

Globalization

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Prepared for Encyclopedia on Education and Sociology, edited by Peter Cookson, Jr., Alan Sadovnik, and David L. Levinson. Cambