with other key elements in European university alignment: the definition of competences linked to qualifications; the renewal of approaches to education, learning and evaluation; the establishing of academic credits; and the quality assurance of programmes. Even though the political circumstances of the Latin American region differ from those of Europe, the Tuning project was based on the European experience and, in the view of its participants, was able to make a significant impact.

Something similar can be said of the Proflex Project (The Flexible Professional in the Knowledge Society) (www.iesalc.unesco.org.ve/index.php?option= com_co ntent&view=article&id=1142:proflex&catid=120:servicios&Itemid=535), which started out as an EU Alfa project, later to become a service rendered in partnership with UNESCO's International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (*Instituto Internacional para la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe* -I ESALC). Further echoes include an ongoing call for an Ibero-American Knowledge Space and the implementation of pilot projects for regional educational accreditation in which the Ibero-American Network for Quality Assur-

ance in Higher Education (*Red Iberoamericana para la Acreditación de la Calidad de la Educación* – RIACES) plays a prominent role.

The authors quoted above are partially right, however, in that no in-depth consideration has been given to the potential implications of an educational organisation reform which would involve introducing a different system of qualifications, adapting the ECTS credits system and ensuring the relevance of the qualifications obtained for youth employability. These elements are consubstantial with the Bologna Process and a precise way of transposing these into Ibero- America has not yet been found. Nevertheless, as we have already seen, the fact that the Bologna Process has not been transferred directly across the Atlantic does not mean it is having no impact. The following sections will consider initiatives in Ibero-American countries that are similar to those that gave rise to the Bologna Process. We will also see the extent to which instruments are being implemented in the region that are comparable to those developed in higher education in Europe.

THE CHALLENGE OF EVALUATION AND QUALITY IMPROVEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the most outstanding features of higher education in Ibero-America in the last two decades has been the emergence of national university evaluation and accreditation bodies and strategies. This is closely linked to the expansion that took place in Latin American universities as from the 1980s. The sharp growth in student numbers and, above all, in institutions, generated disquiet about the quality of these institutions. The awareness that the privatisation process could pose mid-and long-term problems led to the implementation of mechanisms generically designed for quality assurance.

The need for better quality control of education and the qualifications offered by universities was reinforced by the globalisation of higher education, which led to the introduction in many countries of transnational distance and virtual study programmes, often conducted through foreign institutions and not always with the necessary resources to control their quality. Hence, in the last decade, European and US universities have set up branches in the region, many of which offer distance or virtual courses that lead to foreign qualifications. The offer of dual qualifications has also increased through cooperation agreements of different kinds, while student and teacher mobility has also developed (DeWit et al., 2005).

Motivated by the concerns generated by these privatisation and globalisation phenomena, the late 1980s and early 1990s saw the creation of national higher education evaluation bodies. In Mexico, the National Commission for the Evaluation of Higher Education (*Comisión Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación Superior* – CONAEVA) was set up in 1989. In Colombia, the National Council of Accreditation (*Consejo Nacional de Acreditación* – CNA) was created in 1992 and in Argentina the National Commission for University Evaluation and Accreditation (*Comisión Nacional de Evaluación y Acreditación Universitaria* – CONEAU) was founded in 1995. In subsequent years, many others were to follow in a process that

is not yet complete, as we continue to see the creation of national agencies (Various authors, 2004). It should be pointed out that these initiatives generally started out with the implementation of university evaluation programmes of a diagnostic nature, essentially geared to improving quality. Their achievement was to gradually introduce an evaluation culture that was unusual in Ibero-American countries (Fernández Lamarra, 2007). Viewing the phenomenon with a certain hindsight, we must acknowledge that those pioneering initiatives fulfilled their mission, contributing to the spread of the concept and practice of institutional evaluation in the university sphere. Subsequently, those early internal and external evaluation initiatives gave way to other more ambitious ventures, designed above all to accredit study programmes both at the graduate and post-graduate level, and, in some cases, the institutions themselves. This is how accreditation became established in the Ibero-American region – particularly in countries like Brazil, Argentina and Colombia –, to such an extent that it overtook its European correlates. It can therefore be said that, in certain aspects linked to the Bologna Process (though not its core elements), Ibero-American countries have made significant progress.

THE CHALLENGE OF INCREASING ACADEMIC MOBILITY AND REGIONAL ACCREDITATION

The challenge today goes beyond the evaluation and quality assurance to which I have just been referring, and is related to the current prospects for regional integration and the desire for greater student mobility. Indeed, the creation of supranational spaces requires personal mobility and, particularly with regard to the object of our analysis here, academic mobility. In this respect, the promoters of MERCOSUR were pioneers when they were quick to include educational aspects in their supranational integration process. Hence, they took account of the recognition and accreditation of completed studies in their first Triennial Education Plan,considering this as an essential mechanism for effective mobility.Though this did not exclusively affect the university sphere, it did attribute it a privileged position (Fernández Lamarra, 2004).

A desire to promote student mobility poses a need for greater transparency in the course followed and the qualifications awarded by the different institutions. This demand for transparency also means offering the guarantees to ensure that the study programmes are up to the proper standard. Unless this is the case, universities cannot be asked to exchange students or recognise studies completed at other institutions as part of their own training programme. This creates the need for regional accreditation programmes which are valid beyond national borders. Ibero-American countries have already moved in this direction, both in MERCOSUR and Central America. However, although the political objective is clear-cut, difficulties have emerged with the effective validation of academic qualifications, above all those which enable students who have qualified to exercise their profession. However, it is worth emphasising that the vision that underlies these political platforms will help to develop them in the near future.

The clearest progress in this direction has taken place in the area of postgraduate studies. As a result of the progress made in the 1990s, 1998 saw the signing of an Experimental Mechanism for the Accreditation of Undergraduate Degrees (*Mecanismo Experimental para la Acreditación de Carreras de Grado* – MEXA), which is contributing to the creation of a common university area in the countries of MERCOSUR, Chile and Bolivia. In the area of postgraduate studies, RIACES has been playing a key role in setting up regional accreditation mechanisms. Among the projects currently underway, two are worth describing in greater detail, both for their significance and their potential influence.

The first concerns the regional accreditation of doctoral studies. This initiative has been promoted with the Pablo Neruda Programme which supports postgraduate student mobility to help train highly-skilled human resources in areas that are considered a priority for regional development. Its first pilot initiative, launched in February 2009, calling for doctoral studies to be undertaken during the 2009– 2010 academic year, revealed the need to move further in supranational accreditation, as participating institutions need to build relationships based on mutual trust. This is the reasoning behind the RIACES project, which will begin with areas of particular interest, studying the feasibility and conditions of this accreditation.

The second project concerns the regional accreditation of postgraduate distance teaching programmes. Bearing in mind the importance that this kind of initiative is acquiring in the region and the distrust that these programmes arouse, RIACES has initiated a project in which only a small number of countries are currently participating to explore the potential that regional accreditation offers in this field. In view of the growth of this kind of course, there can be no doubt that the project is highly relevant when it comes to ensuring, not only the physical, but also the virtual mobility of students.

THE CHALLENGE OF BUILDING THE IBERO-AMERICAN KNOWLEDGE SPACE

The previous picture is not complete if we do not refer to one of the most ambitious initiatives currently underway which has served to support several of the projects mentioned above: the Ibero-American Knowledge Space. The goal of building a common knowledge space in Ibero-American countries, similar to that created in Europe which is part of the Bologna Process, has had many advocates in the region. As Fernández Lamarra has indicated, education, particularly higher education, should play a crucial role in facilitating integration. And that conviction leads him to consider that one of the main challenges for the near future is that of 'promoting regional and subregional integration processes in such a way that university systems become part of a strategic alliance aimed at building a Latin American community of nations and a Common Latin-American Higher Education Space' (Fernández Lamarra, 2007, p. 27).

It should be recalled that a Common Higher Education Area between the EU, Latin America and the Caribbean (UEALC) was created in 2002 as a result of the Summit of Heads of State and Government of both regions in what was a foretaste

of other initiatives implemented later in the region. Of these, the most important was adopted by the Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government in Salamanca (2005) and developed in the Declaration of Montevideo at the 16th Summit (2006): 'We propose to advance in the creation of an Ibero-American Knowledge Area, designed to bring about the necessary transformation of higher education, focusing on research, development and innovation, a pre-requisite to increase productivity by improving the quality and accessibility of goods and services for our peoples and the international competitiveness of our region'.

The partners in the development of the Ibero-American Knowledge Space (EIC) are the Ibero-American General Secretariat (*Secretaría General Iberoamericana* – SEGIB), the Ibero-American University Council (*Consejo Universitario Iberoamericano* – CUIB) and the Organisation of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (*Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura* – OEI). In 2008, the latter set up Centre for Advanced Studies (*Centro de Altos Estudios Universitarios* – CAEU), which seeks to contribute to the project. One of CAEU's most novel initiatives is the creation of inter-university networks of excellence where a number of universities from at least three Ibero-American countries work together to strengthen their connections, develop common research projects and offer joint post-graduate programmes. Its links to the Pablo Neruda Programme will promote the mobility of students and teachers. The training and development of these networks will help to create common areas in the Ibero-American Knowledge Space.

Although the EIC is an initiative of the Ibero-American Summits, we cannot ignore the parallels with the project being implemented in Europe through the Bologna Process.There can be no doubt that the European experience has served as inspiration in the adoption of these programmes, particularly in view of the participation of Spain and Portugal in the Ibero-American Summit system.

CONCLUSION

As Brunner and Malo have indicated, it cannot be said that the Bologna Process is being replicated in Ibero-America, or that there are any signs that it will be in a near future. Despite the unmistakeable impact which the European initiative is having on the international university scene, its mid-and long-term development cannot be predicted. Nor would it be reasonable to see the Bologna Process as a role model for every continent. What matters is not so much the model itself as the reasons behind it and the response to these. From that point of view, Ibero-America is by no means alien to the need to adapt to the demands of the knowledge society. This in turn implies the need, indeed the urgent requirement, for more student and teacher mobility, for the implementation of mechanisms that will increase mutual trust and transparency and contribute to the recognition of degrees and qualifications. One way or another, and with one model or instrument or another, the Ibero-American region is faced with the necessity to develop new alignment initiatives.

ALEJANDRO TIANA-FERRER

And Europe's Bologna Process may prove an interesting mirror for Ibero-America to contemplate and provide a valuable bank of experiences to help it move forward faster and with greater confidence.

Ultimately, in the words of Fernández Lamarra, 'the experience of higher education reform – in the framework of the Bologna Process – is a highly significant precedent for Latin America to study' (Fernández Lamarra, 2007, p.25). Or, as Salvador Malo admits, 'the Bologna Process has special significance for higher education in Latin America' (www.fsa.ulaval.ca/rdip/cal/lectures/ Proceso%20Bolonia.htm).

REFERENCES

Arocena,R.&Sutz, J. (2003) Subdesarrollo e innovación. Navegando contra el viento (Madrid, Cambridge University Press – OEI).

Brunner, J. J. (2008) El Proceso de Bolonia en el horizonte latinoamericano: límites y posibilidades, Revista de Educación, special issue, pp. 119–145.

De Wit, H., Jaramillo,I.C., Gacel-Avilla,J. & Knight, J. (E) (2005) Educación superior enAmérica Latina.La dimensión internacional (Bogotá, Mayol ediciones).

– International Reconstruction and Development Bank / World Bank). Fernández Lamarra, N. (2004) Hacia la convergencia de los sistemas de educación superior en América Latina, Revista Iberoamericana de Educación, 35, pp. 39–71.

Fernández Lamarra, N. (2007) Educación superior y calidad en América Latina y Argentina (Buenos Aires, Universidad Tres de Febrero-UNESCO / IESALC).

Fernández Lamarra, N. (2007) La universidad en América Latina frente a nuevos desafíos políticos, sociales y académicos. www.congresoretosyexpectativas.udg.mx

González, J., Wagenaar,R.&Beneitone, P. (2004) Tuning-América Latina: un proyecto de las universidades, Revista Iberoamericana de Educación, 35, pp. 151–164.

Mora, J.G.& Fernández Lamarra, N. (Eds) (2005) Educación Superior. Convergencia entre América Latina y Europa. Procesos de evaluación y acreditación de la calidad (Buenos Aires, Universidad Tres de Febrero).

Ricyt (2007) El estado de la ciencia. Principales indicadores de ciencia y tecnología iberoamericanos / interamericanos (Buenos Aires, RICYT).

Teodoro, A. (org.) (2010) A Educação Superior no Espaço Iberoamericano. Do Elitismo à Transnacionalização (Lisbon, Edições Universitárias Lusófonas).

Tünnermann Bernheim, C. (Ed) (2008) La educación superior en América Latina y el Caribe: diez años después de la Conferencia Mundial de 1998 (Caracas & Santiago de Cali, IESALC – Pontificia Universidad Javeriana).

Unesco (2009) Global Education Digest 2009. Comparing Education Statistics Across theWorld (Montreal, UNESCO Institute for Statistics).

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2007) Human Development Report 2007/2008 (New York, UNDP).

Various Authors (2004) La evaluación y la acreditación de la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe (Caracas, UNESCO / IESALC).

World Bank (2006) Where is theWealth of Nations? Measuring Capital for the 21st Century (Washington, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank).

Alejandro Tiana-Ferrer
Centro de Altos Estudios Universitarios de la OEI (CAEUOEI)
Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Madrid

Part III

CRITICAL REFLECTIONS UPON CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS CURRENTLY AT WORK IN THE ACADEMY

TIM RUDD & IVOR GOODSON

Chapter 9

STUDYING HISTORICAL PERIODISATION

Towards a concept of refraction

INTRODUCTION: DEVELOPING A CONCEPT OF REFRACTION

This paper outlines the theoretical bases and key components underpinning an emerging concept of 'refraction', being developed as part of the RIAIPE3 study programme – an inter-university programme exploring equity and social cohesion policies in higher education.

As a concept, refraction provides a lens for theoretical development and informing methodological approaches and empirical investigation, which may provide rich, contextualised and detailed understanding of practice and action in education.

The development of the concept of refraction is intended to be flexible and applicable to different national and local contexts, and as such, requires specific empirical investigation particular to the context(s) under study, yet it retains core elements, or areas for investigation, that allow for cross national and contextual comparison and analyses.

Firstly, we suggest that research in the field should be clearly contextualised and analysed in relation to historical periodisation and the broader socio-historical context, wider movements and waves of reform against which current policies and practice emerge.

Secondly, and relatedly, in studying historical periodisation, we are better placed to examine the broader conscious and subconscious ideological power(s) at play and the role these play in creating and controlling discourse and media, manufacturing consent and influencing perceptions. Conversely, we may also be in a better position to identify the effects that such dominant discourse and related powerful narratives may have in subverting and negating alternative perspectives, discourse and action, and the means through which this occurs.

Thirdly however, we also recognise that ideologies and related policies do not occur and play out 'unopposed'. To ignore the plethora of contextualising, cultural and individual points for mediation, reinterpretation and recontextualisation would

be to offer an overly deterministic standpoint and therefore, there is a need for empirical investigation to identify how, why and under what conditions ideology and related policy are 'refracted' by personal, professional and institutional identities and cultures. In so doing, we not only begin to identify points of and conditions for refraction in greater detail, we also better understand the origins of such actions and practice. This is also likely to illuminate alternative and pre-figurative discourses, dispositions, trajectories and practices that redress, in some small way, the totalising effects and symbolic violence exerted by powerful vested interests.

Fourthly, refraction may offer a conceptual lens that enables us to attempt to address one of the social sciences enduring key dichotomies, namely simultaneously focussing on structure and agency and the actions that occur as a result of interaction between them. In doing so, we draw on a range of existing traditions and approaches in an attempt to see how refraction, change and reinterpretation of policies that occur, arise through cultural and individual beliefs, practices and trajectories. On the one hand we focus on broader social organisation in society and the ideologies underpinning regulation and order of social structures, whilst on the other we focus on individual agents, their own micro-politics, experiences, beliefs and professional identities and the role these play in mediating policies and ideological intent to bring about new, alternative or unique practices.

In researching and practicing education policies, it is clear that global and national policies are reinterpreted, recontextualised and mediated at the national, local, 'classroom' and individual levels in a plethora of different ways. This type of bending or mediation occurs for numerous reasons and these must be viewed as crucial elements for analysis. Therefore, we need to utilise appropriate methodological approaches capable of elucidating pre-figurative practice, politics, discourse, language and actions through qualitative inquiry that seeks to understand how actors make meaning of their own professional lives, and the bases on which such action is predicated.

In studying historical periodisation, we must acknowledge that various cultural factors will influence how policies are refracted in very different ways. Whilst the key elements of refraction provide a flexible outline for studying different national contexts and cultures, this paper foregrounds the English Higher Education context and draws on empirical data to illustrate the concept.

STUDYING HISTORICAL PERIODISATION

There is a wealth of research that has examined links between cycles of economic growth and educational expenditure (See for example: History of Education 1998), with some historians examining long waves of economic performance and education (Fontvieille 1990). The Spencer study identified such long waves within the data, with Carpenter producing work that looked at long cycles of change related to educational expenditure through the 19th and 20th Centuries (Carpenter 2001). Historians and sociologists, such a Larry Cuban, David Tyack and John Meyer have

also provided great insight into waves of reform within US policy that have further added to our cognitive map and enhanced our understanding of cycles of educational change. More specifically, the work of such historians has elucidated the deep contextual inertia within patterns of change and continuity and highlighted whether waves of reform are long or short, thereby providing a richer picture of the changes afoot. This has been recognised as an often overlooked aspect in a rapidly moving world of change initiatives (Young and Schuller 1988). Without better understanding the historical circumstances under which change occurs, we are unable to fully recognise progressive or regressive elements, or fully appreciate the wider ideological drives behind broader policy directions. Indeed, in the 'modern neo liberal era', it may be argued that in many Western countries, we have witnessed an intensification of managerialism with an often uncritical acceptance of an associated 'ideology of newness' and a foregrounded technocratic 'implementationist myopia' that has simultaneously de-historicised, swept aside much tradition, and masked the continuities occurring in the background. Dominant educational change theory of the moment tends to ignore broader questions of historical periodisation in favour of a belief in unique, contemporary possibility. Moreover, broad sweeps of changes in economic and external context are subordinated in favour of beliefs in internalistic institutional change patterns.

Longitudinal sweeps however, need to search beyond internalistic patterns of organisational persistence and evolution to study the interaction between internal patterns and external movements. External movements that are within economic and social structures, and in the 'external consistencies' (Meyer & Rowan 1978), may impose limits upon the possibilities for educational change and reform. Change theory, which focuses only on internal movements in each school, or those which evaluate policies or initiatives in terms of only their immediate effects, ignore the broad changes in external and economic context, which set parameters and possibilities for internal change. Change therefore must be viewed historically and our empirical study will adopt a focus on change located and related to broader historical periods. Such an approach is derived from the *annaliste* methodology for understanding social and historical change, which incorporates a combination of both history and sociology (See for example, Burke 1993).

Historians and social scientists following the *Annaliste School* see change operating at three levels of time – long, medium and short – which interpenetrate in a complex manner. Theorists provide an allegory of the ocean to capture the main characteristics of these three categories or levels and their interdependent mode of operation. At the bottom of the ocean, representing long-term time, are deep currents which, although appearing quite stable, are in fact moving all the time. Such long-term time covers major structural factors, dominant ideologies, worldviews, forms of the state, and so forth. The movement from pre-modern to modern, or modern to postmodern forms, can be understood in terms of these broad epochal shifts (Bell 1973; Denzin 1991; Lyotard 1984; Wright Mills 1959). The effects of the emerging social, economic and political conditions of the postmodern era upon

the organization and practices of schooling might also be understood in these terms (e.g. Aronowitz & Giroux 1991; Hargreaves 1994).

Above this, are the swells and tides of particular cycles representing medium-term time, which might be conceived in boom-bust like spans of 50 years or so, although the compression of time and space in the postmodern age may also compress such cycles (Giddens 1991). The current 'grammar of schooling' might be considered as being established in such a medium term cycle with the development of particular forms, organization and practices that predominate, and which to some degree, regulate activities and expectations. As Tyack and Tobin (1994) argue, reformers who fail to consider the historical 'grammar of schooling' will find their attempts to initiate educational change forever thwarted.

The analogy of the waves and froth at the top of the ocean, is representative of short-term, everyday time and the events and human actions of ordinary everyday life. Those focussing on such aspects alone not only have a limited sense of history but also often celebrate its empirical specifics and functional outcomes rather than focussing on the grander theoretical claims of epochal shifts between different historical periods (e.g. McCulloch 1995). Such theorizations of history however, should not be treated as competitive. Fine-grained empirical detail and broad-based theoretical sensibility are complementary forces in history and complementary resources for interpreting such history, and indeed are interdependent on one another. Much of contemporary change positions itself 'at the top of the ocean' in the waves and froth, and as such, the wider legacy is unlikely to be enduring.

Perhaps the most interesting points for inquiry and investigation occur when different layers of historical time coincide: where inclinations towards and capacity for change and reform are strongest. Such co-incidences or conjunctures can be seen in key moments of educational history and change.

IDEOLOGY, POWER AND DISCOURSE: STUDYING THE 'RECONSTITUTED' NEO LIBERAL PERIOD AND CURRENT CYCLE OF REFORM OF (HIGHER) EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

As part of the Professional Knowledge Project (2002-2008) - a study of professional life and work in seven European countries – attempts were made to identify historical waves and to map out how system narratives, or largely discourse narratives emanating from Government bodies, permeated aspects of welfare reform, including education.

Below is an abridged and updated extract relating to the English context from the post war (WWII) period, and outlining the current cycle of reform (in bold), which provides the emphasis for current studies. As we can see, the immediate post war period was dominated by a progressive narrative related to a wider expansion of welfare provision. This was increasingly eroded over time as a result of changing economic and social conditions, and gave way to a marketisation narrative informed by neo-liberal ideology, which gradually began to provide the main organ-

ising principles in education. This most recent conjuncture, followed a period of socially inclusive change in the late 60s and early 1970s, and has had an impact on most western countries educational and higher education policies during a period of increasing globalization, connectivity and partnerships. However, specific cultural factors have played a significant role in terms of how neo-liberalism in education has been refracted in very different ways cross nationally..

Table 1. Periodisation in the English national context: Extract from Profknow Report (amended 2012).

National case	Periods	Basis for distinctions	Patterns of Profit and Accumulation
ENGLAND	1945–1979: progressive narrative on welfare state expansion.		Patterns of profit and accumulation linked to build-up of the welfare state.
	1979–1997: marketisation narrative.	The neo-liberal breakthrough as an organising principle.	New emerging patterns of profit and accumulation.
	1997–2007: narrative of the middle way: targets, tests and tables.	Continuation of market principles	
	2008 - ? 'austerity' narrative and reconstituted neo-liberalism, increasing privatisation, competition and scarcer resources	**Crisis of capitalism and discourse of austerity? Reaffirmation of neo-liberalism, or rise of alternative discourse and practice?**	Increasing patterns of 'accumulation by dispossession'. Progressive take-over of services by private providers.

Despite changes in the political parties in office and numerous and varied policies from each of the main parties, the essential organising market principles and related forms of regulation, measurement and managerrialism have endured. However, from the late 2000's, significant national and global economic challenges, appear to have again significantly influenced the direction of welfare provision and approaches toward education.

It may be argued that we are witnessing a new wave of reform, however, at the current juncture, we cannot predict whether this will be short, medium, or longer term. However, despite the global and national economic crises being largely a result of weaknesses in the financial sector and the forms and mechanisms for acumulation, political responses and the emergent 'austerity narrative' in England has arisen and been informed by prior neo-liberal approaches. Rather than fundamentally questioning the viability of neo-liberalism, privatisation and marketisation and

considering alternative approaches, debates and resonses have been dominated by a reassertion of neo liberalism with more efficacious forms of privatisation and market principles dominating recent education policies. Whether this 'reconstituted' wave of neo-liberalism will be enduring, remains to be seen but it is clear that the austerity narrative has provided the conditions for reassertion of more privatised education and a further reduction of public sector involvement.

From 2010, following the election of a Conservative led coalition Government, numerous flagship policies have arisen that highlight the ideological nature and direction of changes in education. For example, recent policies have enabled schools to become privately run and managed academies, or 'free schools', with powers given to Secretary of State for Education to force schools deemed as 'underperforming' into Academy status. Furthermore, there have been numerous policies that have been construed as attacks on teacher professionalism, pay and conditions, with attempts also being made to reduce the influence of unions within the profession. Increasingly notions of competition within an educational marketplace are being espoused with interpretations of equity becoming increasingly predicated around a discourse that views 'fair' participation as a matter of individual choice in a 'free and competitive marketplace'.

Similarly, policies affecting Higher Education appear to have positioned education as a commodity to be 'bought' and 'sold', with forms of governance progressively reflecting an era of individualism and consumer-producer relationships. 'Supply' between competing organisations, and demand from paying consumers, may further generate 'profit and loss' motives that are in danger of foregrounding largely economic and ideologically and politically orientated imperatives, and simultaneously denigrating the role and purpose of education to the demands and logic of the 'market'. From a critical perspective, such change will increasingly structure access to Higher Education based on the ownership of various capitals.

For example, economic capital is likely to mediate access to Higher Education, following legislation to remove the cap on student fees and allowing Universities to charge up to £9000 per year, alongside a range of other policies and recommendations that are reducing the level of state funding for HE by 40% over four years (DBIS 2010). Such policies are likely to have an impact on the objective probabilities of many students being able to financially access HE and are likely to have disproportionally negative consequences for those in already less advantageous positions. University applications have already fallen by 9.9% in the last year (See University and Colleges Union 2012), the steepest fall for 30 years. The longer term ramifications, not only for access but also in terms of perceptions and life trajectories, therefore need further consideration. Understandably, we have seen a much bigger percentage decline in applications by mature students (UCAS 2012), with higher fees no doubt resulting in cost-effectiveness calculations based on the length of time they may be employment after graduation up until retirement, especially in the current context of declining employment opportunities. Similar considerations will also be made by the majority of full fee paying students, and the longer term outcomes are not only

likely to be related to direct financial implications but based on decisions that may well be based on subjective expectations aligned to their socio-cultural positions and backgrounds. This too may have a potentially negative effect on already disadvantaged groups and individuals, as ownership of social and cultural capitals begin to regulate subjective perceptions and probabilities.

There has been a continuation of the decline in the number of University courses actually being offered (See BBC 2012a), coupled with a reduction of the number of student places being made available in some areas (See, Coughlan 2012). There is also likely to be a further acceleration in the decline as Universities respond to new, restricted and more competitive market conditions. This again, may have more detrimental effects on groups already disadvantaged (Purcell, quoted in Richardson 2012), as well as resulting in less profitable courses being squeezed out as a viable area for academic pursuit. This suggests that the notion of individual 'choice' in a competitive marketplace, may be somewhat of a misnomer.

There has also been a shift and refocusing of the organisation and form of HE to enable greater private provision of education 'services' in the sector (see for example, the Browne Review 2010 & DBIS 2011), opening up the 'market' to new private profit making competitors. Depending on ones perspective, this could result in changes that tend to increase competition and benefit the system as a whole, or alternatively devalue Higher Eduction, reducing it further to a consumer-provider market transaction model, devoid of consideration of wider purpose, principles and goals of Higher Education.

From a critical perspective, the current wave of reform in Higher Education has led to a reassertion of more pernicious form of neo-liberalism that has served to further privatise, marketise and commodify education. Moreover, from such a perspective it has also led to the re-conceptualisation of student as consumer, ensured that individual debt and private fee income is replacing state funding and responsibility, and has put in place new regulatory frameworks encouraging private and 'for profit' providers to compete 'equally' with state funded institutions. Higher Education institutions however, now receive significantly less funding and thus are being increasingly conditioned and coerced to apply and incorporate 'market logic' to their form and function and more and more aspects of their day to day operations. From such a perspective, the austerity narrative has masked the deeper ideological origins of policies through a refracted market discourse, perversely portraying greater choice and freedom, whilst actually removing and restricting such choices and freedoms for many of the least privileged groups. Arguably, the dominance of neo-liberal ideology has become so pervasive that responses to social and economic crises are subject to broader narrative control that both conceal and castigate alternatives and present neo-liberal ideals as the only viable option.

We cannot ignore the role education as a field, or rather a site, for social and cultural reproduction (Bourdieu 1977), particularly given the appropriation of neo liberal language, ideology, 'rules' and logic occurring within such sites (Bourdieu 1993). The further subversion of Higher Education to the needs of capitalist accu-

mulation and wealth generation through the intensification of a marketplace pro-
ducing commercially viable products and services, reified within structured frame-
works and practices, and informed by human and intellectual capital and technicist
delivery models, creates symbolic violence through pedagogic action (Bourdieu &
Passeron, 1990). Such changes to the form and structures of Higher Education have
potentially profound repercussions and significant implications in relation to equal-
ity, notions of social democracy and citizenship.

Whilst policies have been met with significant opposition and resistance at vari-
ous levels, the wider assumptions informing the changes and their ideological un-
derpinnings have received far less critical analysis in the public domain. The future
of society and the role education is perceived to play in it, is confined by the prevail-
ing hegemonic *orthodoxy* (Bourdieu *op. cit.*), which thereby constrains and frames
debates through truncated discourse, thus rendering viable alternatives as ineffec-
tual or fanciful against the harsh 'realities' facing the existing dominant order.

In seeking to uncover the ideological orientation and its broader influence on ac-
tion and practice, and the implications for equality and social justice, we must seek
to develop conceptual understandings that enable us to make visible that which is
masked and concealed within predominant language, rhetoric and narratives. We
must seek to map the origins of its social construction, and also ensure we seek out
alternative language, discourse and narrative capital in order to diffuse the sym-
bolic violence and power being exerted, and to construct and make viable alterna-
tives, including those which have their origins in other pre-figurative discourse and
practice. Everyday practices may be normalised by the dominant logic operating
and exerting control over the field of education (Foucault 1977). The dominant logic
plays a role in the inculcation and transmission of the dominant orthodoxy and
hegemonic representation of world views, concealing alternatives and reproduc-
ing unequal power relations (Hoffman 2004) that infiltrate broader common-sense
interpretations of the world (Harvey 2005; Bourdieu 1998).

As Bourdieu and Wacquant (2000) contend, neo-liberal vocabulary and associ-
ated 'newspeak' pervades our media, language, discourse and narratives, diffusing
a new 'planetary vulgate'. It foregrounds terms such as 'economic competitiveness',
'globalization', 'flexibility', 'governance', 'employability', the 'new economy' and
'change', and demotes terms such as 'capitalism', 'class', 'exploitation', 'domination',
and 'inequality' by constructing a narrative that presents them as largely irrelevant
in current political and public discourse. They further argue that this represents a
new form of imperialism, whose effects are more powerful as it is not only directly
championed by partisans of neo-liberalism but is also, often inadvertently, perpetu-
ated by the practice of 'cultural producers', such as researchers, writers, teachers,
and activists, who may perceive themselves in opposition to neo-liberalism. From
this perspective, this new 'planetary vulgate' also represents a form of *symbolic
violence* (Bourdieu 1990) as it relies on a relationship of constrained communica-
tion in order to de-historicise, universalise and create *misrecognition* (Bourdieu
1993; 1999; 1999a), positioning individuals as responsible for their own position in

the world, whilst masking the role of ideology and societal structures (Bourdieu *et al.* 2000) in the creation of *a priori* judgments. From such a perspective, it may be argued that one of the distinctive features of neo-liberalism is the development of a new form of 'newspeak', which facilitates narrative control of events. The failure of the financial system, for example, has be re-presented in neo-liberal newspeak as a crisis requiring the public sector to be cut, further privatised and subject to market conditions. Such narrative levitation allows reality to be suspended and re-presented because of the vested powerful interests who control the dominant narrative. In this sense, the mismatch between material reality and narrative constructions of reality represents a form of refraction itself.

Given such unprecedented changes and the current wave of reform, which has a clear ideological basis, it is thererfore essential that we retain the wider context and history as central tenets of our explorations (Goodson & Norrie, 2005) in order to better analyse the origins and intent behind policy developments. It is essential to avoid short term evaluation of current policies or initiatives, devoid of their wider socio-cultural and socio-historical context, as such practice itself could, perhaps inadvertently, play a role in reproducing the dominant narrative.

EXPLORING POINTS OF REFRACTION, PRE-FIGURATIVE PRACTICE AND DISCOURSE

The influence of ideology on thought and practice should not, and cannot, be underestimated and will be prioritised as a significant aspect of our empirical investigation and theoretical development. However, we should also avoid overly determinist explanations that overlook the possibility for individuals and groups to mediate its effects, to actively resist its influence and to individually and collectively affect change, thereby refracting policy and ideological intentions. Furthermore, we need to mindful of the wider histories and traditions that also influence action, decisions and practice. Not only would such determinist approaches underplay the importance of individual agency, pre-figurative practices and alternative discourses, they would also fail to adequately account for the ways in which ideology and individual action interact, and how wider social, cultural and historical experiences influence action and thought.

As a basis for informing empirical approaches, refraction may be thought of as a theoretical concept that provides a lens through which to better understand both the context surrounding macro and national structural initiatives, and also how these are reinterpreted and mediated through meso level decisions, micro level interactions, and personal interpretation. These too will be influenced by history, experience and local context. Social life and social activity constantly undergoes a process of refraction, occurring at a number of levels simultaneously. Education policies, similarly, do not materialise in a social or cultural vacuum but are mediated and interpreted through systems, organisations, and by individuals and their practice. Specific structural changes do not necessarily have the same consequences in different con-

texts but rather there exists a milieu of points of refraction through which policies, in particular those which seek to restructure education, must pass (Goodson 2010). These include national and regional systems, school board systems, through to individual interpretations and teacher and learning practices, which all potentially present numerous contexts and possibilities for reinterpretation, variation and responses. Such responses will also be dependent on a whole range of existing interrelationships, relationships to power and influence, organisational and personal professional identities and practice. Moreover, organisational and individual responses will be mediated by broader social, cultural, intellectual and professional histories and experiences.

In terms of attempting to better understand different types of refraction, we began by drawing on, and aim to enhance, a model developed as part of the ProfKnow Study. The figure below sought to demonstrate how different countries, regions, institutions and systems might have varied trajectories, traditions and histories that refract centralised restructuring initiatives in various ways (see Goodson 2004). Furthermore however, in undertaking qualitative analysis of individual and group narrative, life histories and actions, we might also utilise a similar model to explore if, how and why policies are mediated and reinterpreted by professionals.

Drawing on data from our ongoing empirical study for the RIAIPE3 study, the brief examples below demonstrate how policies are refracted in various ways by two academics in different institutions, who are at very different stages in their careers. We can see how personal and professional identitities, history, experience, trajectories and autonomy in their roles all have an influence on the ways centralised policies are refracted, despite, or perhaps in spite of, the wider ideological and political climate and broader institutional responses.
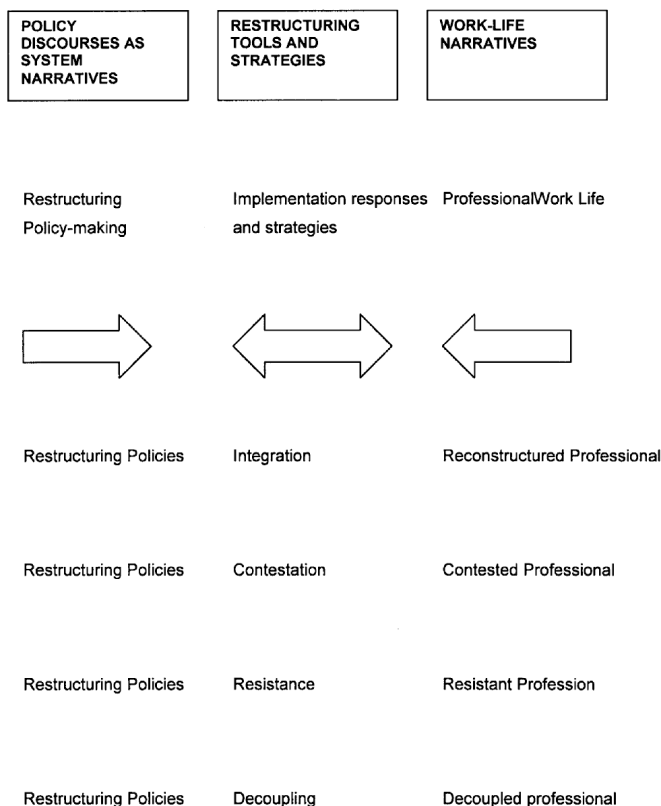
Case 1: 'Ken'

Ken is an academic at a relative early stage of his professional career in an institution, which he reports is feeling intense pressure following 'enforced' changes in funding and direction arising from recent central policies. As a result, he has felt pressure to change his working practices and has been forced to accept increasingly more teaching and supervision duties, something he attributes directly to scarcity of funding and the institutions decision to focus more intently on student numbers, and in particular overseas students, who pay higher fees. He feels his prior hopes to develop his research and publications portfolio are suffering as a result, and that he is increasingly undertaking roles of an administrative nature.

Ken: *It's not quite what I signed up for but I guess the climate is very different now and we all have to respond to the new circumstances and ensure the University doesn't go under and that we've all go jobs at the end of the day...*

Researcher: *You mentioned you hadn't been doing much writing or research over the last year.*

Figure 1.

POLICY DISCOURSES AS SYSTEM NARRATIVES	RESTRUCTURING TOOLS AND STRATEGIES	WORK-LIFE NARRATIVES

Restructuring Policy-making	Implementation responses and strategies	ProfessionalWork Life

Restructuring Policies	Integration	Reconstructed Professional
Restructuring Policies	Contestation	Contested Professional
Restructuring Policies	Resistance	Resistant Profession
Restructuring Policies	Decoupling	Decoupled professional

Ken: *It's more than a year now... but there's still an expectation that I remain re-search active because I'm part of the Research Excellence Framework, so there's been an intensification of my role really, as well as an overall change in what that role is for the most part...*

Researcher: *So do you do anything to counter things that have happened?*

Ken: *... my initial response was going to be 'no' but now I think about it, it's not true. Perhaps I was just a bit overwhelmed and dispondent originally but I have done various different things. I've joined a group at the University who focus on community participation projects. My wife used to work in youth work and funding and support in that sector has been decimated. So I felt I could try and contribute something via the University and put in a proposal with this group to try and get the University involved with NEETs (16-24 year olds not in education, employment or*

training) to provide accreditation to help them access Further or Higher Education and put them in a better position in the job market... it's an area that I wouldn't have got involved in before, I guess, but thinking about it, it is a reaction to a number of things, firstly my own role, but more importantly the implications of funding and resource cuts to support vulnerable and disadvantaged groups at a time of record NEET unemployment and increased fees in Higher Education.

On a personal front, I've also joined the Union. But this [conversation] has also just made me realise that we've – a few of us running the courses between us – we've changed the course content to include modules that focus on current changes and what this means for education. Yes, if I think about it, I, and I think some other colleagues, have become more critical in both our outlook and our actions...

Case 2: 'Alf'

Alf is an academic who is to retire within the next few years. He considers himself to be a critical scholar who is staunchly opposed to what he considers have been the detrimental effects of neo-liberalism and marketisation of Higher Education. He feels that changes over the last 30 years or so have undermined what he feels the purpose of Higher Education and scholarly pursuit should be. He conversely also feels he has always been something of an outsider in academia, despite having a notbale career, but attributes this having had a tough working class upbringing and sharing little in common with many of his colleagues, or what he perceives to be the necessary or 'natural cultural requirements' demanded by an elitist Higher Education system.

Alf: *"...once I'd established myself in academia, I made a conscious decision to research and write about things that interested me, that I felt passionate about... whilst it's been peaks and troughs in terms of funding and possibilities, I've pretty much been able to keep doing this, despite the changes that have gone on... For example, the whole managerialist bean counting accoutability changed the culture here (at the University) beyond recognition, some even got quotas given them that told them how much funding they had to bring in year on year... and for most that meant a certain degree of sacrifice in terms of the projects they were involved in, the publications they were submitting, the teaching load they had to juggle...a right royal assault on our professionalism, if you ask me... all because of the new markets and accountability requirements... over the years I think all we've managed to do is to replace with quality with efficiency, with your academic effectiveness being judged by numbers and money and managed out of more critical pursuits... I managed to skirt around things, partly because I had begun to work in the area of adult education, outreach work, especially with vulnerable and under-represented groups and many of the changes happened where at least there was more funding to do such work...*

Researcher: *So what has been your response to the recent changes in Higher Education brought about by the coalition Government?*

Alf: *... Initially its usually starts with a feeling of despair... but the alternative is to play their game. I'm totally enraged by what's happening. I've spent my whole life trying to fight to support the expansion of Higher Education for excluded groups and now the fees will exclude thousands, not just financially but culturally and socially over the longer term, it's regressive... At this stage in my career, and with limited funding in the areas I'm interested in I'm more limited in my options... so now... I'm trying to go back to inspiring others to be critical...to keep issues of inequality on the agenda...to encourage people to take action... As I'm well connected, I know who and what to put people in touch with. I've also joined up with a lot of my former colleagues and friends from way back and we're trying to put together publications, events and other things that will help people see what's really happening.*

It became clear that both Ken (case 1) and Alf (case 2) were refracting national policies through their own professional practice but both ackowledged there were limitations placed on them by institutional requirements arising from policy changes and associated discourse. However, during the course of the interviews, it became clear that Alf had developed conscious professional practices over the years that were both resistant to and contested broader system narratives and which were based on an explicit understanding of the ideology underpinning changes over a number of years. Ken on the other hand, whilst also demonstrating some degree of contestation and resistance, had not done so with quite the same degree of cognisance regarding the ideological antecedants, but rather was responding to and contesting what he viewed as party political decisions arising in a time of austerity. Furthermore, being at a relative early stage of his career in his current role, Ken did not feel he had a significant degree of autonomy to create space and opportunities for more resistant practices. Alf, on the other hand, felt finding such opportunities to resist and contest wider ideological and system narratives was, to some degree, a professional raison d'être arising out of his own personal trajectory and numerous personal and pre-figurative practices and discourses opposed to neo-liberal ideals.

In developing the concept of refraction, the two cases demonstrate the need to further consider the varying degrees of conscious and subconscious activity and related passive and pro-active action that arises at points of refraction. We need also to consider how, or to what extent, such action arises as a result of a broader understanding surrounding dominant discourse and system narratives, and how and when life trajectories, experience and alternative and pre-figurative discourse and practices overtly influence action. Other factors such as professional role, power and autonomy are also likely to have a generative, although not wholly regulative, effect on the objective and subjective perceptions surrounding the ability to act and refract wider system narrative. However, we must also consider the broader and far reaching roles that ideology, dominant discourse and symbolic violence play in

conditioning and regulating people's subjectively perceived ability to act and create new and oppositional professional practices.

Again this highlights the interconnected and multi-factored nature of the concept of refraction and the complex challenge that exists in exploring the multi-faceted relationships between structure and agency and the multifarious influences and interactions that may arise.

EXPLORING STRUCTURE – AGENCY INTERACTIONS

As a concept, 'refraction' seeks to address a key 'dialectical' challenge of social science in focussing simultaneously on structure and agency, and various interactions arising through mediated practice. In employing such a concept, we seek to better understand the conditions, experiences, histories and relationships between actor, dominant discourse and structure, and also how these are contextualised through the various general forms of governance, systems and local and professional cultures. Refraction is an attempt to help us avoid assumptions and challenge some of the more linear perceptions surrounding causality, identifying mediating practice such as contestation or resistance, where they exist, thereby overcoming more structural-determinist analyses, and by also keeping context and history as central to explorations (Norrie and Goodson, *op. cit.).* Rather than viewing structure as determining practice, refraction requires the examination of the role of dispositions and individual habitus of actors on action. Such dispositions and habitus are, to some degree, likely to be regulated by structures, which themselves generate practice (Bourdieu 1977). The ability to understand the generative nature of such action also requires an analysis of the fields and power relationships in which mediated action occurs (Bourdieu 1998). Therefore, this requires examination of policy and related discourse and consideration of the extent to which they harmonise or resonate with teachers' own personal and professional identities and narratives, and as importantly, the ways in which these are contested, resisted and reinterpreted through a process of professional reconfiguration in different local and national contexts.

In the context of significant socio-cultural and socio-economic uncertainty, and also with significant ideologically informed changes to the structures of education in the UK and across Europe, refraction may provide a conceptual lens through which to explore contextualised and recontextualised practice against the backdrop of a new, ideologically informed wave of reform. In so doing, it may highlight some of the alternative and pre-figurative discourse and practice that is often undertaken as conscious activity that is explicitly resistant to narrative control and the effects of symbolic violence.

REFERENCES

Aronowitz, S., & Giroux, H. (1991) *Post-modern Education: politics, culture and social criticism*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bell, D. (1973) *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, New York: Basic Books.

BBC (2012). 'One in four university degree courses cut, figures show'. *BBC News: Education and Family*, Kathryn Sellgren. 23rd February 2012. Accessed 20/06/12. www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-17125547

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge University Press: London.

Bourdieu, P. (1984 [1979]) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, Richard Nice (trans), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1993) *Sociology in Question*, London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P (1998) *'Acts of resistance: against the new myths of our time'*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Bourdieu, P. (1993) *'The field of cultural production',* New York: Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1999) Acts *of Resistance: against the tyranny of the market*, New York: New Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1999a) 'Postscript', in P. Bourdieu et al, *The Weight of the World: social suffering in contemporary society,* London: Polity.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C. (2000) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, London, Sage.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (2000) 'Neo-liberal newspeak: notes on the new planetary vulgate', R*adical Philosophy, 108*.

Bourdieu, P. et al (1999) The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society. Cambridge, Polity Press

Browne (2010) 'Securing a sustainable future for higher education: an independent review of higher education funding and student finance' in '*The Review of Higher Education*' (accessed 06.07.2012) *www.independent.gov.uk/browne-report*

Burke, P. (1993) *History and Social Theory,* New York: Cornell University Press.

Carpentier (2001). *Developpement educative et performances economiques au Royaume-Uni: 19th and 20th siecled,* Paris: L'Harmattan

Coughlan, S. (2012) 'Most universities set to have fewer places'. *BBC News: Education and Family.* 29TH March 2012. Accessed 20/06/12: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-17537558

Denzin, N. (1991) *Images of Postmodern Society: social theory & contemporary cinema*, London: Sage.

Department for Business, Industry and Skills (DBIS) (2010). *The Spending Review 2010.* London, Crown.

Department for Business, Industry and Skills (2011) *'Higher education white paper: students at the heart of the system',* London: Crown, Department for Business, Industry and Skills.

Fontvieille (1990) 'Education, growth and long cycles: the case of France in the 19th and 20th centuries', in G. Tortella (ed.) *Education and Economic Development since the Industrial Revolution,* Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, *317-335*.

Foucault, M. (1997) *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*, London: Allen Lane.

Giddens (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: self and society in the late modern Age*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Goodson, I.F. (2004). Change processes and historical periods: an international perspective, in C. Sugrue (ed.) *Curriculum and ideology: Irish experiences international perspectives,* Dublin: The Liffey Press.

Goodson, I.F., & Norrie, C. (2005) (eds.). 'A literature review of welfare state restructuring in education and health care in European contexts: implications for the teaching and nursing professions and their professional knowledge' for the ProfKnow Consortium.

Hargreaves, A. (1994) *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: teachers' work and Culture in the postmodern age*, New York, NY: Teachers College Press/London: Cassell.

Harvey, D. (2005) *A brief history of neo-liberalism*, New York: Oxford University Press.

History of Education Journal (1998) *British History of Education Journal* published a special issue

TIM RUDD & IVOR GOODSON

derived from a conference on Education and Economic Performance, London and New York: Taylor and Francis.

Hoffman, J. (2004) *'Citizenship beyond the state'*, London: Sage.

Lyotard, J.L. (1984) *The Postmodern Condition*, (trans G. Bennington and B. Matsuda), Manchester: Manchester University Press.

McCulloch, G., (1995) Essay review of *Changing Teachers, Changing Times*, by A. Hargreaves, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 16 (1): 113-117.

Meyer, J. and Rowan, B. (1978) The structure of educational organizations, in J. Meyer and W. Marshal et al (eds.) *Environments and Organizations: theoretical and empirical perspectives*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Professional Knowledge in Education and Health (PROFKNOW) (2002-2008) 'Restructuring work and life between state and citizens in Europe' – University of Brighton – UK, University of Gothenburg - Sweden, National and Kopodistorian University of Athens - Greece, University of Joensuu – Finland, University of Barcelona - Spain, University of the Azores – Portugal, St. Patrick's College, Dublin City University – Ireland, University of Stockholm – Sweden (accessed 23/06/12) http://www.ips.gu.se/english/Research/research_programmes/pop/current_research/profknow/.

RIAIPE 3 (Ongoing). 'An inter university framework programme for equity and social cohesion policies in higher education in Latin America, a European Union Funded Project, (accessed 30/06/12) www.riaipe-alfa.eu.

Richardson, H. (2012). 'Vice-chancellor warns over loss of student places'.*BBC News: Education and Family*, 10th March 2012. Accessed 20/06/12: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-17313204

Tyack, D., & Tobin, W. (1994) 'The 'Grammar' of Schooling: why has it been so hard to change?' *American Educational Research Journal*, 31(3), 453-479, Fall.

UCAS (2012). 2012 Applicant Figures. May 2012. Accessed 20/06/12. http://www.ucas.com/about_us/media_enquiries/media_releases/2012/20120531

University and College Union (2012). *University Applications in England Down by 10%*. 31st May 2012. Accessed 20/06/12. http://www.ucu.org.uk/index.cfm?articleid=6109

Wright Mills, C., 1959, *The Sociological Imagination*, London: Oxford University Press.

Young, M., & Schuller, T., (eds), 1988, The Rhythms of Society (London & New York: Routledge).

Tim Rudd
Ivor Goodson
University of Brighton

ÓSCAR ESPINOZA

Chapter 10

THE EQUITY GOAL ORIENTED MODEL REVISITED[1]

INTRODUCTION

The implementation of the Interuniversity Framework Programme for an Equity and Social Cohesion Policy on Higher Education -financed by the Alfa Programme of the European Union (2011-2013)- represents an enormous challenge for the Riape3 Network. It is important to note that this network was formed from a previous work developed since 2006 by European and Latin American university researcher teams and managers that created at the time the Riaipe1 and Riaipe2 networks.

The starting point of the Riaipe Network's tasks was the need to build an alternative to the education policies promoted by European and Latin American governments, which in most cases are part of the neoliberal globalization agenda where knowledge and access to quality education is conceived as commodity rather than a public good. The proposal we are developing and running -which seeks to consolidate and broaden an emancipatory education project for all that generates greater cohesion and social justice- contrasts with that hegemonic look.

ÓSCAR ESPINOZA

In this context, this chapter seeks to set up the theoretical foundations that guide and surround the "equity" concept, one of the two essential components of the Interuniversity Framework Programme for an Equity and Social Cohesion Policy on Higher Education.

By means of a theoretical discussion on the concept of 'equity' and the recreation of a model of equity made in the early last decade by the author -oriented towards objectives which combines different dimensions of the concept either with resources and/or with different stages of the educational process-, this document aims to achieve two purposes: (1) to clarify the notion of 'equity' among researchers, educators, evaluators, analysts, managers and policy makers; and (2) to encourage a critical review and synthesis of the research/intervention on equity among researchers, managers at the institutional level and evaluators.

UNDERSTANDING THE MEANING AND SCOPES OF THE "EQUITY" CONCEPT

The notion of "equity" has run through many debates on social and public policy, and yet in many contexts there seems to be no very clear idea of just what "equity" mean. Questions have been raised among policy analysts, policy makers and evaluators concerned with issues of inequity and inequality regarding the feasibility of achieving equity, or social justice, in a society characterized by inequality. This is manifested in the family environment, in occupational status and level of income; it is also evident in educational opportunities, aspirations, attainment and cognitive skills. It is debatable whether we can have "equity" in a society that prioritizes efficiency in resource management over social justice. Certainly, such questions have shaped and guided many discussions and theoretical debates among scholars, policy analysts and policy makers. However, the use of the "equity" concept and the dimensions involved in it in many cases demonstrates that there are confusions and misunderstandings even among scholars and researchers. Consequently, embodied in this chapter is an attempt to clarify the nature of "equity" and debates and definitions, particularly those that develop even when people appear to be looking at the same set of information. Greater understanding of such debates about the concept guiding the analysis of this paper is the first goal.

Over the past four decades there have been a number of controversies when discussing the concept of "equity". This concept is often invoked by policy analysts, policymakers, government officials and scholars in order to justify or critique resource allocation to different levels of the educational system. In this section, the meaning, goals, and assumptions of "equity" will be considered in terms of their interacting implications for social and educational policy. Instead of arguing for a unique or simple conception of "equity", a set of definitions of this concept as well as a discussion related to theoretical and policy issues associated will be presented. Moreover, a new model for analyzing equity in relation to education made by the author of this chapter, which might be a valuable tool for researchers, evaluators, educators, policy analysts and policy makers will be discussed.

"Equity" and "equality" must be considered as the main basis of distributive justice, which Morton Deutsch (1975: 137) notes "is concerned with the distribution of the conditions and goods which affect individual well-being." Deutsch (1975: 137-138) argues that

> "the sense of injustice with regard to the distribution of benefits and harms, rewards and costs, or other things which affect individual well-being may be directed at: (a) the values underlying the rules governing the distribution (injustice of values), (b) the rules which are employed to represent the values (injustice of rules), (c) the ways that the rules are implemented (injustice of implementation), or (d) the way decisions are made about any of the foregoing (injustice of decision-making procedures)."

In debates about distributive justice, "equity" is often used as if it were interchangeable with "equality" (Lerner, 1974; Warner, 1985). Secada (1989), for instance, makes numerous strong arguments that "equality" is not synonymous with "equity" and, thus, rather than striving for equality amongst groups of people we should work towards equitable inequalities that reflect the needs and strengths of the various groups. He poses that students must be dealt with on an individual level. Unfortunately, human beings are creatures of bias and, thus certain inequalities are bound to exist. When these inequalities can be identified along the line of a particular group, it is important to examine the source of inequality and determine the reasons for the inequality.

The "equity" concept is associated with fairness or justice in the provision of education or other benefits and it takes individual circumstances into consideration, while "equality" usually connotes sameness in treatment by asserting the fundamental or natural equality of all persons (Corson, 2001).

While "equality" involves only a quantitative assessment, "equity" involves both a quantitative assessment and a subjective moral or ethical judgment that might bypass the letter of the law in the interest of the spirit of the law (Bronfenbrenner, 1973; Gans, 1973; Jones-Wilson, 1986; Konvitz, 1973). Equity assessments are more problematic because people differ in the meaning that they attach to the concepts of fairness and justice and because knowledge of equity-related cause and effect relationships is often limited (Harvey & Klein, 1985).

The conception of "equity", commonly associated with human capital theory, is based on utilitarian considerations (Bentham, 1948; House, 1980; Rawls, 1971; Strike, 1979). In other words, it demands fair competition but tolerates and, indeed, can require unequal results. On the other hand, the concept of "equality" associated with the democratic ideal of social justice demands equality of results (Strike, 1985). In some cases "equity" means equal shares, but in others it can mean shares determined by need, effort expended, ability to pay, results achieved, ascription to any group (Blanchard, 1986) or by resources and opportunities available (Larkin & Staton, 2001). Greater "equity" does not generally mean greater "equality"; quite the opposite, for more "equity" may mean less "equality" (Gans,

1973; Rawls, 1971). As Samoff (1996: 266-267) has stated the issues in relation to schooling:

> "Equality has to do with making sure that some learners are assigned to smaller classes, or receive more or better textbooks, or are preferentially promoted because of their race...Achieving equality requires insuring that children [students] are not excluded or discouraged from the tracks that lead to better jobs because they are girls...Equity, however, has to do with fairness and justice. And there is the problem…[Indeed,] where there has been a history of discrimination, justice may require providing special encouragement and support for those who were disadvantaged in the past....To achieve equity – justice – may require structured inequalities, at least temporarily. Achieving equal access, itself a very difficult challenge, is a first step toward achieving equity".

Often "equity" is used as a synonym for justice and especially as a negation when inequity is equated with injustice. One interpretation of "equity" is grounded in the equity theory, which is a positive theory pertaining to individual conceptions of fairness (Blanchard, 1986; Wijck, 1993). The fundamental idea underlying the "equity" theory is that fairness in social relationships occurs when rewards, punishments, and resources are allocated in proportion to one's input or contributions (Adams, 1965; Cook & Parcel, 1977; Deutsch, 1975; Greenberg & Cohen, 1982; Messick & Cook, 1983; Tornblom, 1992). At this level of the discussion it is important to clarify the concepts of input and output. Whereas the term input refers to the perceived contributions that individuals make, output (which represents one of the main dimensions shaping up the equity-equality model here discussed), refers to the perceived benefits enjoyed by individuals.

Deutsch (1975), for example, suggests that in pure cooperative systems a person's share of economic goods should be determined by his relative skill in using such goods for the common weal and that he/she should share in the consumer goods with others according to need. But fairness also takes place when rewards and resources are allocated on the basis of individual needs. Either taking into account individual needs or contributions, "equity" might be defined, according to Salomone (1981: 11), in terms of three dimensions: motivation, performance and results:

> If equity is defined in terms of motivation, and if rewards are allocated in terms of it, then the deeper and stronger our motivation, the greater our rewards. If equity is defined in terms of performance, and if rewards are allocated in terms of it, the more outstanding the performance, the greater our rewards. If equity is defined in terms of results, and if rewards are allocated to it the more plentiful the results, the greater our rewards. In each case, inequalities may be magnified rather than reduced.

The basic problems of "equity" theory are that it employs a one-dimensional concept of fairness and that it emphasizes only the fairness of distribution, ignoring the fairness of procedure. An alternative to "equity" theory is based on two justice

rules: the distributional and the procedural. Distribution rules follow certain criteria: the individual's contribution and his/her needs. Preceding the final distribution of reward, a cognitive map of the allocative process is constructed. Hence, fairness is judged in terms of the procedure's consistency, prevention of personal bias, and its representativeness of important subgroups (Deutsch, 1975; Leventhal, 1980).

"Equity" principles and "equity" assessment are frequently applied to the individual level and or to the group level (including within the latter some groups based on their socio-economic, racial, sexual, ethnic, residential, age, educational, and religious characteristics, to mention a few examples). As Weale (1978: 28) has pointed out "equity" arguments and "equity" assessment "are normally used in a context where one social group is being benefited relative to another". For instance, in most countries some portion of the cost of securing training at the higher education level is assumed by society and the remainder by the individual. The way in which those charges are divided significantly determines who does and who does not have access to higher education. On the face of it, equity would seem to require that access to higher education be extended to as many as possible, and perhaps even to all. But to do that would deny one of the basic functions of today's university, that is, to serve as screen or filter in the identification of those presumed to be the most talented and hence the best able to assume key positions in the labor market or other roles in society.

In this scenario, access to higher education (as well as persistence, achievement, and outcomes) has been studied in very general terms from different perspectives. Those who take a critical perspective consider that unequal access derives not from inefficiencies in "free" market economy development, but is the direct result of the capitalist system functioning (e.g., Arriagada, 1993; Carnoy, 1976a, 1995; Espinoza, 2002; Petras, 1999), which generates both unequal class relations within societies (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Pattnayak, 1996; Petras, 1999) and dependency relations between 'developing' and 'developed' countries (Carnoy, 1976b; Espinoza, 2002). In contrast, some scholars have approached this topic from an equilibrium or functionalist perspective, assuming that unequal access to higher education stems from differences in individuals' ability (cognitive and intellectual skills) and motivation (Gardner, 1983; Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Sternberg, 1985, 1988) or from minor biases or inefficiencies in educational and economic systems (Blomqvist & Jiménez, 1989; Crossland, 1976; Jiménez, 1986; Johnstone & Shroff-Mehta, 2000; Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985; Salmi, 1991; World Bank, 1994, 2000).

Certainly, unequal performance, and hence the threat of unequal rewards, becomes a social and political issue only when the unit of assessment shifts from the individual to aggregates of individuals, such as socio-economic and ethnic groups. Usually such group identities are strengthened, when a preponderance of the group's members are socially or economically disadvantaged. While individual differences can be analyzed in terms of actual performance, group differences are viewed in terms of the percentages of each group which fall above (or below) some given criterion of successful performance.

ÓSCAR ESPINOZA

THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL EQUITY MODEL REVISITED

The multidimensional equity goal oriented model represents my understanding of educational "equity" goals and it attempts to fulfill two purposes: (1) to clarify among researchers, educators, evaluators and policymakers the notion, senses and scopes of "equity"; and (2) to facilitate efforts of researchers and evaluators to critically examine and synthesize equity-based research through mapping interrelations that is possible to set up among distinct equity dimensions, available resources and different stages of the educational process which might be faced by individuals in their lives.

It is important to mention that the model is sufficiently ductile and flexible to be adapted and used for any educational institution either at the school or the university level depending on the pre-established institutional needs and action plans that have been defined for implementation. In that sense, the equity model constitutes and easy-to-use tool, which allows to conduct analysis of various kinds at any level of the educational system.

The theoretical model here presented is an adaptation and revision (Espinoza, 2012) of the original version (Espinoza, 2002, 2007), which considers two axes: on the one hand, the concepts of equality[2] and equity in its different dimensions, and on the other the resources (financial, social and cultural) and the different stages of the educational process (access, survival, performance and results).

With regard to the "equity" concept, the revised model recognizes three dimensions (first axis), including:

− *Equity for equal needs*: it implies to intervene through different types of actions to guarantee that persons with similar requirements are able to satisfy them. These range from the most basic to the most complex needs (Maslow, 1943; 1991; 1994; McClelland, 1961). Therefore, it is understood that all human beings share basic subsistence needs (food, shelter and clothing) but as vital experience enriches and society becomes more complex needs diversify and turn more sophisticated. For example, a person who becomes more educated will demand or will have the need for greater independence and autonomy.

− *Equity for equal capacities*: it implies to intervene through different types of actions so as persons with similar potential are able to accomplish equivalent goals in different areas of action. By capacity we will understand a set of features that a person can accomplish and with it the freedom he/she has to be able to choose among different ways of life (Sen, 1992, 1997; Lorenzeli, 2005). According to

---

2 In relation to the concept of equality the model identifies three dimensions: (i) Equality without restrictions: it implies that there is equality of opportunity for a free choice without political, legal, social or cultural limitations; (ii) Equality without exclusions: it implies that all people without any distinctions are considered equal for all purposes associated to their quality of life such as health, housing, employment, welfare, income and education; (iii) Equality without discrimination: it implies that all social groups (socioeconomic, ethnic, gender, creed and others) have on average the same chance to reach a similar quality of life and possibilities to reach power positions.

160

this definition, people who have equal access to primary goods may increase it in differentiated forms if they possess different capacities. This means that there may be produced deep differences in the generation and distribution of primary goods according to differentiated capacities. Following Sen (1992; 1997), by equal capacities we will understand equivalent freedom to all people so that they accomplish to achieve their life projects and can cooperate with society. This highlights the importance of evaluating the goals achieved (achievements or accomplishments) which can be measured in several ways: utility (fulfilled desires, satisfactions), opulence (incomes, consumption) and quality of life. In this definition freedom would be to have an effective opportunity to reach what is valued. The means (resources, basic goods) increase the freedom to realize the own goals, but equality in means is not equal to equality in freedom since there are other factors involved in that freedom, such as sex, pregnancy possibilities and exposure to diseases, among others.

– *Equity to equal achievement*: it implies to intervene through different types of actions so as persons with similar achievement backgrounds are able to achieve equivalent goals in different areas of action. By achievement we understand the perception that people have about the fulfillment of their aspirations. Each individual sets his/her own goals in different areas, including family, social and work spheres. These goals are continuously developed and adjusted since childhood on the basis of experiences which are daily meaningful to people (Rodríguez, 2004). Therefore, it is common that people who in certain moment of their lives aspired to certain goals which were not achieved concrete other options which from their point of view are equivalent or better than their initial aspiration. From this definition it can be argued that people who have an equal level of achievement are those who perceive to have successfully met the objectives or goals proposed, although these are different from their initial aspirations (see Table 1).

The second axis of the model includes two aspects: resources and educational stages.
– Resources refer to the tangible and intangible goods to which people can access. In this sphere it is possible to identify three types of resources: financial, social and cultural.
– Financial resources refer to monetary assets or financial capital and consider both tangible and intangible goods delivered.
– Social resources are social support networks.
– Cultural resources are associated to behavior codes of the dominant culture.

The stages of the educational process refer to the phases, progress and success conditions that give life to the educational trajectory of an individual. In this sense, four stages can be distinguished:
– *Access*: it is the possibility of joining a particular level of the educational system of creditable quality. In the case of access to higher education there must be considered both the students who enter the system and the students who apply.

– *Survival*: it is the condition of survival and progress within the education system.
– *Performance*: it is the recognition of academic performance obtained by the student, as measured by grades and evaluations.
– *Outcomes*: it is the final consequence of the educational process and gives account of the implications and impact of academic certifications obtained by people, which result in employability, wage levels and the possibility to move up or to link to political power (see Table 1)

Matching "equity" dimensions with resources and different stages of the educational process

With regard to equity, the dimension 'equity for equal needs' can be contrasted with 'equity for equal potential' and 'equity for equal past achievement'. Those three dimensions of "equity" may pertain to different stages of the educational process, including, access, survival, performance, and outcomes. For instance, if 'equity for equal needs' is matched in relation to access to quality education, then, according to *the goal-oriented definition* (Harvey & Klein, 1985), access at the individual and group level must be based on need. However, 'equity for equal needs' might also be associated with survival, meaning that the goal would be achieve an equal level of educational attainment for those with equal needs. Likewise, 'equity for equal needs' might be coupled with performance. In this sense, *the minimum achievement definition* (Gordon, 1972) stipulates that there should be enough resources applied to bring every student to at least a minimal needed achievement level, which implies obtaining satisfactory performance and grades. Implicit in the 'equity for equal needs' dimension is the fact that differences in achievement beyond that are based on need. Regarding outcomes, 'equity for equal needs' might be accomplished just if individuals having equal needs obtain equal jobs, incomes or political power.

Through the 'equity for equal potential' dimension, it is assumed in the model that individual abilities can be matched with resources, access to quality education, survival, performance, and outcomes. In relation to resources, for instance, it is reasonable to bring out in our model's discussion *the full opportunity definition* (Tumin, 1965), which calls for resources devoted by governments to each student in the amount necessary to guarantee that each individual will be able to maximize his or her potential. However, if 'equity for equal potential' is matched to access to quality education, then the goal to be accomplished would guarantee that all individuals with similar abilities and skills will gain access to quality education. Besides, if 'equity for equal potential' is coupled with survival, then the goal would be for those individuals with equal abilities and skills to obtain equal educational attainment. If 'equity for equal potential' is planned in relation to performance (educational achievement), then the goal would be to ensure that students with similar abilities will learn (not just be taught) the same contents at a defined point in the educational system.

Table 1. The multidimensional equity model

CONCEPT	DIMENSIONS	RESOURCES	STAGES OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS			
			ACCESS	SURVIVAL	PERFORMANCE	OUTCOMES
EQUITY	Equity for equal needs	Guarantee that all people who have same needs have same amount of social, financial and cultural resources (*The reasonable classification definition*, Carlson, 1983).	Provide access at the individual and group level on the basis of need (*The goal-oriented definition*, Harvey & Klein, 1985).	Insure that those with equal needs gain equal level of educational attainment.	Ensure that students with equal needs have equal performance (*The minimum achievement definition*, Gordon, 1972)	Make sure that those individuals with equal needs obtain equal jobs, income, and or political power
	Equity for equal potential (abilities)	Make sure that all individuals with certain potential have same amount of social, financial and cultural resources (*The full opportunity definition*, Tumin, 1965).	Guarantee that all individuals having equal abilities will gain access to quality education.	Make sure that students with equal potential realize equal educational attainment	Make sure that students with similar abilities will learn the same things to the same levels at a defined point in the educational system.	Make sure that those individuals with equal potential when born obtain equal jobs, income, and or political power
	Equity for equal achievement	Insure that people who achieve or whose parents achieve the same educational level will have equal resources	Provide equal access to quality education for students having equal past achievements	Make sure that educational resources are allocated on a competitive basis according to how effectively students have used the resources in the past (*The competition definition*, Warner, Havighurst & Loeb, 1944	Ensure equal achievement for those who have achieved the same performance in the past	Ensure that individuals with similar academic achievement will obtain similar job statuses, incomes, and political power

Fuente: Adaptación del autor sobre la base de Espinoza (2002; 2007; 2012).

However, matching 'equity for equal potential' with performance tends to arouse fears of 'elitism' and false 'meritocracy' in which some ethnic and socio-economic groups may be disproportionately represented. These concerns motivate the attack on all forms of assessments of aptitude and performance, since group differences, if not caused by externally imposed inequalities, would be revealed more clearly when education and opportunity are equalized (Jensen, 1975; Wood, 1984). If educational institutions are allowed to impose standardized tests, then competitive academic testing and normative approaches will perpetuate inequality. In this regard, it has been emphasized that high expectations and stringent standards have been used to predetermine educational and social destinies before the contestants have even entered the race (Nicholson, 1984; Shapiro, 1984). Similarly, if 'equity for equal potential' is coupled with outcome, then individuals with equal potential should obtain equivalent jobs, income and or political power.

As with other definitions, *the full opportunity definition* has two major problems. First, there is the problem of ascertaining what a student's potential is, which represents an unsolvable problem. Indeed, "ability" tests do not measure ability except insofar as they measure achievement, which is not the same as the ability to achieve. The second major problem is to decide how much to spend to develop a person's potential. In practical terms, *the full opportunity definition* involves significant government commitment and financial resources, which most of times are scarce.

Last, but not least, is the dimension labeled 'equity for equal achievement'. If this dimension is coupled with resources, then individuals who have the same achievement level would have equal amount of financial, social and or cultural resources. And if 'equity for equal achievement' is tied with access to quality education, then students with equal past achievements should have equal access to quality education. But if 'equity for equal achievement' is matched with survival (educational attainment), then *the competition definition* (Warner, Havighurst & Loeb, 1944) suggests that educational resources should be apportioned on a competitive basis according to how effectively students have used the resources in the past. Equally, if 'equity for equal achievement' is tied with performance, then the goal is to make sure that individuals with the same past achievements are able to obtain equal performance in the present. Finally, if 'equity for equal achievement' is coupled with outcomes, then the goal is to guarantee that students with similar academic achievements in the educational system will enjoy equal incomes and jobs of similar status.

CONCLUSION

It has been argued that there is a profuse discussion around the "equity" concept, its senses, goals and applicability. In fact, "equity" is frequently used as synonymous of "equality". In order to achieve a better understanding of this concept and its applicability at the future research and the policy design level a new multidimensional model goal oriented model associated with resources and stages of the stage educa-

tional process is discussed. Therefore, it will be feasible to clarify and guide future discussions related to "equity" in the public policy arena.

Most of the definitions of "equity" identified in the literature are frequently used by many researchers, evaluators, policymakers, policy analysts, scholars and educators as if they were interchangeable. As a result, it is very common to see in the literature ambiguity and confusion among those social scientists when using this concept. The multidimensional equity model developed in this paper suggests several new directions for analysis and research. It has provided some ideas about how "equity" (i.e., 'equity for equal needs', 'equity for equal potential' and 'equity for equal achievement') could be treated and measured in future research in relation to different kind of resources (social, financial and cultural) and features of the educational process (access, survival, performance and outcome).

REFERENCES

Adams, J. (1965). 'Inequity in social exchange', *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 2*, 267-299.

Arriagada, R., P. (1993). *Universidad para los más Capaces sin Discriminación Social.* Santiago, Chile. Documento Mimeografiado.

Bentham, J. (1948). *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation.* New York: Hafner.

Blanchard, W. (1986). 'Evaluating social equity: What does fairness mean and can we measure it?', *Policy Studies Journal,* 15 (1), 29-54.

Blomqvist, A. and jimenez, E. (1989). *The Public Role in Private Post-Secondary Education. A Review of Issues and Options.* Working Paper Series # 240. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in Capitalist America.* Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bronfenbrenner, M. (1973). 'Equality and equity', *Annals,* 409 (September 1973), 5-25.

Carlson, K. (1983). 'How equal is equal?', *Journal of Educational Equity and Leadership, 3 (3)*, 243-257.

Carnoy, M. (1976a). 'The role of education in a strategy for social change.' In M. Carnoy & H. Levin (Eds.) The limits of educational reform (New York, Longman), 269–290.

Carnoy, M. (1976b). 'International educational reform: The ideology of efficiency.' In Carnoy, M. and Levin, H. (Eds.) *The Limits of Educational Reform.* New York: Longman, pp.245-268.

Carnoy, M. (1995). 'Structural adjustment and the changing face of education', International Labour Review, *134 (6),* 653-673.

Cook, K. S. and parcel, T. L. (1977). 'Equity theory: Directions for future research', *Sociological Inquiry, 47*, 75-88.

Corson, D. (2001). 'Ontario students as a means to a government´s ends', *Our Schools/Our Selves*, 10 (4), 55-77.

Crossland, F. (1976). 'The equilibrist's query: Equality, equity or equilibrium? Thoughts on policies of access to higher education', Prospects, VI (4), 526-539.

Deutsch, M. (1975). 'Equity, equality, and need: What determines which value will be used as the basis of distributive justice?', *Journal of Social Issues*, 31 (3), 137-149.

Espinoza, O. (2002). The Global and National Rhetoric of Educational Reform and the Practice of (In) equity in the Chilean Higher Education System (1981-1998), Ed. D. dissertation, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh.

Espinoza, O. (2007). Solving the Equity/Equality Conceptual Dilemma: A New Model for Analysis of the Educational Process. En *Educational Research, 49, Nº4 (December 2007),* pp.343-363. London,

England.

Espinoza, O. & L.E. Gonzalez (2012). Políticas de Educación Superior en Chile desde la Perspectiva de la Equidad. En *Revista Economía y Sociedad 22 (Enero-Junio),* pp.69-94. Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Económicas, Universidad del Valle. En http://dintev.univalle.edu.co/revistasunivalle/index.php/SyE/article/viewFile/1563/1503

Gans, H. J. (1973). *More Equality.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Gardner, H. (1983). *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences.* New York: Basic Books.

Gordon, E. W. (1972). 'Toward defining equality of educational opportunity.' In: Mosteller, F. and moynihan, D. (Eds.) On Equality of Educational Opportunity. New York: Random House, pp.423-434)

Greenberg, J. and cohen, R. (Eds.). (1982). *Equity and Justice in Social Behavior.* New York: Academic Press

Harvey, G. and klein, S. (1985). 'Understanding and measuring equity in education: A conceptual model', *Journal of Educational Equity and Leadership,* **5 (2)**, 145-168.

Herrnstein, R. and murray, C. (1994). *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life.* New York: Free Press.

House, E. R. (1980). 'The role of theories of justice in evaluation – Justice on Strike', *Educational Theory,* **30 (1)***,* 67-72.

Jensen, A. (1975). 'The price of inequality', *Oxford Review of Education,* **1 (1),** 59-71.

Jimenez, E. (1986). 'The public subsidization of education and health in developing countries: A review of equity and efficiency', *The World Bank Research Observer,* **1**, 111-129.

Johnstone, B. and Shroff-Mehta, P. (2000). *Higher Education Finance and Accessibility: An International Comparative Examination of Tuition and Financial Assistance Policies.* The International Comparative Higher Education Finance and Accessibility Project. Buffalo, N.Y.: The Center for Comparative and Global Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Jones-Wilson, F. C. (1986). 'Equity in education: Low priority in the school reform Movement', *The Urban Review,* **18 (1)**, 31-39.

Konvitz, M. R. (1973). 'Equity in law and ethics.' In Wiener, P. (Ed.) *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, Vol.2, pp.148-154.

Larkin, J. and Staton, P. (2001). 'Access, inclusion, climate, empowerment (AICE): A framework for gender equity in market-driven education', *Canadian Journal of Education*, **26 (3)**, 361-378.

Lerner, M. (1974). 'The justice motive: "Equity" and "parity" among children', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* **29 (4)**, 539-550.

Leventhal, G. (1980). 'What should be done with equity theory? New approaches to the study of fairness in social relationships.' In Gergen, K., Greenberg, M. and Willis, R. (Eds.) Social Exchange Advances in Theory and Research. New York: Plenum Press, pp.27-55.

Lorenzeli, M. (2005). "Bienes o Capacidades: la polémica entre Rawls y Sen", *Revista Latinoamericana de Desarrollo Humano (PNUD)*, Septiembre.

Maslow, A. (1943). "A Theory of Human Motivation*", Psychological Review 50* : 370-96.

Maslow, A. (1991). *Motivación y Personalidad.* Madrid: Ediciones Díaz de Santos.

Maslow, A. (1994). *La personalidad creadora. Barcelona: Editorial Kairós.*

McClelland, D. (1961). *Achievement society.* New York: Van Nos Company.

Messick, D. and Cook, K. (Eds.) (1983). *Equity Theory, Psychological and Sociological perspectives.* New York: Praeger.

Nicholson, L. J. (1984). *Affirmative Action, Education, and Social Class.* Normal, IL: Philosophy of Education Society.

Pattnayak, S. (1996). 'Economic globalization and the urban process: Political implications for the state in Latin America.' In Pattnayak, S. (Ed.) *Globalization, Urbanization, and the State: Selected Studies on Contemporary Latin America.* Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, pp. 203-222.

Petras, J. (1999). 'Globalization: A Critical Analysis.' In Chilcote, R. M. (Ed.) *The Political Economy of*

Imperialism: Critical Appraisals. Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp.181-213.

Psacharopoulos, G. and Woodhall, M. (1985). *Education for Development: An Analysis of Investment Choices*. New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank.

Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rodriguez, C. (2004). *Macroergonomía: Motivación al Logro y Satisfacción Laboral*. Ponencia presentada en el VI Congreso Internacional de Ergonomía. Guanajuato, Guanajuato, México 26 al 29 de mayo.

Salmi, J. (1991). *Perspectives on the Financing of Higher Education*. Document #

Phree/91/45. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Salomone, J. (1981). *Equity from the Sociologist's Perspective*. Research and Development Series # 214L. Ohio State University, National Center for Research in Vocational Education: Columbus. Recuperado en Febrero 10, 2001, desde ERIC Database ED215168.

Samoff, J. (1996). 'Which priorities and strategies for education?', *International Journal of Educational Development,* **16 (3)**, 249-271.

Secada, W. (1989). 'Educational equity versus equality of education: An alternative conception.' In Secada, W. (Ed.) *Equity and Education*. New York: Falmer, 68-88.

Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality reexamined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sen, A. (1997). "Justicia: medios contra libertades". En A. SEN (Ed) *Bienestar, justicia y mercado*. Barcelona: Paidos – ICE – UAB, 109-121.

Shapiro, J. Z. (1984). 'Social justice and educational evaluation: Normative implications of alternative criteria for program assessment', *Educational Theory,* **34 (2)**, 137-149.

Sternberg, R. J. (1988). *The Triarchic Mind: A New Theory of Human Intelligence*. New York: Penguin.

Sternberg, R. J. (1985). 'General intellectual ability.' In Sternberg, R. J. (Ed.) *Human Abilities: An Information Processing Approach*. New York: W. H. Freeman & Company, pp.5-30.

Strike, K. A. (1979). 'The role of theories of justice in evaluation: Why a house is not a home', *Educational Theory,* **29 (1)***,* 1-9.

Strike, K. A. (1985). 'Is there a conflict between equity and excellence?', *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis,* **7 (4)**, 409-416.

Tornblom, K. (1992). 'The social psychology of distributive justice.' In Scherer, K. (Ed.) *Justice: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, pp.177-236.

Tumin, M. (1965). '*The meaning of equality in education*'. Paper presented at the Third Annual Conference of the National Committee for support of Public Schools. Washington, D.C. Cited in Carlson, K. (1983), How equal is equal? *Journal of Educational Equity and Leadership,* **3 (3)**, 243-257.

Warner, J. (1985). 'Equity and social policy: Conceptual ambiguity in welfare criteria', *The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy,* **5 (2)**, 16-32.

Warner, W., Havighurst, R. and Loeb, M. (1944). 'Who shall be educated?.' In Warner, W., Havighurst, R. and Loeb, M., *Who Shall Be Educated? The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities*. New York: Harper, pp.141-172.

Weale, A. (1978). *Equality and Social Policy*. London, England: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Wijck, P. (1993). 'On Equity and Utility', *Rationality and Society,* **5 (1)**, 68-84.

Wood, G. (1984). 'Schooling in a democracy: Transformation or reproduction?', *Educational Theory,* **34 (3)**, 219-239.

World Bank (1994). *Higher Education: Lessons from Experience*. Washington, D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

World Bank (2000). *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Perils and Promise*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Oscar Espinoza
Universidad UCINF, Chile

JORGE M. GOROSTIAGA, ANA M. CAMBOURS DE DONINI
& MONICA E. PINI

Chapter 11

GOVERNANCE AND CONVERGENCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Implications for the government of universities in Latin America[1]

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we focus on two inter-connected issues that have been central in recent debates on the role of higher education (HE), in the light of social, political and economic transformations: governance and convergence. Moreover, these issues are at the heart of a perceived "crisis" of the university (Burawoy, 2011; Torres, 2009). The objective of the paper is to present some aspects of the theoretical discussion around the two concepts in relation to the government of universities in Latin America, taking also into account some insights from European and global experiences

Universities in Latin America have traditionally enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, one of the legacies of the 1918 reform movement that originated in Cordoba, Argentina. Another historical feature has been the joint government of public universities by representatives of professors, students and staff. Since the mid-1980s the government of HE in Latin America is characterized by an "evaluative turn" and the implementation of market mechanisms for resource allocation (Krotsch,

---

2001), framed by globalization and state restructuring processes[2]. Notwithstanding different traditions as well as distinct political and economic contexts, the HE systems of Europe have gone through similar experiences (Neave, 2001).

The HE reform agenda of the 1990s, which promoted institutional differentiation and the searching of funding sources other than the State, development of evaluation and accreditation systems for measuring quality, and a new emphasis on equity (Krotsch, 2001; Villanueva, 2008), was greatly influenced by the World Bank and UNESCO. During the first years of the new century, a "post-neoliberal" counter-reform has been taking place in some of the countries of Latin America, with a return of the State as regulator and administrator, and the implementation of new welfare public policies. However, many elements of the 1990s reforms remain in place or have been further developed during the last years, including changes in the government of HE systems and institutions, framed by marketization[3], internationalization and convergence processes.[4]

CONVERGENCE

According to Schugurensky (1998), the convergence of HE systems means that they are governed by similar pressures, procedures, and organizational patterns. The HE reform processes that have been developing in Latin America since the 1990s have resulted in a convergence of policies, which is the outcome –to an important extent-- of the common agenda that international organizations (World Bank, IDB,

---

2 In relation to these processes, Ball (2007), taking Jessop´s contributions, examines the evolution of the economic and political aspects of the Keynesian National Welfare State and its replacement by what he calls the Schumpeterian Workfare State or competition state, in order to achieve domestic economic growth and international competitive advantages. In a more recent work, Ball (2012) shows examples taken from Latin America, the USA, India, Africa, South East Asia, and England to explore the dissemination of private and social enterprise solutions to the "problems" of public education. According to this author, "neo-liberal states are market makers, facilitators of global education business and eager recipients of private participation as they seek to solve problems to the funding and provision of education for their populations" (p. 135). Governments, institutions, international agencies and business firms struggle over the control of crosscutting "connections" that go far beyond a simple local-global dualism.

3 Anderson & Pini (2005) define marketization as a tendency to view individual choice in a marketplace as a more efficient and effective way to allocate resources and values in society, as well as a more effective form of accountability for public institutions.

4 Robertson (2012: 190), for example, explores the strange "non-death of neoliberalism" in the World Bank's education sector policy priorities and its implications for education as a societal good and human right, through two education sector strategy reports, *Education Sector Strategy 1999* and *World Bank Education Strategy 2020*. Neoliberalism appears as the Bank´s political project, despite its manifest failings in the education development sector. According to Robertson, neoliberal education projects have been advanced in national territorial and regional spaces which in turn reinforce the momentum and direction of the World Bank's privatizing of education policy. This is certainly one of the main reasons of the Bank's persistence with neoliberalism as a paradigm.

UNESCO) promote, but also the result of policies of harmonization developed by regional bodies like the educational chapter of the *Mercado Común del Sur* (MERCOSUR) or the *Consejo Superior Universitario Centroamericano* (CSUCA)[5]. Moreover, the global trends of convergence have stimulated debates about the possibility of creating a Latin American space of higher education that may parallel and integrate with the European Space of Higher Education (Fernández Lamarra, 2010)

The concept of convergence is related to one of the current main trends in HE: internationalization, a multidimensional process that obeys to conflicting interests and co-existing paradigms that favor either competition or solidarity in different contexts (Cambours de Donini, 2011; Dias Sobrinho, 2008; Zarur Miranda, 2008). On the one hand, there are important instances of internationalization that are mainly guided by the "interests of the great actors in economic globalization" (Dias Sobrinho, 2008, p. 105), favoring marketization of education, like transnational university programs of study that take advantage of new communication technologies. On the other hand, cooperative efforts among universities from different countries (in the form of student and faculty exchange, the creation of academic networks, etc.) have gained a prominent place in institutional policies in Latin America and elsewhere[6]. In this vein, Dias Sobrinho (2008) stresses the need for both avoiding the copy of external models, and limiting transnational initiatives that have a main commercial purpose. If education is to be considered as a public good, the internationalization of HE should aim at improving the production and dissemination of socially and scientifically relevant knowledge in each country as well as regionally, respecting cultural diversity[7].

One of the basic aspects of internationalization has to do with the comparability and compatibility of education systems, a dimension that is central to the Bologna process. This inter-governmental agreement advanced since 1998 the creation of what was intended to be a coherent, compatible and attractive European Space of Higher Education for the year 2010, in a way that was not supposed to imply total uniformity but an increasing similarity in structural aspects across national systems. The Bologna Declaration and process and its effects in HE is another indication of the re-scaling of education policies and of the relative decline of the importance of the nation state as the dominant actor in decision making (Ball, 2007).

A key objective of the Bologna process is to contribute to the convergence of national systems of university diplomas and study programs across Europe. The underlying reasons for such policy of structural convergence have to do with: in-

---

5   The Tuning Project, for example, defines harmonization as the compatibility of qualifications and degrees conferred by higher education institutions in different countries, including mechanisms that facilitate credit transfer and validation of studies.

6   RIAIPE 3, the project that frames this book, is an example of this kind of cooperation.

7   Dias Sobrinho (2008) suggests that UNESCO would be in an ideal position to coordinate cooperative efforts at the international level based on democratic and humanistic values.

creasing competitivity with the United States and attracting more foreign students, promoting student mobility within Europe, improving the efficiency of HE systems (modifying the curricula and shortening the length of programs), and facilitating the employability at the European level through competencies that respond to the requirements of the labor market (Haug, 2009; Teichler, 2006). A central aspect in the debate over the structural convergence of HE systems in Europe – and also in other parts of the world influenced by the "echoes of Bologna" – is the particular ideological implications of competencies-based teaching, as it implies a model of teaching and learning oriented by market demands, and that fails to develop creative and critical thinking (Gimeno Sacristán et al., 2009; Bolívar, 2007; Beltrán Llavador, 2011).

In many aspects, the US model of university appears as the convergence point for both European and Latin American HE systems (Schugurensky, 1998). Two salient features of this model are the government by faculty and an elastic balance between autonomy and accountability. Bernasconi (2008) argues that Latin American macro-universities more clearly reflect the tensions between the traditional model in the region – featuring participatory government, gratuity, and institutional political commitment – and the US model of university, and that a general trend in the region is that faculty is gaining power at the expense of students and administrative staff. In a related vein, Mollis (2003) emphasizes the movement away from the reformist Latin American tradition toward a North-American corporate university that serves the interests of academic capitalism[8].

Taking into account the European experience, the convergence and coordination of HE in Latin America, and the construction of a regional Space of Higher Education are seen as big challenges. Some of the obstacles that seem difficult to overcome are the high institutional (organizational and academic) diversification, the growing privatization in some countries, the asymmetries in terms of quality, and the fragmentation of national systems, which account for the heterogeneity of HE in Latin America (Brunner, 2007). Besides, considering the history and the tradition of autonomy of Latin American public universities, it is argued that the convergence should be the result of a process of agreements and consensus building among all the different institutional actors and with the prevalence of universities, rather than an inter-ministerial agreement as it is the case in Europe (Fernández Lamarra, 2010). According to Brunner (2008), the "echoes of Bologna" have promoted the discussion of several aspects of HE in the region, including the duration of studies, the architecture of academic degrees, the standards for quality assurance, the formation of structures for regional cooperation and the international competitiveness of Latin American HE institutions. This discussion, we hold, should also take into account the pervasive dissemination of neoliberal discourses in public education,

---

8 Based on the work of Slaughter and Leslie (1997), Ibarra Colado (2002) explains that in academic capitalism universities seek to increase economic revenues through the use of the only real asset they possess: the human capital of professors.

and try to give more democratic meaning to the discourse and practices of Latin American HE networks.

GOVERNANCE

Governance can be seen as a new form of regulation in the context of neoliberal globalization. This new form of regulation promotes, on the one hand, a government based on the expertise of technicians and scientists instead of social movements and organized civil society; on the other hand, it implies the loss of State sovereignty in favor of coordination mechanisms between State and civil society (Santos, 2006; Teodoro, 2010). In the same vein, Alcántara (2009) characterizes governance as a new form of government linked to globalization and to new ways of interaction between State, civil society and corporations, as well as between different levels of State government. For some authors (Alcántara, 2009; Santos, 2006), it is possible to establish a contrast between two conceptions: 1) governance as a neoliberal regulatory matrix of *laissez-faire* capitalism, a view that ignores social justice, conflict and power relations; and 2) a counter-hegemonic view of governance that responds to issues of social redistribution and the acknowledgment of differences.

Prevailing new[9] forms of governance might be considered as part of a group of trends –which includes new forms of state relations, new institutions and actors, new policy narratives, etc. – that promote national competitiveness in the changing capitalist global scenario (Ball, 2007). During the last decades, the government of HE has been reformulated according to the different roles that State, academic oligarchy and market/civil society have adopted. A new form of government –the Evaluative State that steers at a distance – has been developing based on the introduction of market mechanisms, decentralization, contractualization, accountability, and professionalization of university government (Neave, 2001). Rama (2006) holds that in Latin America it is also possible to talk about an "Evaluative State", which works through mechanisms for quality assurance that have developed along with the formation of a system with three sectors (public, private and international private), the intensification of institutional diversification, and the orientation of the demand. State regulation of education increasingly tends to combine traditional bureaucratic practices with new forms of control that focus on results rather than processes and regulates the demand rather than the supply (Oliveira & Feldfeber, 2011).

Ball (2012) calls these new forms of participation on the provision, monitoring and evaluation of public sector services, a new "architecture of regulation", where other established policy actors are marginalized and "the new participants in the policy process colonise the spaces opened up by the critique of existing state organizations." (112). Both at governmental and economic levels, they activate moral technologies, specific techniques like annual reviews, appraisals, tests and multi-

---

9   It should be noted the relative novelty of these phenomena as they have been developing since, at least, the beginning of the 1990 decade.

ple mechanisms focusing on teachers as "practical subjects", and "the insertion of generic commercial relations based on contracts, best value, partnerships, performance monitoring", etc. that converge and gradually produce a general method, as Foucault explained in 1979 (quoted by Ball, 2012, p. 113).

In the field of HE, academic and state regulations have tended to be replaced or weakened by market, transnational and other new types of regulation (Rama, 2009). This new model of regulation presents serious challenges to universities, particularly to public ones, around the world, for performing research and knowledge dissemination in a critical way (Burawoy, 2011; Torres, 2009). Following such trends, convergence initiatives like the Bologna process promote funding and evaluation mechanisms that limit both institutional autonomy and academic freedom (Montané et al., 2010). In the same vein, the creation of new regulatory organisms (both for system administration and for evaluation and accreditation of institutions and programs) and the implementation of new funding mechanisms (incentives and conditioned transfers) have implied strengthening the power of the State, at the expense of university autonomy in Latin America (Villanueva, 2008).

These new types of regulation plus the adoption of management tools from the corporate world (New Public Management - NPM), have prompted the employment of concepts like "governance" in the discussion about the government and administration of HE. In Europe, both governance and NPM have become central aspects of the agenda for modernizing universities and making them responsive to social and economic needs (Kehm, 2011).

According to the World Bank (2000), governance refers to "formal and informal arrangements that allow HE institutions to make decisions and take action" (p. 59), and it is closely linked to educational quality. Good governance rests on some major principles: academic freedom; shared governance (with a prominent role for faculty and administrators); clear rights and responsibilities; meritocratic selection (for faculty, administrators and students); financial stability; accountability; and regular testing of standards (World Bank, 2000).

In the Latin American context, it is argued that governance is used to account for a new style of government that is characterized by cooperation and interaction between the State and other actors within networks of mixed decision-making, between private and public sectors (Meléndez Guerrero, Solís Pérez & Gómez Romero, 2010). In a similar vein, Brunner (2011) argues that successful governance entails the capacity for adapting and surviving in a situation of competition. His analysis points to the obstacles that both public and private Latin American universities currently face for transforming their government and management structures, within a new regulatory frame characterized by the enactment of market mechanisms for public resource allocation.

From a critical perspective, Magalhães (2010) addresses the relationships between HE government and governance in Europe for both national systems and institutions. He holds that, during the last decades, governance (concerned with the implementation, management and evaluation of objectives and goals) has tended to

become a form of government. This situation is reflected in the adoption of NPM techniques, an emphasis on institutional autonomy, and the reform of government and administration structures. In this regard, the collegial direction of universities tends to be replaced or subordinated to: 1) new government structures where internal actors are considered stakeholders, and where external actors assume a crucial role so that the university responds to the demands of the environment; and 2) management structures concerned with improving efficiency. At the same time, there is a strengthening of the extension and intensity of state regulation through contractual relationships with institutions, and the control over results.

In a work that is mainly based on the Spanish experience, Ferrer Llop (2009) sees these developments as part of a "covert privatization" of universities that establishes the demands of the labor market as the main guiding criterion for teaching and curriculum. Both international rankings and accreditation and quality agencies steer HE systems toward homogeneous models that are not able to respond to particular contexts. The resulting trend is towards a neoliberal model of university that adopts government and administration forms from private companies regarding decision-making processes and accountability mechanisms, replacing democratic procedures by technocratic ones. While there seems to be a general consensus on the need of the professionalization of management, Ferrer Llop (2009) argues, this should not imply undermining democratic mechanisms (e.g., decision-making on strategic issues by elected collegial bodies) in the government of institutions.

Similar concerns have been raised in the Latin American context. In the cases of Argentina (Juarrós & Naidorf, 2007), Brazil (Sguissardi, 2006) and Mexico (Aboites, 2003), for example, corporate practices and marketization schemes have been introduced, to different extent, in HE public policies during the last two decades. Aboites (2003) shows, for the Mexican HE system, how these processes have been reinforced by the incorporation of business representatives in the government bodies of the system and of institutions, marginalizing traditional university councils; the reorganization of the HE system along these line has been characterized by the standardization of educational programs and the loss of institutional autonomy[10].

CONCLUSION

The concept of governance may provide an analytical tool for understanding changes in the structures and practices of government and management, but it is important to note its normative character. In some cases, it seems to be used to justify changes that correspond with a view in which HE systems and universities do not have other options than responding to market demands and adapting to state incentives for technocratic objectives. Part of the social struggle for the appropriation of

---

10 Aboites (2003) is discussing the "new agreement" about higher education that was established during the 1990s, which resulted in the establishment of the *Coordinación Nacional para la Planeación de la Educación Superior* (CONPES).

meanings is directed to strengthen or weaken the notion of "public." The reduction of the public -in this case public education- by particular power groups serves to erode democracy, which keeps its formal institutions while its real nature becomes increasingly elitist. A different interpretation of the present situation is necessary in order to consider other options for the future. Alternative perspectives may offer a competing discourse: for example, that market solutions for social problems are a social construction and a product of the historic distribution of economic and political forces.

From the perspective of a project like RIAIPE 3, which advocates for democracy and social justice, it might be useful to reconsider priorities and definitions in the light of alternative paradigms, entailing, for example, a harmonization of HE systems that favors mobility and academic exchanges, without rigid schemes of homogeneity. Some of the possible future scenarios of HE (López Segrera, 2006; Magalhães, 2011) show that there exist "contra-hegemonic" and alternative university models, linked to the diversity of geographic regions and cultural traditions. Such alternatives may promote a "social model" of university that achieves a balance between autonomy (in both academic and financial terms) and social commitment (Ferrer Llop, 2009), or a university that is part of the public sphere, with autonomy both from the market and the State (Torres, 2009). What model of university we choose to prioritize is crucial for a definition of regulation frames, the organization, and the government/governance of HE systems. The traditions of social critique, political awareness, and an extension function oriented toward the socially disadvantaged groups are central elements of the Latin American university that may prove to be valued features for the new global scenario (Bernasconi, 2008), particularly in terms of the struggle for more equal and just HE systems.

REFERENCES

Aboites, H. (2003). Actores y políticas en la educación superior mexicana: las contradicciones del pacto de modernización empresarial. En M. Mollis (comp.), *Las universidades en América Latina: ¿Reformadas o alteradas?* Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Alcántara Santuario, Armando (2009). *"Gobernanza, gobierno y gobernabilidad en la educación superior".* En Bertha Lerner, Roberto Moreno y Ricardo Uvalle (coords.) *Gobernabilidad y Gestión Pública en el México del Siglo XXI.* México: IIS-FCPS-UNAM.

Anderson, G.L. & Pini. M.E. (2005). "Educational leadership and the new economy: keeping the ´public´ in public schools". In Fenwick W. English (Ed.) *The handbook of Educational Leadership.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Pub. Pp. 216-236

Ball, Stephen (2007). Education plc. Understanding private sector participation in public sector education. New York: Routledge.

Ball, Stephen (2012). Global education Inc. New policy networks and the neo-liberal imaginary. London and New York: Routledge.

Beltrán Llavador, José (2011) "Para qué educar. Una lectura del marco europeo de las cualificaciones" (pp 31-49). En Montané, A. y Beltrán, J. (coords.), *Miradas en movimiento. Textos y contextos de política educativa.* Valencia: Germania.

Bernasconi, A. (2008). "Is there a Latin American model of the university?" *Comparative Education Review,* vol. 52, no. 1, 27-52.

Bolívar, Antonio (2007) "La planificación por competencias en la reforma de Bolonia de la Educación Superior: un análisis crítico" *ETD – Educação Temática Digital*, Campinas, v.9, n. esp., p. 68-94.

Burawoy, M. (2011). "*Redefining* the public university: Global and national contexts". In Holmwood, J. (ed.), *A Manifesto for the Public University*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Brunner, José Joaquín (2011). "Gobernanza universitaria: tipología, dinámicas y tendencias". *Revista de Educación*, 355, pp. 137-159.

Brunner, José Joaquín (2008). "El proceso de Bolonia en el horizonte latinoamericano: límites y posibilidades". *Revista de Educación*, número extraordinario, pp. 119-145

Brunner, J. J. (coord.) (2007). Educación Superior en Ibero América. Informe 2007. Santiago de Chile: CINDA, http://mt.educarchile.cl/MT/jjbrunner/archives/libros/CINDA_InfIBA/Impreso.pdf

Cambours de Donini, Ana (2011) "Internacionalización e integración de los sistemas de Educación Superior en el Mercosur Educativo", Revista de la Asociación de Sociología de la Educación (RASE) Vol.4, Nº1, enero/11, (p. 59-72).

Dias Sobrinho, J. (2008). "Quality, pertinence, and the social responsibility of the Latin American and Caribbean university". En Ana Lúcia Gazzola y Axel Didriksson (eds.), *Tendencias de la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe*. Caracas: IESALC-UNESCO.

Fernández Lamarra, N. (2010). Hacia la creación de un espacio común latinoamericano de Educación Superior. Su convergência con el europeo. En Teodoro, A. (Org), *A Educaçao Superior no Espaço Iberoamericano. Do Elitismo à Transnacionalizaçao*. Lisboa: Ediçoes Universitárias Lusófonas.

Ferrer Llop, Josep (2009). "Universidad: servicio público frente a mercantilización". *Revista Fuentes*, 9, p. 27-41.

García Guadilla, C. (2005). "Complejidades de la globalización e internacionalización de la educación superior. Interrogantes para América Latina". *Cuadernos del CENDES,* Vol.22.

Gimeno Sacristán, J. et al. (2009). *Educar por competencias ¿qué hay de nuevo?* Madrid: Morata.

Ibarra Colado, E. (2002). "Capitalismo académico y globalización: La universidad reinventada (Algunas notas y reacciones a *Academic Capitalism* de Slaughter y Leslie)", *Revista de la Educación Superior*, vol. 31, n. 122.

Juarrós, F. & Naidorf, J. (2007). **"*Modelos universitarios en pugna*: democratización o mercantilización de la universidad y del conocimiento público en Argentina"**. Avaliação: Revista da Avaliação da Educação Superior, vol. 12, núm. 3, pp. 483-504.

Kehm, B. (2011). *La gobernanza en la enseñanza superior. Sus significados y su relevancia en una época de cambios*. Barcelona: Ediciones Octaedro.

Krotsch, P. (2001). Educación superior y reformas comparadas. Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes.

López Segrera, F. (2006). *Escenarios Mundiales de la Educación Superior. Análisis Global y Estudios de Casos*. Buenos Aires: FLACSO.

Neave, G. (2001). *Educación superior: historia y política*. Barcelona: Gedisa.

Magalhães, António (2011). "Cenários, dilemas e caminhos da educação superior europeia". Perspectiva, Florianópolis, v. 29, n. 2, 623-647.

Magalhães, António (2010). "Os modelos emergentes de regulação política e a governação do ensino superior na Europa". En A. Teodoro (org.), *A educação superior no espaço iberoamericano. Do elitismo à transnacionalização*. Lisboa: Edições Universitárias Lusófonas.

Meléndez Guerrero, Miguel Ángel; Solís Pérez, Pedro C.; Gómez Romero, José G. Ignacio (2010). "Gobernanza y gestión de la universidad pública", *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* v.16 n.2.

Mollis, M. (2003). "Un breve diagnóstico de las universidades argentinas: identidades alteradas". En M. Mollis (comp.), *Las universidades en América Latina: ¿Reformadas o alteradas?* Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Montané Alejandra, José Beltrán, Pablo Camús y María del Carmen Olivé (2010). "Del elitismo a la internacionalización: Desafíos, recorridos y câmbios en las políticas de educación superior en España". En Teodoro, A. (Org), *A Educaçao Superior no Espaço Iberoamericano. Do Elitismo à Transnacionalizaçao*. Lisboa: Ediçoes Universitárias Lusófonas.

Oliveira, D.A. & Feldfeber, M. (2011). "Novas e velhas formas de regulação dos sistemas educativos no Brasil e na Argentina". En Oliveira, D.A., Pini, M. & Feldfeber, M. (orgs.), *Políticas educacionais e trabalho docente: perspectiva comparada*. Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço Editora.

Rama, C. (2009). "Las nuevas oleadas reguladoras de la educación superior en América Latina". Ponencia presentada en el Foro Rectoral. Asociación Colombiana de Universidades (ASCUN), Universidad CES, Medellín, Colombia, 11-12 de mayo del 2009. Online: http://www.slideshare.net/claudiorama/las-nuevas-oleadas-reguladoras-de-la-educacin-superior-en-amrica-latina.

Rama, C. (2006). "La tercera reforma de la educación superior en América Latina y el Caribe: Masificación, regulaciones e internacionalización". En IESALC, *Informe sobre la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe, 2000–2005*. Caracas: Instituto Internacional de la UNESCO para la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe.

Robertson, Susan (2012). "The strange non-death of neoliberal privatization in the World Bank's Education Etrategy 2020". In Steven J. Klees, Joel Samoff and Nelly P. Stromquist (editors), *The World Bank and Education. Critiques and alternatives*. Rotterdam-Boston-Taipei: Sense Publishers.

Santos, B. de Sousa (2006). *A Gramática do Tempo. Para uma Nova Cultura Política*. São Paulo: Cortez Editora.

Santos, B. de Sousa (2005). *La Universidad del siglo XXI. Para una reforma democrática y emancipadora de la universidad,* Buenos Aires: LPP-Miño y Dávila.

Schugurensky, D. (1998). "La reestructuración de la educación superior en la era de la globalización: ¿Hacia un modelo heterónomo?". En A. Alcantara, R. Pozas y C. Torres (coords.), *Educación, democracia y desarrollo en el fin de siglo*. Mexico: Siglo XXI.

Slaughter, S.; Leslie, L.L. (1997). *Academic capitalism*: politics, policies and the entrepreneurial university. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Teichler, U. (2006). *Reformas de los modelos de la Educación Superior en Europa, Japón y América Latina: análisis comparados*. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila.

Teodoro, A. (2010). *Educação, Globalização e Neoliberalismo. Os novos modos de regulação transnacional das políticas de educação*. Lisboa: Ediçoes Universitárias Lusófonas.

Torres, C. A. (2009). "La educación superior en tiempos de globalización neoliberal". En Fernández Lamarra, N. (comp.), *Universidad, Sociedad e Innovación. Una perspectiva internacional*. Caseros: EDUNTREF.

Villanueva, E. (2008). "Reformas de la educación superior: 25 propuestas para la educación superior en América Latina y el Caribe". En Ana Lúcia Gazzola y Axel Didriksson (eds.), *Tendencias de la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe*. Caracas: IESALC-UNESCO.

World Bank (2000). *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Zarur Miranda, X. (2008). "Integración regional e internacionalización de la Educación Superior en América latina y el Caribe", en: Gazzola, Lucia y Didriksson, Axel (eds.), *Tendencias de la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe*. Caracas: IESALC-UNESCO.

Jorge M. Gorostiaga, Ana M. Cambours de Donini & Monica E. Pini
Universidad Nacional de San Martin, Argentina

WIEL VEUGELERS, ISOLDE DE GROOT & FLEUR NOLLET

Chapter 12

HIGHER EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter we will focus on debates on citizenship, and the role education, in particular universities, can play in citizenship education. Universities, like other educational institutes, are implicit and explicit, contributing to the development of the citizenship identity of students.

Sociology of education makes a distinction in three functions of education: personal development, preparing for the labor market, and preparing for living in society. At the RIAIPE3 conference in Bolivia, several speakers made a strong argument for the societal contribution of university graduates. According to them, university graduates have an extra duty in helping building a democratic and sustainable society. These arguments are an expression of a desire for a more transformative, critical, and society-oriented focus for higher education.

Often higher education is considered an intellectual space for human cultivation, a space separated from society. In this vision, intellectual development is considered to be as the studying of the great traditions, the great books. This vision is presented as high culture and considered as value-free. In fact, Aloni (2003) showed it is a traditional view on culture, celebrating an elite culture and individuality, and neglecting the societal and political conditions of human life. Another, more modern view on higher education, sees education as instrumental in contributing to knowledge, and technical and economic advancement. This view sees technological and economic development as the motor of societal development, even more important than human development.

There are, however, other perspectives on higher education, perspectives that focus on equity, social cohesion and democracy. These perspectives stress the importance of social change and social justice, and the importance of empowering people. Such education creates a different kind of intellectual: one who is more critical and socially engaged. These critical and engaged perspectives are building on different traditions, in Latin America, as shown in the pedagogy of Paulo Freire; and worldwide, but in particular in the Western world with "critical pedagogy." "Critical pedagogy" is a movement that has been founded on the educational

and philosophical traditions of Freire, the Frankfurter Schule (Habermas), French philosophy (Foucault), Pragmatism (Dewey), and Cultural Activity Theory (Vygotsky). 'Critical pedagogy' includes a wide range of theoretical orientations and practices (Veugelers, 2001).

In this chapter we will use a critical pedagogical perspective to develop a vision for education, in particular on higher education, one that is transformative, with an emphasis on social justice and a critical-democratic orientation. An education that reflects on the kind of intellectual that higher education is producing. An intellectual who tries to use his education for the benefit of society, labor, and for his or her own personal development. This kind of intellectuality is embedded in both the person as citizen as the person as academic professional. Such an intellectual is educated not for his or her own career and benefit, but for societal well-being: for a contribution to a just society. In this chapter we will outline such a vision of higher education and articulate what it means for educational practice. We will focus on the societal contribution of intellectuals. Here, the general concept that will be used is citizenship.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CITIZENSHIP IN HIGHER EDUCATION

There is a fast-growing amount of research on citizenship education. Most studies, however, focus on secondary education, and international review studies are concentrating on students of secondary education, for example the ICCS study on citizenship. Our interest in the RIAIPE3 project is on citizenship in universities. We did a review on the literature on citizenship education in universities. Most of the studies we found were theoretical and present an outline for future work. See, for example, Englund (2002), Patino-Gonzalez (2009), Fernandez (2005), Brennan & Naidoo (2008), Watson (2008), Zgaga (2009). Most of these studies speak in general language about the societal role of universities and mention that universities should contribute to citizenship development. However they do not define what they mean by citizenship, or what this implies for educational practices, and the learning outcomes they desire. There is hardly any empirical research and even the more practice-oriented articles present more theories than proven practices. The most concrete study is the work of Anne Colby and colleagues at Stanford University. Their focus is on moral development, but they relate morality to civic development (Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont & Stephens, 2003).

Another study we did was to analyze the websites of universities in the Netherlands for activities that can be seen as part of citizenship education (Veugelers & Nollet, 2013). This analysis shows that Dutch universities don't have many activities that contribute in a formal sense to citizenship development. The focus is on preparing students for labor. And this preparation for labor is not explicitly linked with the role of intellectuals in society. There are some projects that focus on the societal role of the intellectuals, but these projects are limited to certain domains like sustainability studies and social-cultural projects. There is currently no citizenship policy in the curricula at Dutch universities. Of course many universities organize debates

on social topics and have studium generale programs, but these activities are voluntary and separated from the formal curriculum. In fact, only a small amount of students participate in these activities.

How Can we Learn from experiences with Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools?

Universities can benefit from the experiences and research that has been done on citizenship education in secondary education. We will discuss concepts, policies and practices. We refer to many studies we have done, both theoretical and empirical, and quantitative and qualitative. Most of the studies were in secondary education, and we will extrapolate their findings here so that it is relevant to the world of higher education.

THE CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP AND ITS PRACTICES

Broadening and deepening of the concept of citizenship

The concept of citizenship has recently been broadened and deepened, both in public debates and in academic work. By "broadened" we mean that citizenship is not only linked to the national state but also to a regional identity such as European citizenship, Latin American citizenship, or Global citizenship (Veugelers, 2011a). The concept of citizenship has crossed national borders and can refer to a more regional or global identity (Banks, 2004). In the national context, the concept of citizenship has to be embedded in such regional and global contexts such as societal and political power relationships.

Deepening the concept of citizenship means that the concept has been extended from the political level to the social and cultural level. Because of this deepening concept of citizenship, current ideas about citizenship encroach more and more upon the personal identity of people. In Dutch politics we see this expressed through the emphasis on desired manners, on national identity and on attention for worldviews. The government even specifies the manners, formal and informal, it desires. It does the same for the identity of the country, by referring to "cultural heritage" and "canon". With regard to worldviews the Dutch government is more reserved, but schools are required to acknowledge and foster respect for different worldviews.

Dewey (1923) spoke already about democracy "as way of life," and argued that human relationships in society are democratic practices. He made strong arguments for more democratic relationships in all aspects of human life. Today, citizenship on the cultural and social level attains much attention in public debate. However not in a "Deweyan" transformative sense, but rather the focus is often on strengthening the national culture, and on the social level it means mostly regulating social norms and social behavior.

More critical and transformative practices are possible in contemporary socie-

ties. The work of Freire (1973) and other critical pedagogues showed clearly that citizenship is embedded in daily discourses and habits, and that transformative practices to change social, cultural and political power relations need active involvement and the empowerment of all human beings in their daily social, cultural and educational life.

Different Types of Citizenship

In research projects, both quantitative and qualitative, we presented pedagogical goals to teachers, school leaders, students and parents (Veugelers, 2007; Leenders, Veugelers & De Kat, 2008a; 2008b, 2012). We asked them how important they find these pedagogical goals, how much attention is paid to them in practice and which learning effects they observe. In analyzing the data we find three clusters of goals: on discipline, on autonomy, and on social concern. We can link these goals to three types of citizenship: an adaptive one, an individualistic one, and a critical-democratic one. The adaptive type of citizenship tries to adapt people to existing social and political power relations, without taking a critical stance. The individualistic type of citizenship embraces personal autonomy of the individual and neglects social responsibility. The critical-democratic type of citizenship focuses on building social relationships and democracy and tries to stimulate an active and critical engagement of citizens.

There are other researchers who make a distinction between types of citizenship and show how citizenship and citizenship education can be conceptualized and practiced in different ways. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) distinguish between a personally responsible citizen, a participatory citizen and a social-justice-oriented citizen. Westheimer and Kahne argue for including social justice in citizenship. For them, democracy is not only a social and political way of organizing society, but it should have a moral and social political focus by addressing social justice. Johnson and Morris (2010), following Freire and other critical pedagogues, argue for permanent critical reflection, action and social change around the concept of citizenship.

Global citizenship

Today many people speak about global citizenship, and as such, the concept of global citizenship can be articulated in different ways. From a critique on the linking of the concept of citizenship to one's own country, a more morally-inspired, cosmopolitan citizenship has been advocated (Nussbaum, 1997). This concept of citizenship is about moral values and a global social responsibility for the whole world and all its inhabitants. An open attitude towards other people is one of its important aspects (Hansen, 2008). Recently, morally-inspired global citizenship has been criticized for its lack of attention for political power relations (Mouffe, 2005; Thayer-Bacon, 2008). A stronger relation between the moral and the political are advocated here: moral values should be analyzed within social and political relations.

Our review of the literature on global citizenship and an empirical study leads us to distinguish between three forms of modern global citizenship (Veugelers, 2011a):

– An *open global citizenship* that recognizes that the global world has become smaller, that there is more interdependency between parts of the global world, and that the global world offers more possibilities, also for cultural diversity (this is a neo-liberal market view, like for example by Soros).
– A *moral global citizenship* based on moral categories like equality and human rights, which recognizes responsibility for the global as a whole. (The moral philosophy position of Nussbaum, and in the notion of cosmopolitism).
– A *social-political global citizenship* aimed at changing political relations in the direction of more equality in power relations and in the appreciation of cultural diversity. (In post colonialism studies and in the political philosophy of Mouffe and Laclau).

The interviews with teachers of secondary education made clear that they prefer a moral global citizenship to be the pedagogical goal. Teachers are also aware of socio-political relations, but they are reserved when it comes to focusing on political relations.

Not only the concept of citizenship is a focus of academic debates, but the concept of democracy is also questioned; for example, differences between thin and thick (strong) ways of democracy (De Groot, 2011) and differences between parliamentary democracy and more participative democracy (Touraine, 2005). In the Freirean tradition democracy has been linked to empowerment and social change (Morrow & Torres, 2002). The concept of a democratic citizenship has to address knowledge development, skills development and attitude development.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN IDEALS (GOALS) AND PRACTICES AND EFFECTS

In Dutch education many teachers, school leaders, students, and parents, claim that the critical-democratic citizenship is very important; however, in practice these goals are not so well realized (Veugelers, 2011b). In practice there is a lot of focus on discipline, and on the adaptive citizenship. Also, the individualistic type of citizenship is strongly embedded in educational practice of many modern neo-liberal societies: in its selective education system, in its educational segregation, in its personally-oriented pedagogical style, its celebration of the unique individual, and its focus on individual expression, etc.

In many countries and educational institutions there is a gap between pedagogical ideals and educational practice (see for example the "International Study on Citizenship and Citizenship Education." (ICCS) There is often a gap between the more critical pedagogical goals and the more adaptive and individualistic practices. To put it in a more sociological perspective: even if many transformative ideas are emphasized and sometimes even put into practice, economic reproduction forces in society and in education, and in particular in higher education, are strong. However,

the balance between reproduction and transformation is not fixed, but dependent on social and political change processes. Both a strengthening of reproduction and a strengthening of transformation is possible. In this chapter we try to contribute to a more transformative view of higher education that produces a more critically- and socially- engaged intellectual.

Bridging Different Groups

The interaction between various social and cultural groups is seen as an important aspect of citizenship education. Putnam (2000) points out that a person's social capital is composed of bonding (exclusive) and bridging (inclusive). Bonding is a social psychological necessity for a person in order to join and hold one's own in a cultural group. What Putnam calls bridging, connecting with other people, is what a society needs to function as such, to create social cohesion. Bridging can take on various forms: being considerate, being involved, or showing solidarity with others. In the framework of citizenship education, schools are asked explicitly to bring different groups of young people together with the explicit purpose of introducing them to each other, to promote their mutual understanding and appreciation, and to further the cooperation between groups. In social psychology much research has been done on the conditions under which such meetings of differing groups does promote understanding and appreciation. These studies show that this kind of learning process is rather complex and that the results are usually not predictable. Schuitema and Veugelers (2011) studied several projects in which students from different social and ethnic groups meet each other. The study shows that effects are hard to prove, but that it is important that joint activities are undertaken during the meetings and that there is interaction on the individual level. The contacts between students in the projects could, under favorable conditions, facilitate an open attitude and an awareness of one's preconceptions about the other groups.

EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSES AND POLICY

Educational policy in any country, in fact, in any school and of every educational professional, is based in a large part on the pedagogical vision of those involved and on their positioning in pedagogical discourses and educational practices. That vision is never univocal and completely consistent, it is, in fact, always a bricolage of available discourses that are constructed and connected in unique ways. Therefore, it's normal that such bricolage shows contradictions, and frictions. This bricolage and its composition is not fixed but fluid. Bauman (2004) shows that in contemporary society, fluidity is the regular movement.

Such an educational bricolage is also visible in educational policy at state level, at institutional level, and in a personal educational vision. Spring (2004) shows that there are four dominant educational ideologies in present-day global educational policy:

1. *Nation-building.* Each country tries to build and unite the nation through education. Instruction in the native language, in national history and in national culture is essential. This vision strongly influences citizenship education.
2. *Educating people for the "global free market".* This view focuses on standardizing education global wide, with an emphasis on interchangeability, "free market thinking", and a belief in technological progress.
3. *Globalizing morality: human rights education.* Here, the emphasis is on teaching human rights, promoting democracy and peace, and striving for a humane kind of community.
4. *Environmental ideologies.* Here, the emphasis is on the environment, on sustainability and on the relations between mankind and nature.

Spring demonstrates in many case studies how these four ideologies actually meet in a state's educational policy. Contemporary dominant thought in many countries is the desire to connect "educating people for the global free market" with "nation-building." It's a combination of tradition, nationalism, neo-liberalism, technology, market orientation, and individual responsibility. Countries differ strongly with regard to the significance of how moral/ethical values of human rights and sustainability actually become implemented into the curricula, but, in any country there is always a struggle with representing ideologies and outcomes often change.

Which ideological mix is found in the Netherlands, especially in relation with citizenship education? With some caution we present the following analysis. The nationalist ideology, with its emphasis on the national culture and history, and much attention for security and safety, is strongly present in the Dutch educational policy discourse on citizenship education. There is also a focus on the global morality ideology, but is not as strong as for the nationalist ideology. The global free market ideology is dominant in the Dutch political educational discourse, and is even strong enough to marginalize the nationalist ideology in educational policy. The emphasis in the Dutch educational policy is focused on two areas: international competition, and the "knowledge society" of languages, mathematics and science. Dutch "nation-building" education has a strong global and nationalist perspective, but languages, mathematics, and science are still most important to the "knowledge society."

Curriculum Policy

In spite of the non-dominant position of citizenship education, the Dutch government does pay attention to citizenship as a content area. Since 2006, schools are required to give attention to citizenship education. The government points out its importance, but leaves it to the schools to interpret and organize this subject area. The government, under reference of the freedom of education and the autonomy of the schools, is very reluctant when it comes to specifying a curriculum. Contrary to other subject areas, citizenship education lacks a subject title, exam requirements,

goals and qualifications. The curriculum is quite open. An interesting question might be to ask what possible advantages this freedom might offer the existing subjects. In other subjects, schools and students are under much tighter control. At present, schools find it very difficult to provide the content area of citizenship education in the school curriculum. The national curriculum institute, SLO, is developing frameworks and sample materials (Bron, Veugelers & Van Vliet, 2009) but the materials can only be examples and not descriptive.

An important characteristic of the Dutch educational system is denominationalism. Two thirds of the secondary schools are denominational schools, although they are state financed and have to use the required curriculum. Denominational schools are allowed to develop their own subject matter for worldview education. Citizenship education is of course closely connected to denomination. This is a major reason for the government to be reluctant in more clearly specifying the subject matter of citizenship education. The national organizations of denominational education are very active in the area of citizenship education and they are developing their own vision, providing examples and starting research programs. But the relationship between the national organizations of denominational schools and the schools themselves is presently tenuous, now that traditional religious institutions have been weakened, and these organizations could place requirements on the schools as a result. The government has given denominational education much space. There are some interesting projects, but denominationalism has lost, to a large extent, the grip it had on education in the past. The influence of civil society, including religious denominations, can be strengthened by a stronger emphasis on the relationship between education and society. The further specification of citizenship education could be undertaken in close cooperation between students, parents and society. Networks of schools would have to take up their responsibilities for the regional community as a whole, not just for their own cultural community (Veugelers & O'Hair, 2005).

Discourses on citizenship education often refer to the importance of relationships between social and cultural groups. Dutch schools are not only separated along denominational lines, but in secondary education they are also separated in educational school types. Schools can encompass several educational focuses or they can be categorized other ways. When there are several educational strands within one organization, the connections between the different types can also be organized in various ways (separate buildings, separate classrooms after the first year or heterogeneous classrooms, etcetera). For higher school types (especially pre-university), parents often prefer a categorical school. Schools follow the preferences of parents by separating the higher school types from lower types. The free choice of school in secondary educational system with separate school types implies that groups of students are also separated, especially with regard to their social environment as well as their related ethnicities and cultures. This causes many students to grow up in social and cultural isolation. Citizenship education as a result is strongly focused on the unity of a group and not on making connections and encouraging diversity. The government acknowledges this problem, but a policy of uniting school types

and religious denominations has no present voice in educational policy. Growing up in one's familiar environment seems to be more important than working on social cohesion and democratic relations through education. The government does require schools to organize activities where the various groups can meet. This causes enormous friction in secondary schools where student populations have a less valued social and cultural capital. They claim that government policy first separates the students and next demands artificial meetings. From the perspective of a democratic citizenship education, further cooperation and integration of various school types and various religious denominations would be preferable.

TEACHING

Pedagogical Discourse

The dominant pedagogical discourse in Dutch secondary education is a combination of child oriented, advancing autonomy, and an individualized form of equal opportunity thinking. These pedagogical perspectives are also promoted in academic disciplines. In pedagogy, the center stage is the individual and his development and wellbeing. In educational psychology, until recently autonomous learning was dominant. Socially oriented organization of learning processes hardly received attention. Sociology of education promotes individualization by a dominant focus on selection and equal opportunities with a disregard for socialization or for the content of the curriculum. Presently it seems that a rectification might be underway, certainly in academic disciplines, possibly as a result of criticism for over-the-top individualization in Dutch society. The problem, though, lies at a much more theoretical level, where the individual is disconnected from society, and where a society is not characterized by connections but is a sea of freely-floating individuals. The individual-oriented pedagogical discourse does not succeed in making connections between the individual and the society. Focus on society is within a dominant perspective of individualization. As a result, this lack of appreciation for the social will remain limited to regulating the behaviors between individuals. From the perspective of democratic citizenship it would be desirable to regard the individual as being situated and connected. This requires a central place for democracy as a concept of society, more group learning, and connecting persons and institutions, especially outside one's own immediate community.

Teaching and Moral Values in Education

Now more about teaching practices. In educational practices teachers are working with moral and political values. Teachers can work in different ways with values (Veugelers, 2010). We speak of perspectives because the various approaches differ in philosophical background, pedagogical goals and in suggested methodology. The five perspectives are presented in a sequence that can be seen as higher stages in the

work of teachers. Each stage adds a new point of view to its predecessor. The various perspectives are embedded in different ideas about the teaching and learning of moral values, the kind of citizenship society needs and the very task of education. We distinguish the following perspectives: value transfer; reflective practitioner; moral sensitivity; participation and dialogue; moral politics.

We can place the five perspectives in a table that shows the differences between the different perspectives.

	Values	**Skills**	**Praxis**	**Social Action**
Value transfer	x			
Reflective practitioner		x		
Moral sensitivity	x	x		
Participation and dialogue	x	x	x	
Moral politics	x	x	x	x

The five perspectives all have their particular strengths depending on the educational goals. If a teacher wants to focus on character-building, or on identifying and prioritizing desirable values, then the value transfer perspective would be most useful perspective. When education is flexible in content, structure and teaching methods, and students are seen as autonomous, then a more reflective perspective is necessary. If pedagogical goals are the development of morality, then the moral sensitivity perspective is desired. If learning is defined as a developmental and active process, involving dialogue then the participation and dialogue perspective is needed. And if the educational process is part of a struggle for social justice and democracy, then the moral politics perspective is useful. Concrete educational practices will often use a unique combination of elements from all of these perspectives.

We can also bridge a connection between type of citizenship and educational practices:

1. The adaptive citizenship development has mostly whole classroom instruction with the transfer and reproduction of fixed knowledge. The pedagogical approach is characterized by following the rules set by the authority.
2. The individualistic citizenship development focuses on personal autonomy, selection, competition and individual performance. The knowledge development is seen as constructive but not from a societal perspective.
3. The critical-democratic citizenship development asks for dialogue, diversity, critical reflection, analysis of power relationships, and social action. Cooperative, dialogical, visual learning and knowledge construction as social-constructivism are central in this pedagogical approach.

Of course in concrete educational practices there is a mix of all of these pedagogical approaches. Distinguishing them in this way shows that choices can be made and practices can be changed.

If we look at a humanist perspective on moral education and critical-democratic citizenship, the educational perspectives should be: reflective learning, dialogic learning, and democratic learning. They are three elements of learning that should support each other (Veugelers, 2011c).

Reflective learning
– Articulating one's own interests, feelings, ethical and esthetical concerns, making meaning, and moral values
– Inquiry into identity development and self-reflection on the learning process
– Self-regulation of the learning process and taking responsibility for autonomy

Dialogic learning
– Communicating in an open way with others
– Analyzing and comparing different perspectives
– Analyzing the social, cultural and political power structures

Democratic learning
– Concern for others and appreciation of diversity
– Openness to working together to reach agreements (developing norms)
– Standing autonomously and applying critical thinking and appropriate action
– Becoming more intimately engaged with and connected to others, and involvement in enlarging humanity and in building democracy as a permanent process

DIMENSIONS OF CRITICAL-DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP DEVELOPMENT

De Groot (2011) distinguishes five dimensions of critical-democratic citizenship identity development on an intrapersonal, interpersonal and socio-political level that requires attention within and beyond formal and informal education settings:
– Elaborate understanding of democracy and diversity
– Capacity building: internal and external efficacy
– Active relations: commitment and connection
– Willingness to transform
– Dialogue and empathy

These dimensions make clear that citizenship development goes beyond knowledge acquisition and is an identity development with strong affective elements. In the context of the first dimension, De Groot argues that the development of a critical democratic citizenship identity is influenced by the value educators attach to democracy and diversity, and their interpretation of these concepts. When one has no idea of what democracy entails, no understanding of the interrelatedness of democracy and diversity, and no understanding for the merits of democracy for the general wellbeing of all, it is unlikely that students will learn to participate as critical-democratic citizens. Developing a strong and complex appreciation of

democracy therefore requires that people need an elaborate understanding of the value of democracy as well as diversity, for the wellbeing of people within and outside of nation states. This means that educators need to become familiar with an elaborate concept of democracy, one that views democracy as a continuously developing and intrinsically-limited political system; as a culture in which people and institutions actively seek to appreciate and accommodate different voices on an interpersonal and structural level; and as an ethos that acknowledges the presence of different normative structures in the civil and political domain; it is also necessary to critically examine existing power inequalities and the underlying hegemonies. An elaborate understanding of the value of democracy and diversity therefore, also implies that one will be able to identify and critically examine social justice issues internationally; additionally, a student should be able to reflect upon his or her own contribution to the maintenance or transformation of unjust structures. As such, it requires the development of 'critical thinking' skills. In line with a critical pedagogical perspective (Mc Laren, 1994; Veugelers, 2001) De Groot argues that critical thinking implies the ability to weigh moral and political arguments in a critical and academically-informed manner, to identify when moral principles are at stake, and to reflect on the role of one's placement in the normative framework that one is viewing critically.

The second dimension concerns developing one's citizenship capacity and efficacy. Being democratically enlightened does not automatically imply that a person has the capacity to participate in a way that is consistent with democratic enlightenment. Likewise, it does not automatically imply that one has a sense of *internal and external efficacy*. Westheimer and Kahne have introduced these last concepts to democratic citizenship education research. They stated that in order to develop a democratic attitude, people need three C's: Capacity, Commitment and Connection (Westheimer and Kahne 2003, p. 54). In her framework, De Groot develops a separate dimension for 'commitment' and 'connection', because these concepts both concern the relationships that one builds within and outside of one's own community. For Westheimer and Kahne (2003), internal efficacy refers to the feeling that one can influence civic and political practices and procedures, and external efficacy to the feeling that the government or its institutions are receptive to one's needs. If children, for instance, engage in an educational project that aims to enhance equal treatment of a certain minority, but then find that nobody is interested in their project, these children might be less inclined to participate in future projects or initiatives. De Groot argues that in accordance with an elaborate concept of democracy, critical democratic citizens need to develop their moral and political skills, which will ultimately contribute to competent citizenship: that is, to critically examine one's sense of efficacy towards participating in a just manner; to identify power hegemonies and their historical background; and to address issues of power inequality in the civil, civic and political domain.

The third dimension concerns "active relations," since people who never meet potential role models, (in this context, people who engage in transformative pro-

cesses) and people who do not develop a sense of commitment toward their communities, or individuals whose existence or potential contribution to a society is constrained, will be less likely to develop an understanding of critically-democratic participation. Key concepts in this regard are connections and commitments. Westheimer and Kahne defined "connections" as those who enable others to have active social participation, and "commitment" as caring for the wellbeing of others within a certain group. In line with Putnam's (2000 p. 22) plea for "bonding" and "bridging" in the context of developing social capital and democracy, De Groot adds that critical democratic citizenship implies that one engages in activities that foster commitment among people who hold similar preferences (bonding) and in activities that stimulate commitment with people who hold different preferences, and who don't share the same cultural heritage (bonding).

The fourth dimension is about willingness to change. If one is unwilling to critically examine values, ideas, worldviews and customs, it is unlikely that one will develop the necessary competencies to challenge one's own and other's perspectives, and to cope with diversity in this context. Key elements of critical-democratic citizenship, in this regard, are the ability (or habit) to doubt, to question, the desire to obtain greater understanding, and the wish to relate to any practices and positions that do not match one's current worldview. With Ramadan (2007) De Groot argues that both those who consider themselves part of the dominant culture or worldview, and those who identify with a minority one, need to develop this attitude. Furthermore, in line with Appiah's *Ethics of Identity* (2005), people need to gain insight into the ongoing process of negotiating different identities or affiliations, which gain or lose importance due to change of one's interests, and temporal or environmental circumstances.

The fifth dimension concerns one's capacity and willingness to engage in dialogue and deliberation. When one does not regularly engage in dialogical and deliberate practices, it is unlikely that one will obtain a realistic image of the complexity involved in dialogue and deliberation, or a deeper understanding of the value of these practices for the democratic process. Previously, Parker (2003b) has distinguished between dialogue, which aims for mutual understanding and respect for each other's vision, and discussion, which aims to convince others of the righteousness of one's own opinions, and, finally, deliberation, which aims to influence others on the kind of policy to adopt. And Aloni (2011) distinguished seven types of dialogical learning, each with its own theoretical underpinnings, goals and structures. In the context of critical democratic citizenship, De Groot argues that conversations need to build on an understanding of one's limitations in reaching mutual understanding and in expressing and investigating one's own perspective. This understanding allows for the development of one's sensitivity to what Derrida calls "la différence" (Miedema & Biesta, 2004), which lies beyond each vision. Second, she argues, critical-democratic citizenship implies that one recognizes the impact of power structures on any conversation, which may stem from differences in rank, differences in language or culture, and cultures of conflict resolution. This is in

contrast, to an understanding of dialogue as a conversation between equals, which aims for mutual understanding and the exchange of ideas. Such an understanding, De Groot argues, risks threatening the very appreciation for diversity for which one aims. Hence, and in line with Mouffe's (2000) plea for appreciating agonisms, critical-democratic citizenship needs to develop the dialogical competencies to, along with others, detect and explore fundamental differences, impossibilities, and power issues involved in every type of conversation. Critical-democratic dialogue and deliberation thus can be defined as conversations based on a mutual understanding of the impossibility to reach "true" consensus or mutual understanding.

These five dimensions make clear that in citizenship education educators should also take care of the more political and psychological dimensions of citizenship, such as an elaborate understanding of democracy and diversity; internal and external efficacy; commitment and connection; willingness to transform; and dialogue and empathy. These dimensions can affect the type of citizenship that develops, in particular, enhancing a critical-democratic student to be more active and engaged.

POSSIBILITIES FOR MORE DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP PRACTICES IN EDUCATION

In this chapter we have shown that Dutch educational policy pays attention to citizenship education, but that this attention is subordinated to preparing students for the "knowledge economy." We have also shown that government is reluctant to specify the content of citizenship education, perhaps because of religious denominational education, and increased autonomy of the schools. Still, the Dutch government does have some general ideas about the content matter of citizenship education. Differences between schools and between school types greatly influence the possibilities for citizenship education. Students from different social, cultural and religious groups grow up in their own isolated environments. The child-oriented and individualizing pedagogical discourse does not stimulate a critical democratic citizenship, either. The poor framing of citizenship education within a strongly structured educational system, in turn, contributes to its weak position in the school and in the curriculum. Students are required to actively participate in citizenship education, but real participation is hard to realize in a strongly structured educational environment. The practice of citizenship education in the Netherlands shows more adaptive and individualizing tendencies than some politicians, and particularly many teachers, parents and students, may wish. A more critical-democratic citizenship education requires education policy as "cultural politics," a linking of schools and society, socially- oriented pedagogical thinking, and especially more dialogical, reflexive and socially-integrative educational practices.

Society building is a continuously ongoing process. Reproductions of existing relationships are never complete, and there are always possibilities for change. These processes for change can be oriented to more adaptation, to a stronger indi-

vidualistic orientation like in the neo-liberal market thinking and in some modern philosophies that celebrate autonomy. Or these processes for change can be oriented to include more equity, social cohesion, recognition of diversity, active participation, and a strengthening of democracy. Processes for change are actively involved in dialogue in society, and in education. Scholars and teachers can make choices and decide where they stand in these processes, and hopefully contribute to education that creates a more critical-democratic citizenship.

SETTING AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL-DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN UNIVERSITIES

What can we learn from our experiences and research on citizenship and citizenship education to enhance the educational practice in universities? We will end this chapter by formulating guidelines for more critical-democratic practices in universities.

Developing a Pedagogical Vision
1. Universities should develop a pedagogical vision for the kind of intellectual and citizen they want to develop. Universities can make choices in goals and practices. They should reflect on the kind of university they want to be and on their role in society.
2. Producing such a vision requires an analysis of the refraction of international developments in the own national policy and educational discourses. This analysis can show possibilities and constraints for citizenship education in universities.
3. Developing such a vision implies a dialogue with those who have a great interest in the universities and in society. A dialogue in the political, civic, and civil domains of citizenship.
4. Developing such a vision means a process that is formalized, but is subject to a permanent dialogue.

Type of Citizenship
5. Universities, like all educational institutions, can decide on the type of citizenship they emphasize in pedagogical goals and practices. They can focus strongly on adaptation, on autonomy, or on social concern and social justice. For example, an adapted type of citizenship, an individualistic type, or a critical-democratic type.
6. Universities should focus on the more political and psychological dimensions of citizenship such as an elaborate understanding of democracy and diversity; internal and external efficacy; commitment and connection; willingness to transform; and dialogue and empathy. These dimensions can help determine the type of citizenship, and in particular, can help a critical-democratic student become more active and engaged.

Educational Practice

7. If we want to develop a stronger theory about citizenship and citizenship education, in particular, the critical-democratic type, it will require transformative educational practices. By "transformative" we mean change in the curriculum, in learning activities, and in the teachers' role in the direction of more social justice.

8. An educational citizenship education requires a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary practice in which the specific academic science is linked with social sciences, philosophy, and history.

9. Teachers should be aware of their moral role and their professionalism.

Learning Processes

10. Students are learning in and out of the universities. Both ways of learning should be linked. Universities can organize learning outside the institute, such as the way it is done for internships for professional development. They can also create learning experiences for citizenship development by community projects and in-service learning.

11. The narrative learning processes involved in citizenship development implies that the pedagogical goals are broader than knowledge acquisition and are oriented to attitude development and engagement.

12. Dialogical, reflexive, and democratic learning processes are needed to give critical-democratic citizenship development a chance.

Universities have an important function in educating future generations. Universities can learn from experience and research on citizenship education, but like all educational institutions they have to reflect on the kind of intellectual and citizen they want to develop.

REFERENCES

Aloni, N. (2003). *Enhancing Humanity. The Philosophical Foundations of Humanistic Education.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Aloni, N. (2011). Humanistic Education: From Theory to Practice. In: Veugelers, W. (Ed.) *Education and Humanism* (35-46). Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: SensePublishers.

Appiah, K., A. (2005). *The Ethics of Identity.* Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Banks, J. A. (Ed.). (2004). *Diversity and Citizenship Education, Global Perspectives.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass/Wiley.

Bauman, Z. (2003). *Identity.* London: Polity Press.

Brennan, J. & R. Naidoo (2008). Higher Education and the achievement (and/or prevention) of equity and social justice. *Higher Education 56),* 1, 287-302

Bron, J., Veugelers, W. & Vliet, E. de (2009). *Leerplanverkenning actief burgerschap* (Curriculum exploration active citizenship). Enschede: SLO.

Colby, A., Ehrlich, T., Beaumont, E. & Stephens, J. (2003). *Educating Citizens.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Dewey, J. (1923). *Democracy and Education: an introduction to the philosophy of education*

Englund, T. (2002). Higher education, democracy and citizenship: the democratic potential of the university? *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 21,* 1, 281-287

Fernandez, S. (2005). Towards European Citizenship through Higher Education. *European Journal of Education 40 (1)*, 60-68

Freire, P. (1973). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London: MacMillan.

Groot, I. de (2011). Why We are not Democratic Yet. In Veugelers, W. (ed.) *Education and Humanism* (79- 93). Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: SensePublishers.

Hansen, D., T. (2008). Curriculum and the idea of cosmopolitan inheritance. *Journal of curriculum studies, 40*(3), 289-312.

Leenders, H., Veugelers, W. & Kat, E. de (2008a). Teachers' Views on Citizenship Education in Secondary Education in the Netherlands. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 38*, 155-170.

Leenders, H., Veugelers, W. & Kat, E. de (2008b). Moral Education and Citizen Education at Pre-University Schools. In Oser, F. & Veugelers, W. (eds.). *Getting Involved* (57-74). Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: SensePublishers.

Leenders, H., Veugelers, W. & Kat, E. de (2012). Moral Development and Citizenship Education in Vocational Schools. *Education Research Journal.*

Mc Laren, P. (1994). *Life in schools: an introduction to critical pedagogy in the foundations of education.* (2 ed.). New York: Longman.

Miedema, S., & Biesta, G. (2004). Jaques Derrida's religion with/out religion and the im/possibility of religious education. *Religious Education, 99*, 1, 23-37.

Morrow, R. & Torres, C.A. (2002). *Reading Freire and Habermas*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Mouffe, C. (2000). *The Democratic Paradox*. London

Mouffe, C. (2005). On the Political. London: Routledge.

Nussbaum, M. (1997). Cultivating Humanity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Patino-Gonzalez, S. (2009). Promoting Ethical Competencies: Education for Democratic Citizenship in a Mexican Institution of Higher Education. *Journal of Moral Education 38*, 4, 533-551.

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York Simon & Schuster.

Ramadan, T. (2007). *Citizenship and Identity: Old Concepts and New Challenges.*

Spring, J. (2004). *How Educational Ideologies are Shaping Global Society.* Mahwah, NJ: LEA.

Schuitema, J. & Veugelers, W. (2011). Multicultural Contacts in Education. *Educational Studies, 37*, 1, 101-114.

Thayer-Bacon, B. (2008). *Beyond Liberal Democracies in Schools. The power of Pluralism*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Veugelers, W. (2001). Teachers, values and critical thinking. In S. R. Steinberg (Ed.), *Multi/intercultural conversations* (pp. 199-215). New York: Peter Lang.

Veugelers, W. (2007). Creating critical-democratic citizenship in education: empowering humanity and democracy in Dutch Education. *Compare, 37*, 105-119.

Veugelers, W. (2010). Moral Values in Teacher Education. *International Encyclopedia of Education, Volume 7*, 650-655. Oxford: Elsevier.

Veugelers, W. (2011a). The Moral and the Political in Global Citizenship: Appreciating Differences. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 9*, 473-486.

Veugelers, W. (2011b). Theory and Practice of Citizenship Education. *Revista de Educacion*, 2011, 209-224.

Veugelers, W. (Ed.) (2011c). *Education and Humanism*. Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: SensePublishers.

Veugelers, W. & O'Hair, M. J. (Eds.). (2005). Network Learning for Educational Change. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Veugelers, W. & Nollet, F. (2013, in press). *Citizenship Education at Dutch Universities?* Utrecht: Universiteit voor Humanistiek.

Watson, D. (2008). The university in the modern world: ten lessons of civic and community engagement. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice 3 (1)*, 43-55

WIEL VEUGELERS, ISOLDE DE GROOT & FLEUR NOLLET

Westheimer, J. (2008). On the Relationship Between Political and Moral Engagement. En F. Oser & W. Veugelers (Eds.), Getting Involved. Global Citizenship Development and Sources of Moral Values (17-30). Rotterdam / Taipei / Boston: SensePublishers.

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2003). Teaching Democracy: What Schools Need to Do. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 34-40, 57-67.

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Educational Research Journal, 41*, 2, 237-269.

Zgaga, P. (2009). Higher Education and Citizenship: the full range of purposes. *European Educational Research Journal 8, 2*, 175-188

Wiel Veugelers, Isolde de Groot & Fleur Nollet
University of Humanistic Studies, Utrecht, the Netherlands

SILVIA LLOMOVATTE & JUDITH NAIDORF

Chapter 13

EQUITY, SOCIAL COHESION AND RELEVANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

*The origin of the categories in a 21st-century glossary
for higher education in Latin America*

The concepts of equity, social cohesion and relevance are characterized by ambiguity, as well as a relationship to the notion of trope[1] and the floating signifier.[2] This description enables us to understand the importance of these three concepts starting in the 1990s.

The education agenda has been bound to controversial overarching concepts[3] geared to providing education with a certain meaning and orientation. The aforementioned terms are found in governmental reports, as well as those issued by teachers' unions, international organizations and so forth.

Braslavsky states that most of the agents that produce the education agenda "… accept a set of words or overarching concepts that become central notions and run through different paradigmatic perspectives" (Braslavsky 1999: 40-41). She main-

---

1 Trope [from Latin *tropus* figurative use of a word, from Greek *tropos* style, turn; related to *trepein* to turn]. Rhertorical figure, Trope. 1. A figure of speech using words in non-literal ways, such as a metaphor; Rhetoric a word or expression used in a figurative sense. Figures of speech that effect a mutation or shift in meaning either internally (on the level of thought) or externally (on the level of word). In the first case and when there is simply an association of ideas, this figure of thought is called periphrasis; if the association of ideas is comparative in nature, the result is metaphor, trope par excellence whose etymology indicates the notion of transfer at its core. (Naidorf, Horn, Giordana 2007)

2 The floating signifier is the result of a lax relationship between signified and signifier. Laclau (1996) asserts that if the signifier were necessarily tied to one and only one signified, there would be no room for flotation of any kind. He adds that for floatation to occur the floating term must be articulated in different ways in opposing discursive chains (otherwise, there would be no floatation whatsoever); (Laclau 1996).

3 These are the controversies formulated in the process of the paradigmatic construction of education. They are, as the author points out, "…re-articulations of classic problems in the politics and sociology of education" (Braslavsky 1999: 56), which are redefined on the basis of empirical evidence and the demands to emerge in the 21st century.

tains that in the 1990s there were four such concepts: *quality, equity, participation and efficiency*. And, she goes on, those concepts emerged "[…] out of need and as the result of processes of innovation in international thought on education" (Braslavsky, 1999: 32-33). These concepts are marked by an array of paradigmatic perspectives that vie to guide changes and education reforms.

We believe that in the glossary of higher education for the 21st century the terms social cohesion and relevance, and the ongoing importance of equity as goal and parameter in education policies, constitute the overarching concepts.

The revision of those terms from the perspective of their historicity is necessary in attempts to analyze as well as to design an agenda for higher education in keeping with what is, in our view, priority.

We will now attempt to define each of the following concepts: equity, social cohesion and relevance in higher education.

EQUITY

Equity is a broad and complex concept. Here, we will focus on its definition in terms of policies on higher education.

On the basis of an analysis of documents issued by international credit organizations (the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and others) and education policy organizations (the UNESCO and the United Nations through the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC), as well as the WTO once education was included as one of its services), and works specialized in higher education, we find that the categories of equity and its opposite (inequity) are used again and again, indeed frequently starting at least since the beginning of neo-liberalism as the economic ideology with the greatest social impact.

In the 1980s but mostly in the early 1990s, inequity was one of the main diagnoses reached by international organizations as they attempted to describe the state of education systems in developing countries (ECLAC– UNESCO 1996). In the interest of reaching the goals of greater equity, efficiency and quality, the World Bank justified its support of a comprehensive reform of education systems. During the 1990s, the countries in the region adopted, to a greater or lesser extent, the World Bank's recommendations, enacting reforms at all levels.

EQUITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: EQUALITY WITH CONDITIONS

A major precursor for the impact of this term on discourses on education in Latin America is the 1996 ECLAC-UNESCO document entitled *"Education and Knowledge, Nucleus of Productive Transformation with Equity,"* which established that "equity means equal opportunity for all in access to quality education, that is, **like opportunities in terms of treatment and outcome in matters of education**" [4]

---

4   Italics in the original.

(ECLAC UNESCO 1996: 52).

This brief definition lay the basis for later definitions mainly focused on the concept of equity as equality of opportunities in education.

It is, nonetheless, significant that the concept of equity is generally associated with theories of human capital based on utilitarian considerations. As such, it requires fair but inclusive competition and tolerates disparate outcomes (Mendes 2011).

Hernández Alvares (2008) asserts that equity implies valuing disparities from the perspective of justice. Equal rights are not, in themselves, enough to make education more accessible (especially not higher education) to those who occupy less favorable social positions. Indeed, in those situations unequal treatment is what is required to attenuate differences and improve chances of success (Chiroleu 1999).

Thus, equity replaces what is often called affirmative action (that is, giving more to those who have less). When used to replace equality indiscriminately, however, the logic of affirmative action exists alongside an understanding of equity as giving to each person his or her due according to other variables (effort, skill, etc.), an understanding that equality plain and simple does not contemplate.

It was on this basis that, in the 1990s, Feijoo formulated what he called "the limits of egalitarianism" to refer to situations in which "…an unnuanced understanding of egalitarianism applied to a less and less equal population and/or a population with more and more disparate interests ended up generating new patterns of inequality" (Feijoo 2002: 17).

The emergence of the term "equity" in response to the term "equality" has been criticized in a number of articles (Saviani, D 1998; Bianchetti, G, 1994; Hillert 1999). Hillert formulated one of the main objections put forth by critics of the policies of the 1990s, arguing that the major documents of international organizations[5] "generate a tension between…the notion of citizenship, or the equality of citizens, and the notion of 'competitiveness,'; and between the notion of 'equality' and of 'performance'" (Hillert 1999: 32).

Saviani (1999) asserts that it was not necessary to replace equality with equity since universalist and homogenizing critiques can be resolved by means of "equality of dignity," that is the equality of human potentials and their development on the basis of historical recognition of social inequality.

Tiramonti (2001), meanwhile, maintains that the transformations that took place in the 1990s meant the end of the vision of education as the site of emancipation and of processes of egalitarian subjectivity.

Thus, we believe that the exacerbation of the valorization of differences has led to a meritocracy disguised as respect that has relentlessly served to justify cutbacks on the premise of a scarcity of resources that makes it impossible to give everyone everything. Policies of equity have thus justified divestment from the public sphere and the establishment of a notion that has become a matter of commonsense accord-

---

5 "Education and Knowledge, Nucleus of Productive Transformation with Equity" ECLAC.

ing to which the public is for the poor and those who want quality must pay for it. This is the justification not only for the State moving from a primary to a subsidiary role covering only the area that the market doesn't, but also – along with other overarching ideas that emerged in the 1990s – a means of concealing the purposes of the State.

SOCIAL COHESION AS AN AMBIGUOUS CONCEPT TRANSFERRED ONTO THE SPHERE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The origins of the term social cohesion lie in 19th-century French sociology. Durkheim,[6] a representative of functionalism, uses social solidarity to frame an analysis that, whether explicitly or implicitly, addresses the problem of social cohesion (Mota Díaz 2011).

If for Hobbes and Machiavelli the force that made possible and maintained social cohesion was coercive power, and for Rousseau it was the social contract, for Durkheim it was solidarity, of which there are, in his view, two types: industrial or complex solidarity which he called **mechanic solidarity**; and the simple solidarity of pre-industrial societies, which he called **organic solidarity**.

From the perspective of functionalist anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowsky, the notion of social cohesion is based on an analysis of the contribution made by institutions in the interest of preserving social solidarity.[7]

The European Union (EU) later returned to the category of social cohesion as a strategic variable in its own policies as well as in relation to its ties beyond the region in, for instance, Latin America.

Article 2 of the treaty that constituted the European Community, signed in Rome in 1959, is considered the first reference to the institutionalization of social cohesion in Europe. A commitment, rather than a simple declaration, it limits itself to advocating harmonious development, constant and balanced growth, and ever greater stability in the relationships between the countries in the Union. Just three decades later, the concept of social cohesion – though poorly defined – would become a force in the integration of Europe

Social cohesion became a powerful idea in the European Community after the Maastricht Treaty (1992), which emphasized that the aim of the EU is balanced development and that, to that end, it is necessary to reduce the differences

---

6 The formulation is based on the notion that the social order is the result of social solidarity. According to the author, the lesser the social division of work, the greater the connection between individuals and the social group, and thus mechanic solidarity refers to a solidarity based on the likeness of social sentiments by members of the same social system (Mota Díaz 2011).

7 The interrelation of institutions is based on the assertion that a cultural element only takes on meaning in relation to the whole. The social order is born of the need for cooperation, which is understood as a product of the collective consciousness and as essential to meeting social needs (Mota Díaz 2011).

between the developmental levels of different regions, specifically the backwardness of less favored regions like rural areas (Bossio Rotondo, J. C, 2007). The Council of Europe, which is the region's entity for issues of human rights, defines social cohesion as "society's capacity to ensure the wellbeing of all its members by minimizing disparities and avoiding marginalization." It also clarifies the aims of social cohesion and outlines procedures conducive to its composition. Regarding the construction of utopia, the Council of Europe states "A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing common goals by democratic means." And, it goes on, "no society is fully cohesive. Social cohesion is an ideal to be striven for rather than a goal capable of being fully achieved "(CE, 2004).

Financial crises, unemployment and intense recession in the central countries have meant a resurgence of the category. Now, though, it is less an indicator of harmonic and balanced development or a strategy to minimize structural inequalities and prevent and/or eradicate poverty than an indicator of conformity and order in the face of new rules of persistent economic cutbacks. Social cohesion is used to refer to a tense social harmony in the face of the conflicts that the crisis has brought with it.

SOCIAL COHESION AS AN AIM TRANSFERRED ONTO LATIN AMERICA

Applying the category of social cohesion to economic and political relations with Latin America has required a series of adjustments in its meaning. As Freres and Sanahuja point out (2006), actors from the two regions can use the term social cohesion to refer to different problems that require different responses.

Jarquín (2007) asserts that "unlike in Latin America, where the concept of social cohesion exists in the face of major social inequalities, in Europe it refers mostly to disparities between countries and regions." Indeed, the lessening of economic differences between countries has been emphasized in assessments of social cohesion in Europe (EC, 2001, 2005 and 2007), mostly through the indicators described below.

a) Unequal income distribution (the relationship between income quintiles): Ratio of total disposable income received by the 20% of the population with the highest income (top quintile) to that received by the 20% of the population with the lowest income (lowest quintile).

b) The risk-of-poverty rate: Share of persons with an equivalized disposable income, before social transfers, below the risk-of-poverty threshold, which is set at 60% of the national median equivalized disposable income (after social transfers). Retirement and survivor's pensions are counted as income before transfers and not as social transfers.

e) The dispersion of regional employment rates (total and by sex): Coefficient of regional differences in employment for persons aged 15-64 by region (level two of the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics -NUTS) for each country;

f) Young people who drop out of school early: Proportion of the population aged 18 to 24 that does not pursue studies or training and whose level of study does not exceed the lower levels of secondary education;

g) Long-term unemployment (total and by sex): Proportion of the economically active population that has been unemployed for twelve months or more;

h) Population of unemployed households (children, total and by sex): Proportion of persons aged 18 to 59 who live in households where none of the members is employed.

Source: Eurostat

Cotler (2006) considers social cohesion synonymous with social integration, and points out that, "with increasing intensity, social actors and political agents attempt to define [social cohesion] as a project geared to creating the institutional conditions necessary to promote equal rights and opportunities especially amongst those social segments that have traditionally been repressed or denied access to collective resources, segments that the specialized literature calls 'excluded.'" Finally, some at the Latin America and the Caribbean (LA&C) have adopted the term because they believe it to be politically correct since it was formulated by the EU or because they deem it capable of making a contribution to debates on globalization and integration; others, however, reject the term because they deem it just another case of eurocentrism (Ballón, 2006).

If the EU has not officially adopted a definition of social cohesion, it has done so "unofficially," states Bossio Rotondo, in references to its goals (2007).

The EU's social cohesion indicators, translated into goals for GDP growth and investment in Research & Development (R&D), have been very specific: 3% annual for GDP growth, and that same proportion of GDP for R&D by the year 2010. It was expected that the employment rate would grow to 70% by that same year, which meant a considerable increase compared to its level in 1999 (62.5%). Other goals were more general and optimistic: to create, for around 2010, conditions for full

employment and the elimination of poverty[8] (Bossio Rotondo, 2007).

HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL COHESION

Antonio David Cattani provides an etymological analysis of the concept of cohesion and of social cohesion in the book "Perspectivas críticas sobre la cohesión social: desigualdades y tentativas fallidas de integración social en América Latina" [Critical Perspectives on Social Cohesion: Inequalities and Failed Attempts at Social Integration in Latin America], which he edited from the Latin American Council of Social Sciences.

The word cohesion comes from the Latin term *cohoesus*, which means to be together and united, to adhere to something. In Spanish and Portuguese, the definition of *cohesión* is similar: "union or relationship between all parts to form a whole" (Cattani, 2011: 54). When the adjective "social" is added, the meaning becomes quite precise: "union and harmonic relationship between all the classes in a society." The adjective "harmonic" renders the term pleonastic and gives it a positive sense that does not reflect the nature of things. Social cohesion tends towards a desirable state of affairs, "to the possibility of living together without wars where everyone fights everyone else" (Cattani, 2011:54). The author formulates overriding questions about social cohesion: it is necessary to understand who coheres to whom[9] in order to evaluate the idea of social cohesion critically to construct a more just and balanced society.

In their work, Montané, Naidorf and Teodoro (2011) assert that policies on higher education "... require an approach to analysis based on justice and social belonging in keeping with overarching frameworks for social cohesion (Montané, Naidorf, Teodoro 2011: 11). Their study analyzes pacts for social cohesion that revolve around

---

8   Policy recommendations are very important and encompass the following fields: a) innovation: modernizing legislation on the production and trade of knowledge; creating a European space of research and innovation; instilling a climate favorable to the development of innovative companies, especially small and medium-sized businesses; b) structural economic reform: ensuring the full operational capacity of the domestic market through the liberalization of sectors like gas, and the postal and transportation systems; adopting rules for competition in public markets; supporting the development of efficacious and comprehensive financial markets; coordinating macro-economic policies for which it is necessary to restore and improve the quality and viability of public finances; c) promote and modernize education and life- and employment-oriented training for the knowledge society. Other recommendations were aimed at modernizing what is called the "European social model" by investing human resources and promoting the undefined notion of an active social State. On the one hand, the actions and policies designed to that end did not fall under the powers of the EC but rather of its member States, a situation that was worsened by the emergence of new export platforms in world trade and by the rise of purely speculative financial capital unbound to industry. There are, the author asserts, evident limits to voluntarism and faith in the market.

9   The questions focus on issue like if the poor – and the rich – support each other, would it be possible for cohesion to exist between such disparate sectors?

four main areas: macro-economics, the employment market, social protection and education. It is on that basis that the authors assert a preference to define social cohesion as forming part of a common project.

Barba Solano and Cohen (2011) provide a critical analysis of the concept of social cohesion from a Latin American perspective in light of (or in the shadow of) social inequalities. They understand that the lack of social cohesion in the region is based on social inequalities and the need to develop regimes of citizenship and social rights that are universal in nature rather than applied to specific areas of policy (Barba Solano 2011).

Along these lines, Cattani (2011) believes that it is necessary to make significant changes in the distribution of wealth and excessive private appropriation of socially produced wealth in order to reduce the most extreme socio-economic inequalities; otherwise, all efforts to reduce marginality, social vulnerability and poverty will be merely palliative and local. If the processes that produce and reproduce this vast gap between classes are not altered, proposals for social cohesion will never be more than pretty words and empty promises (Cattani 2011).

In closing, according to Barba Solano (2011) emphasis should be placed on social inequality rather social cohesion, the former of which, in his view, has been relegated throughout the region. This perspective attempts "…to develop a new regime of citizenship and social rights which, though nothing new for the region, now forms part of a horizon that intends to construct institutions and universal rights" (Barba Solano 2011:68). A succession of imported development models has meant that wide sectors of society have not received benefits and protection from the State.

For Solano, it is essential to wed the concept of inequality to social cohesion, and to that end he formulates three issues that entail three theoretical challenges:

– The impossibility of achieving a broad consensus on the meaning of social cohesion. Reaching a definition of the term, and differentiating it from social integration, to which it is deeply tied, constitutes a challenge.
– The prevailing tendency to associate social cohesion with social harmony is unacceptable in a Latin American context characterized by vast inequalities, mass poverty and historical processes of socio-cultural exclusion. The challenge lies in showing the usefulness of the concept for theory and hermeneutics as opposed to attempting to use it as a mechanism to hide on the level of ideology contradictions and social conflicts.
– The limited nature of the hegemonic definition of social cohesion tends to reduce the term to the possibility of allowing the poorest sectors to take part in the world of the market. The third challenge, then, lies in placing this notion in an orbit other than the residual paradigm of social welfare.

As opposed to Cotler (2006), Solano distinguishes social integration from social cohesion. In keeping with Schnapper, he defines social integration as the "…mechanisms to preserve social bonds or to repair those that have been severed or are precarious. Its aim is, then, to highlight the norms or institutions capable of facilitating

ties between individuals and society, or systematic mechanism that make it possible to develop collective actions and actions that bind society as a whole" (Barba Solano 2011: 71).

Social cohesion makes reference to social bonds and their characteristics, a sense of social belonging, trust in others and recognition of the legitimacy of institutions; social cohesion describes social integration, though they are not coterminous.

RELEVANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION. DEFINITIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Michael Gibbons is one of the pioneers in the use of the notion of relevance as crucial to the current glossary of education.[10] On the basis of a pragmatic understanding of the production of knowledge at universities, he maintains that classic ways of producing knowledge have been displaced. The formation of human resources and the production of services for society are the new guiding principles in the pursuit of knowledge in order to improve the lives of citizens. His argument is based, on the one hand, on a greater level of pragmatism in the task of creating knowledge at universities and, on the other, the complexity innate to the social, economic and political phenomena bound to development (Brovetto, 2003). Though he relativizes the concept of relevance by connecting it to specific realities, the way that his thinking has been embraced by scholars of the university has led to an almost essentialist definition of the term as a sort of measure of what is correct and incorrect (relevant or irrelevant)[11] in higher education.

Yarzábal[12] (1997) analyzed the outcomes of regional conferences on higher education (Havana[13] 1996, Tokyo[14] 1997, Palermo[15] 1997, Dakar 1997, Beirut 1998 and Toronto[16] 1998) and the "International Conference on Higher Education"

---

10 Secretary General of the Association of Commonwealth Universities. The World Bank supported the study *Higher Education Relevance in the 21st Century* as part of its contribution to the UNESCO's World Conference on Higher Education (1998).

11 For further analysis of the university's relevance-irrelevance, and its social and epistemic responsibility-irresponsibility, see Naishtat, 2003 and Naidorf, Horn, Giordana, 2007.

12 He was the director of UNESCO's International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (acronym in Spanish: IESALC) and of the Latin American Institute of Education for Development (acronym in Spanish: ILAEDES).

13 At the conferences in Dakar (Africa), Beirut (Arab nations) and Havana (Latin America), emphasis was placed on greater connection between universities and social and economic needs, and on a tighter bond between higher education and the productive sectors.

14 At the conference in Tokyo (Asia), emphasis was placed on issues like responsible autonomy, academic freedom, life-long education and the strengthening of open learning and distance education as strategies to meet the goals above.

15 At the conference in Palermo (Europe), emphasis was placed on the role of universities and civil society in promoting cultural diversity, and multiracial harmony and tolerance as means of deepening and strengthening democratic societies.

16 At the regional conference in Toronto (North America), the notion of relevance emphasized the need to involve universities in specific issues such as sustainable development, citizenship, peace, the environment and democracy.

(ICHE) organized by the UNESCO in Paris in 1998. He found striking differences in the definition of the term "relevance" from one region to another. Venezuelan researcher Carmen García Guadilla maintains that relevance is constructed differently in different contexts.

On an etymological level, varying translations of the noun relevance and the adjective relevant[17] have given rise to confusion: those terms are often translated into Spanish as *relevancia* and *relevante* instead of the more accurate *pertinencia*. In other works (Naidorf, 2011), we have analyzed the significance of these variations as well as their impact on university policies.

Relevant means to be related to the subject being discussed or the situation being experienced (Oxford Advanced Learner´s, 2001). It also means having ideas that are valuable and *useful* to persons in their lives and work. In Spanish, the word *relevante* is a synonym of significant or even important (Naidorf 2011) as if there were a universal criterion to assess the worth of actions in education (programs, curricula, topics of research, institutional administration).

Pertinent, on the other hand, means what is appropriate in a given situation; it does not make reference to an overall assessment of worth but rather worth in a specific context. This is not, however, the category used in international documents that envision university relevance as the parameter that distinguishes what is correct from what is incorrect, what is desirable from which is undesirable for a useful university.

Thus, relevance becomes the measure, albeit a vague and ambiguous one, of a good or poor program as evidenced in countless new regulations (competitions for projects, bylaws for research institutions, etc.)

At the same time, in relation to the advance of the utilitarian – or even market-oriented – approach to the production of knowledge at the university, the argument of relevance is sufficiently vague to avoid questioning.

Malagón Plata defines relevance as "... the phenomenon by which multiple relationships between the university and its environment are established…" (Malagón Plata 2003: 1), where "environment" refers to the State, society or corporation.

Malagón Plata formulates a theoretical-conceptual categorization of different contemporary approaches to relevance. His categories include:

1. *Political perspectives of relevance:* This is the approach that has prevailed in and from the UNESCO, the organization that has spearheaded the definition of the term relevance. The idea in UNESCO documents is ambiguous and contradictory in terms of the conjuncture or relationship between the university and society.

2. *Economic approach to relevance:* The World Bank is at the forefront of this approach which sees relevance as the creative ability to respond to demands in function of the university-corporate relationship where the latter is a player in the social fabric.

---

17 For further analysis of the etymology of *relevant*, see (Naidorf 2011).

3. *Social approach to relevance* where the university, with its critical capacity and ability to question the status quo, is the leading player.

The notion of relevance is also social, political, economic and cultural in nature. It requires changes in the institutions of higher education and in pedagogy, as well as the ability to process information and the shift towards new ways of organizing knowledge. It may, then, have implications for the productive sector, but mostly for sectors that do not revolve around the dominant spaces of the economy. This approach includes – as Malagón Plata asserts – the works of García Guardilla (1996), Nicaraguan Tunnermann Bernheim (2006), and others.

José Días Sobrinho endows the concept with another meaning. His work is based on the premise that "education is a public good, a right for all, and a duty of the State" (Días Sobrinho 2007: 1). Therefore, he believes that relevance is achieved through the participation of education institutions in the cultural, economic and social life of the society in which it exists without losing sight of universal questions. This participation is two-way insofar as it includes both the producers and the consumers of knowledge. Thus, knowledge "…has a public value; it is pedagogical and it contributes to social development. The alliance between quality and relevance eschews any possible link to market-driven ideas and corporate logics; it entails rather a conception of education as a public good geared to the construction of fair and democratic societies in the interest of affirming identity" (Días Sobrinho, 2007: 6).

In keeping with Gibbons's pragmatism (1998) and the questioning of critical perspectives of utilitarianism. Dias Sobrinho (2007) asserts that the formation of knowledge must have "social use or, better still, social value" (Días Sobrinho 2007: 20). That means that it must be relevant from the perspective of the society in which and for which it is generated.

In closing, other works attempt to re-signify the notion of relevance. In earlier texts, we have discussed its political dimension (Llomovatte, Pereyra and Kantarovich (2008)). Indeed, relevance, like the other notions discussed, has a political side that must be considered when it comes to analyzing these questions. In the midst of a model geared to the pursuit of greater profit and marked by high unemployment, productive experiences based on solidarity[18] and exchange for the common good begin to take shape, formulating alternatives in market-based models. Productive spaces are no longer the center that sets in motion and devours the social (Llomovatte, et.al 2008).

It is the university – through "ongoing dialogue," "relations of equality" and

---

18 "[…] Binding the university to productive processes geared to solidarity enables a feedback process: supporting, valorizing and regaining experiences and knowledge; reconstructing history as a collective task in order to recover material and symbolic processes on the basis of which social and collective identity are built to heighten their power by means of connection with training. Building these bonds enriches the university through the synergetic conjunction of educators, research, extension and transference" (Pereyra (2008) cited by Llomovatte 2008: 44).

"processes of shared learning"[19] – that makes it possible to endow with new meanings the social responsibility and commitment of which the university itself partakes. These concepts provide the framework for the social and political dimension of relevance. This public nature is bound to another of its constitutive traits, mainly its ethical and moral character. "Not only can university professors and researchers be the interpreters of questions of a public (and hence political) nature […], it is also their responsibility to act on the moral plane in their teaching, research, and participation in projects with a social orientation and through alliances with a large range of critical social sectors; this is how the social identity of the public intellectual is constructed, a figure that greatly exceeds the limits of a professional identity" (Llomovatte, et. Al. 2008: 51). By constructing alternative approaches to the problems facing the region, it is possible to conceive a model of the university in relation to the socio-historical-geographic-productive role each institution plays in its community. This is how the notion of relevance becomes the privileged term in a range of possible conceptions.

REFERENCES

Ballón, E. (2007). Sobre el concepto de cohesión social. *Alop (acronym in Spanish for Latin American Association of Development Promotion Organizations*), Newsletter 18*, May-June.*

Barba Solano, C. (2011). Revisión teórica del concepto de cohesión Social: hacia una perspectiva normativa para América Latina. In, C. Barba Solano, N. Cohen. (coord.) *Perspectivas críticas sobre la cohesión social: desigualdades y tentativas fallidas de integración social en América Latina* (pp. 67-86), Buenos Aire, CLACSO (acronym in Spanish for *Latin American* Council of Social Sciences).

Barba Solano, C. Cohen, N. (coord.)(2011). *Perspectivas críticas sobre la cohesión social: desigualdades y tentativas fallidas de integración social en América Latina*, Buenos Aires, CLACSO (acronym in Spanish for *Latin American* Council of Social Sciences).

Bellenda, Alvarez, Colnago & García (2006). El PPAOC: una estrategia de intervención universitaria en torno a la agricultura urbana. In, Tomasino & Hegedus, *Extensión; reflexiones para la intervención en el medio urbano y rural*. Uruguay, UDELAR.

Bobbio, N. (1993). *Igualdad y Libertad*, Buenos Aires, Paidós.

Bossio Rotondo, J.C. (2008). *Los indicadores de la cohesión social en la Unión Europea. Resultados contradictorios, perspectivas inquietantes*. In: Contribuciones a la Economía, available online at http://www.eumed.net/ce/2008b/

Braslavsky, C. (1999). *Re-haciendo la escuela. Un nuevo paradigma en la educación latinoamericana*. Buenos Aires, Santillana.

Braslavsky, C. Cosse, G. (2003). *Panorama internacional sobre la calidad y equidad en la educación*. Conference 'calidad, equidad y educación', Donosita, País Vasco. España.

Brovetto, J. (2003). *La vinculación de la Universidad con su entorno*. Asociación de Universidades

---

[19] We understand the university to be engaged in constant dialogue with the society in which it is generated. This is manifested as a relationship of equality; it encompasses the exchange of knowledge and gives rise to a process of shared learning constructed in a participatory way such that we all learn and we all teach. These values and principles are the premise on which the model of community-university relationship is constructed" (Bellenda, et al. (2006) cited by Llomovatte 2008: 46)

Grupo Montevideo (AUGM). *Latin American Institute* of *Education* for *Development* (acronym in Spanish: ILAEDES). Publication available online at: http://umet.edu.ec/pdf/LA-VINCULACION-DE-LA-UNIVERSIDAD-CON-SU-ENTORNO.pdf (consulted on 2/10/2012).

Carrasco Vielma, S. (1997). *Igualdad de oportunidades y equidad en las políticas de educación superior; Un estudio sobre los procesos de selección y financiamiento*. Available online at: www.mgpp.cl/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/CASO27.pdf (consulted in February 2012).

Cattani, AD. (2011). Cohesión social y políticas públicas sin molestar a los sectores dominantes. In C. Barba Solano, N. Cohen (coord.) *Perspectivas críticas sobre la cohesión social: desigualdades y tentativas fallidas de integración social en América Latina* (pp. 53 -65), Buenos Aire, CLACSO (acronym in Spanish for *Latin American* Council of Social Sciences).

CE (2001). *Deuxième rapport sur la cohésion économique et sociale: Unité de l'Europe, solidarité des peuples, diversité des territoires*, Communauté Européenne, Luxembourg.

CE (2005 to). *Troisième rapport sur la cohésion économique et sociale. Un nouveau partenariat pour la cohésion économique. Convergence, compétitivité coopération*, Communauté Européenne, Luxembourg.

CE (2005 b). *Travaillons ensemble pour la croissance et l'emploi. Un nouvel élan pour lastratégie de Lisbonne*, Commission européenne, Brussels.

CE (2007). *Quatrième rapport sur la cohésion économique et sociale. Des régions en pleine croissance, une Europe en pleine croissance*, Commission Européenne, Luxemburg.

ECLA (2000). *Equidad, desarrollo y ciudadanía* available online at: www.eclac.cl/publicaciones/xml/5/4425/lcg2071.pdf (Consulted February 2012)

ECLA-UNESCO (1996). *Educación y Conocimiento: eje de la transformación productiva con equidad*, Regional Office of Education for Latin America, Lima, Tarea.

Chiroleu, A. (1999). La política universitaria de Alfonsín y Menem: entre la democracia y la equidad. *IICE Journal, Year III N° 15*, (pp. 21-32).

Clark, B. (1983). *El sistema de educación superior. Una visión comparativa de la organización académica*, México, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana,.

Cotler, J. (ed) (2006). *La cohesión social en la agenda de América Latina y de la Unión Europea*, Lima ,IEP.

De Ketele. (2008). *La pertinencia social de la educación superior en el Mundo* available online at http://upcommons.upc.edu/revistes/bitstream/2099/7946/1/04%20%2855-61%29.pdf (Consulted on 02/13/12).

De Sousa Santos, B. (2005). *La universidad en el siglo XXI. Para una reforma democrática y emancipadora de la universidad*. Buenos Aires, Miño and Dávila- Laboratorio de políticas públicas.

Días Sobrinho, J. (Coord.), Stubrin, A; Martín, E., González, L, Espinoza, O, and Goergen, P. (2007). Calidad, Pertinencia y Responsabilidad Social de la Universidad Latinoamericana y Caribeña. In *Tendencias de la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe*. (pp.87-112) Caracas, UNESCO/IESALC.

Espinoza, O., González, L. (2010). Política y estrategias de equidad e inclusión en la Educación Superior en América Latina: Experiencias y resultados. *In Isses Journal. Inclusión Social y equidad en la Educación Superior, N° 7*.

Feijoo, M. C. (2002): *Equidad Social y Educación en los 90*. Buenos Aires. IIPE (Acronym in Spanish for the International Institute for Education Planning) UNESCO.

Freres, C., Sanahuja J.A. (2006). La cohesión social y las relaciones Unión Europea-América Latina in J. Cotler (ed) (2006). *La cohesión social en la agenda de América Latina y de la Unión Europea*, Lima ,IEP.

García Guadilla, M.C. (1996). Situación y principales dinámicas de transformación de la Educación Superior en América Latina. *1st ed. Caracas: CRESALC / UNESCO, 1996, p. 287*.

Gibbons M. (1998, Octubre). *Higher Education Relevance in the 21st Century*, document presented at the UNESCO Word Conference on Higher Education. Paris, Francia.

Gonzales, L., Espinoza, O. (2010). *Políticas de educación superior y equidad en el bicentenario*, avail-

able online at: www.fundacionequitas.org/descargas/barometro/barometro01-04.pdf (consulted in February 2012).

Granja Castro, J. (1997). Los desplazamientos en el discurso educativo en América Latina. in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología, July–September*, 161-188.

Green, A., Janmaat, J., Han, C. (2009). *Regimen of Social Cohesion* published by the Center for Learning and Life Chance in Knowledge Economies and Societies, available online at: http://llakes.org.uk

Green, A., Preston, J., Janmaat, J. (2006). *Education, Equality and Social Cohesion. A Comparative Analysis.* New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Hernández Álvarez, M, (2008), El Concepto de Equidad y Debate Sobre Lo Justo en Salud. In *Salud Pública Journal, December.* Available online at: www.scielosp.org/pdf/rsap/v10s1/v10s1a07.pdf (consulted in February 2012).

Heuser (2007). Academic Social Cohesion within Higher Education, *prospect, 37: 293-303.*

Hillert, F. (1999). Notas sobre la igualdad y equidad. In *Educación, ciudadanía y Democracia. Thesis 11, Buenos Aires.*

Jarquín, E. (2007). ¿De qué cohesión social hablamos?, *Quórum, 18, Alcalá de Henares.*

Laclau, E. (1994). Why Do Empty Signifiers Matter to Politics?. In W. Jeffrey, *The Lesser Evil and the Greater Good..*", London, River Oram Press; translated into Spanish as *Emancipación y diferencia*, Buenos Aires, Ariel.

Lemaitre, M. (2005). Equidad en la Educación Superior: Un Concepto Complejo. *In Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación, 3, N° 2,* 70 -79.

Llomovatte, S., Juarros, F., Naidorf, J., Guelman, A. (2007). *La vinculación Universidad-Empresa: miradas críticas desde la universidad pública.* Buenos Aires: Miño and Dávila.

Llomovatte, S., Pereyra, K., Kantarovich, G. (2008). Escribir sobre el vínculo Universidad – sociedad. Llamar a las cosas por su nombre es complejo. In *Revista del Instituto de Investigaciones en Ciencias de la Educación, July,* 37-55, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Malagón Plata, L. (2003). La pertinencia en la educación superior. Elementos para su comprensión. In *Revista de Educación Superior, July – Septiembre*, México.

Mendes, J. (2011). Equality, Democratic Citizenship and Solidarity: Is There a Role for Higher Education in the Framing of an Alternative Paradigm?. *Journal of the Sociology of Education Association, 4, N° 2.,* 168 – 185. Valencia.

Montané, S.; Naidorf, J.; Teodoro, A. (forthcoming). *Springer International Handbook on Social (In) justice in Education. Pertinence and Social Compromise in Higher Education.* In press

Mota Díaz, L. Sandoval Forero. (2011). Acción Social Solidaria, Confianza y Diversidad Cultural. In C. Barba Solano, N. Cohen. (coord.). *Perspectivas críticas sobre la cohesión social: desigualdades y tentativas fallidas de integración social en América Latina.* (pp. 23-51), Buenos Aires, CLACSO (acronym in Spanish for *Latin American* Council of Social Sciences).

Naidorf, J. (2009). *Los cambios en la cultura académica de la Universidad Pública.* Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires Press (Eudeba).

Naidorf, J. (2011). Criterios de relevancia y pertinencia de la investigación y su traducción en forma de prioridades. In the *Journal of the Asociación de Sociología de Educación (RASE), 4 N°1.*

Naidorf, J., Giordana, P., Horn, M. (2007). La pertinencia social de la Universidad como categoría equívoca. In *Nómada, 27, Universidad Central, Colombia.*

Naishtat, F. (2003). Universidad y conocimiento: por un ethos de la impertinencia epistémico. In *Espacios de Crítica y Producción Journal, a publication of the School of Philosophy and Literature of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, 30.*

Pereyra, K. (2008). Universidad, Empresas Recuperadas y formación: nuevas vinculaciones ante nuevos desafíos. In Cortegoso, Depetris Guiguet & Pereyra (comp.). *Iniciativas asociativas y cooperativas en el MERCOSUR*, AUGM (acronym in Spanish for the *Association* of *Universities Montevideo* Group) available online at http://www.econo.unlp.edu.ar/uploads/docs/cooperativas_iniciativas_asociativas_procoas.pdf (consulted on 3-2212).

Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge. Massachusett: Belknap, Harvard University Press.

Shnapper, D. (2007). Qu´est-ce que l´integracion. Paris: Gallimard.

Somers, M (2008). Let Them Eat Social Capital: How Marketizing The Social Turned Solidarity into a Bowling Team. In M. Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship. Markets, Statelessness, and Right to Have Rights*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Strasser, C. (2004). Algunas precisiones (y perspectivas) sobre a equidad, democracia y gobernabilidad a principios del siglo XXI. In *Posdata Journal, December 2004*, 131 – 148. Available online at: www.revistaposdata.com.ar/files/pd_pdf_10005.pdf (consulted February 2012).

Sutz, J. (1997). La universidad latinoamericana y su pertinencia: elementos para repensar el problema" *In Revista Quantum/CCEEA, 9*.

Tünnermann C. (2006). *Pertinencia y calidad de la educación superior. Lección inaugural. Guatemala*. Available online at: http://www.uv.mx/departamentalizacion/lecturas/papel/papel/Lectura%20 9.%20Pertinencia%20y%20calidad%20de%20la%20educacion%20superior.pdf (consulted 3-22-12).

UNESCO (1995). Policy Paper for Change and Development in Higher Education: World Declaration on Higher Education in the 21st Century: Vision and Action. Article 6: "Long-Term Orientation Based on Relevance".

Vasen, F. (2011). Los sentidos de la relevancia en la política científica. In *Revista Iberoamericana de Ciencia, Tecnología y Sociedad, 7, N°19*.

Vessuri, H. (1996). Pertinencia de la educación superior latinoamericana a finales de siglo XX. In *Nueva Sociedad, 146*, Caracas.

Yarzábal, L. (1997). En busca de un compromiso para la acción. In UNESCO, *Towards a New Higher Education*. Caracas: UNESCO.

Silvia Llomovatte & Judith Naidorf
Universidad de Buenos Aires

ANTÓNIO TEODORO & MANUELA GUILHERME

CONCLUSION

Keeping in mind that the future is a collective construction, which encompasses both the past and the present, and also takes our aspirations into account, that is, in Wallerstein's words (1998), our "utopistics," or our "viable unknowns," Freire's *inéditos viáveis*, we conclude with a synopsis of the challenges that will be posed to those in charge of designing future higher education policies, and specifically, those targeting universities. These challenges also reflect the goals behind the various chapters in the book and can be summed up as follows:

*The **first challenge** lies in the capacity to view universities, and higher education in general, through a paradigm other than neoliberalism.* Unfortunately, neoliberalism has been more than an economic dogma. It is a paradigm (Laval & Dardot, 2013) based upon the idea that the market is omniscient and that competition is the only human action capable of generating innovation and progress; based on that assumption, neoliberal thought embraced the mission to undertake a "revolution" in social and human relations; this is a departure from social engineering, which focused on radicalizing and transforming capitalism and, throughout the 20th century, had learnt to co-exist with democracy and the welfare state. This new system of belief of neoliberalism has become deeply entrenched in the policies of universities and higher education. Questioning the assumptions and consequences of such a paradigm and constructing alternative paradigms is certainly one of the tasks to be undertaken by intellectuals, academics, and other political actors who are committed to overcoming one of the darkest (and most dangerous) periods in recent history.

*The **second challenge** lies in the capacity to think about the university (here used as an encompassing term of the whole higher education system) as a community of learning*, open to change and innovation, able to include and stimulate empowerment, or *conscientização*, if we prefer Freire's concept, of a growing number of youth and adults who, without discrimination of gender, class or ethnicity, is willing to attain education at a higher level. The university is gradually becoming less and less a space for the elite alone, with definite and pre-determined criteria, imposed through an exclusive process of selection (well described by Pierre Bourdieu), behind which forms of reproduction of inequalities and symbolic violence are hidden.

*The **third challenge** lies in weighing the consequences that are a result of higher education's increasing privatization*; the loss of higher education's public status has an effect on both its ownership and funding sources, as well as the growing identity of students and their families as consumers. Is higher education going to be

considered a public service, and, therefore, a non-transactional right? The answer to this question has numerous consequences at the political level, not only for the allocation of resources, but especially with regard to the regulation procedures in the system of higher education.

The **fourth challenge** *lies at the level of governance styles in higher education.* During the last decades, in many countries, deep changes occurred in university governance structures, and the tendency has clearly been to follow the model of entrepreneurial management. The implementation of *new public management* theories made collective participation models (teachers, researchers, students) seem ineffective in the definition of scientific and training policies and were instead replaced by stakeholders, who are typically extrinsic to any university. The process of selecting chancellors began to resemble the selection of CEOs in corporations, and chancellors began to act in accordance with corporate patterns of efficiency. In some countries, these changes did not occur and university governance continued to be carried out according to the old ways, that is, based upon the ruling influence of teachers and the student body as well as connections to political parties. Therefore, the challenge is to think of a "citizen university." There seems to be few alternatives to this dilemma: either a university based upon the corporate weight of its teachers and existing students or an entrepreneurial university, where the predominant criteria are those of efficiency as measured by its economic output?

The **fifth challenge** *has to do with knowledge and the way it is used and understood: for the public good or for competitive advantage? A personal and shared construction or a* commodity *acquired through the purchase of a service?* There is a vast bibliography, produced mainly by transnational organizations such as OECD or the World Bank, which gradually transform into *think tanks* that construct new systems of thought, which then become known as common sense (Teodoro, 2011) about the role of universities in the "knowledge economy." And what is the role of universities in the "knowledge society"?

The **sixth challenge** *is connected to the potential for a combination of competition and cooperation, both at national and international levels.* In times of globalization, policy regulation is mainly carried out through international (and national) comparative analyses, based upon large statistical inquiries. These are queries of the PISA-type (also to be soon applied to higher education) that will measure "academic productivity" as qualified by university, school, state and even country ranking. Quality and excellence at the individual or institutional level are (almost) always determined as resulting from competing systems and rarely (if ever) from cooperation. Excellence is, in general, characterized as opposing massive education. However, the question is this: *is it possible to get academic excellence from widespread and public higher education that is universal and radically democratic?*

The **seventh challenge** *deals with higher education regulation models in relation to the roles played by the state, the market and the community.* Recent cultural tendencies have led to a setback of the state, which is sometimes only barely visible, having already been reduced to an administrative capacity, handing in regulation

procedures to accreditation and evaluation agencies, which then present themselves and their evaluators as "independent," to the market, whose presence is overwhelming. Is it possible to keep a balance between the three pillars of public policy regulation while giving predominance to the community pillar, generally absent in preponderant regulation models?

*The **eighth challenge** originates in a dichotomy that has been evident in higher education, in particular in Brazil: the dichotomy between the research academy and the teaching of higher education.* Since Humboldt, a close link between teaching and research has existed in universities. But with the expansion of higher education, combined with the trend towards an overall vocational character of its institutions, universities have been led away from scientific production. In fact, this resulted in a gap between universities more focused on research and those dedicated to teaching. The question is then the following: *what is the role of research in personal and professional development of higher education staff*? Is it possible to keep this dichotomy without harming the relevance and excellence of universities in their ability to prepare the workforce of a country?

*The **ninth challenge** lies at the level of university internationalization.* Here we only deal with the issue of *world class universities* and their impact while spreading hegemonic models of organization and education. Since this is a less-debated issue, it is important to examine the responsibility of asserting and spreading certain teaching and researching models mainly in countries of the periphery and semi-periphery of the world system, who, by rule, follow the models provided by the leading countries, the world powers, or the so-called "developed" countries, or even have them imposed upon them for various reasons.

*The **tenth** (and last) **challenge** deals with knowledge canon and the dialogue between epistemologies.* Scientific knowledge is not the only way of knowing. Can universities become cosmopolitan centers that establish bridges between different cultures, different knowledge sources, and link knowledge with citizenship? Can universities establish an open dialogue between scientific knowledge and other forms of knowledge, in particular, indigenous knowledge?

Historian Carlo Cippola wrote in one of his essays: "*The present is no more than a small slice of future, hanging from a small slice of past, being the size of each slice arbitrarily determined by the individual* (Cippola, 1993: 92, authors' translation). In our attempt to foresee the current challenges of higher education, we also took serious account of each one of these slices.

António Teodoro & Manuela Guilherme
Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, ULHT, Lisbon

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

DE GROOT, Isolde - Postdoc researcher and lecturer at the University of Humanistic Studies in Utrecht. Her research interest is in citizenship education, narrative research, concepts of democracy, and development of adolescents.

DONINI, **Ana M.C.** - Professor of Education and Director of the M.A. Program in Educational Management at National University of San Martin (Argentina). She holds a Master of Arts from the State University of California (Stanislaus) and an EdD from University of the Pacific, Stockton, California. She has participated in several international action-research education projects. Her research interests include educational policies in higher education in Argentina and the Mercosur Region. She is author of "Nuevo siglo, nueva escuela?" and "Nuevas infancias y juventudes. Una experiencia formativa" and several articles and chapters in the field of educational policies and regional integration.

ESPINOZA, Óscar - Director of the Center of Educational Research at University UCINF, associated researcher at the Interdisciplinary Program of Educational Research (PIIE) and associated researcher of the Center of Comparative Educational Policies at University Diego Portales. His research mainly focuses in higher education, educational policies, social mobility and equity.

GOODSON, Ivor - Professor of Learning Theory at the Education Research Centre at the University of Brighton and International Research Professor at the University of Tallinn, Estonia. He is a partner on the RIAPE 3 research project – funded by the EU. He has recently completed three major research projects: 'Professional Knowledge in Education and Health' (PROFKNOW) funded by the EU (2002-2008), the 'Learning Lives, Learning Identity and Agency in the Life Course' project (2003 – 2008) funded by the ESRC and 'Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns "Home"' (2006-2009) funded by the AHRC. Professor Goodson has spent the last 30 years researching, thinking and writing about some of the key and enduring issues in education and has contributed over 50 books and 600 articles to the field. Life-history and narrative research specialisations represent a particular area of competence as does research on teacher's lives and careers and teacher professionalism.

GOROSTIAGA, Jorge M. - PhD in Social and Comparative Analysis in Education (University of Pittsburgh). Associate Professor, School of Humanities, National University of San Martin, and researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Tech-

nological Research, Argentina. He also teaches at Universidad Torcuato Di Tella. His research focuses on education reform in Latin America, and on the links between research and educational policies.

GUILHERME, Manuela – Associate Professor, at the Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias (ULHT), Lisbon, and a senior Researcher at Centro de Estudos Interdisciplinares em Educação e Desenvolvimento (CeiED, ULHT). She was awarded a Ph.D. in Education (2000) by the University of Durham, UK, and the Birkmaier Award (2001) for her doctoral research by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the Modern Language Journal. In 2003-2007, she coordinated projects funded by the European Commission and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. She was the Scientific Co-coordinator of the RIAIPE3 Project (2011-2013), ALFA Programme, European Commission. She was awarded a Marie Curie Fellowship, European Commission, to carry out a full-time individual research project to be implemented both in Brazil and Portugal (2014-2017).

LLOMOVATTE, Silvia - Master of Arts at The University of Chicago and *Licenciada en Ciencias de la Educación* at the Universidad of Buenos Aires. Full Professor and researcher; Director of the Research Program in Sociology of Education; Director of the Magister Program in Critical Pedagogy and Social Educative Problems at the *Facultad de Filosofía y Letras – Universidad de Buenos Aires*. Directs UBACYT and CONICET funded projects as well as Master and Doctoral dissertations and scholarships. Vicepresident for Latin America, Sociology of Education, International Sociological Association. Visiting scholar and professor at Universities in México, Uruguay, USA and Canada. RIAIPE Member Network.

MAGALHÃES, António M. - Associate Professor at the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Porto, Head of the Department of Education Sciences and Senior Researcher at the Centre for Research in Higher Education Policies (CIPES). His field of expertise lies on education policy analysis with a focus on higher education policies. He has been publishing nationally and internationally in these areas, namely in journals such as *Higher Education Quarterly*, *Higher Education Policy*, *Archivos Analíticos de Políticas Educativas*, *Higher Education,* among others.

MENDES, José Manuel – Ph.D. in Sociology by the School of Economics of the University of Coimbra, where he is an Assistant Professor. Senior Researcher at the Centre for Social Studies, where he has been working in the fields of inequalities, social mobility, social movements and collective action and, more recently, on the themes of risk, social vulnerability and public policies. Co-coordinator of the Research Group POSTRADE and the Risk Observatory (OSIRIS) at the Centre for Social Studies. Co-coordinator of the Trauma Centre at the Centre for Social Studies.

NAIDORF, Judith - Doctor of the University of Buenos Aires, Area Education. CONICET full time researcher based at the Research Institute of Education Sciences. Is coordinator of the Working Group Clacso "politicized and mobile and social science in a Latin American-oriented research agenda priorities from university" (2013-2016). Directs UBACYT funded projects (2013-2016) "Knowledge Mobilization Produced By The Social In Public Universities as Intellectual Current Condition of Knowledge Production" . Earned the Clacso scholarships and Faculty Research Program International Council for Canadian studies. has studied at the Ontario Institute for studies in Education of the University of Toronto. RIAIPE Member Network.

NOLLET, Fleur - Research assistant at the University of Humanistic Studies in Utrecht. Her research interest is in how teachers deal with controversial issues in education.

PINI, Monica E. - PhD in Educational Thought and Sociocultural Studies (The University of New Mexico). Masters in Public Administration and Bachelor in Education Sciences (University of Buenos Aires). Chair of the Center of Interdisciplinary Studies in Education, Culture and Society, University of San Martin (UNSAM), Argentina. She is also Director of the Graduate Program in Education, Languages and Media, and Full Professor of Education, Culture and Society at UNSAM. Various published articles on educational politics and policy and educational research. Her books are "La escuela pública que nos dejaron los 90. Discursos y prácticas," and "Discurso y Educación: Herramientas para el análisis crítico."

ROMÃO, José Eustáquio Founder/Director of Paulo Freire Institute, where he coordinates the "Cathedra of the Oppressed"; Professor at Universidade Nove de Julho in São Paulo, Brazil, where he coordinates the Education and Multiculturalism group. Dr. Romão (PhD in History and Education from University of São Paulo) is the author of many books on critical pedagogy and dialogue education. He coordinated Brazilian teams of researchers in international projects such as "Educating the Global Citizen: Globalization, Educational Reform and the Politics of Equity and Inclusion in 17 Countries" and "Iberian-American Networking Research on Educational Policies."

RUDD, Tim - Principal Lecturer at the University of Brighton, and also runs Livelab, a research and development organisation. His research interests include: the sociology of education and educational technology; the politics and ideology of educational and technology; learner voice, empowerment; and alternative educational practice. He has recently worked on a number of research projects including:RIAIPE3, and Unbox21, a project exploring the potential of computer games in the classroom. He has recently written articles exploring the ideology and effects of neo-liberalism in education, and is currently also developing work focusing on critical perspectives on educational technology in the neo liberal period.

TEODORO, António - Full Professor of Comparative Education and Sociology of Education at Universidade Lusófona (ULHT), Lisboa, and Visiting Professor at UNINOVE, Sao Paulo. Vice-President for the European Sociology of Education Research Committee, International Sociological Association (ISA). Scientific coordinator of the Iberian-American Network of Research in Education Policies (RIAIPE) and of the Inter-University Framework Program for Equity and Social Cohesion Policies in Higher Education in Latin America, funded by the EC Alfa III Program. Expert invited to the Eurydice study *The Teaching Profession in Europe: Profile, trends and concerns* (2000-2002)*,* member of the Editorial Board of a dozen of academic journals in Portugal, Brazil, Spain, Argentina, France, and the US, and main editor of the *Revista Lusófona de Educação*.

TIANA-FERRER, Alejandro - Professor of Theory and History of Education and Rector of the Spain's National Distance Teaching University (UNED). A Ph.D. in Pedagogy, from Complutense University Madrid, 1985, he has served as Secretary General of Education for the Ministry of Education and Science of Spain (2004-2008) and Director General of the Center for Advanced Studies at the Ibero-American States Organization for Education, Science and Culture (OEI, 2008-2012). He has authored or coauthored 20 books and more than 200 chapters or articles about several issues related to the history of education systems, educational policy, comparative education and the evaluation of education systems.

TORRES, Carlos Alberto - Professor at the UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies (GSE&IS), and Associate Dean for Global Programs. He is also President of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES). Professor Torres has published 59 books (over 60 counting his literary works), of which 32 are authored or co-authored, while another 27 are edited volumes. He has published over 200 journal articles in leading international journals. His work has been translated into thirteen languages, including Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Korean, and Italian.

VEIGA, Amélia - PhD in Education Sciences by the University of Porto, Portugal. She is researcher at the Agency for Assessment and Accreditation of Higher Education (A3ES) and at the Centre for Research in Higher Education Policies (CIPES). Her main research interests are in the field of higher education studies, in particular European policies and higher education reforms developed under the framework of the Bologna process, governance and quality assurance. She has been involved in national and international projects about the implementation of the Bologna process, internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation of higher education, quality assurance, governing and governance in higher education.

VEUGELERS, Wiel - Professor of Education at the University of Humanistic Studies in Utrecht and associate professor of Curriculum Studies at the University of Amsterdam. His research interest is in moral and citizenship education, a humanist perspective on education, teachers' normative professionalism, youth cultures, and educational change.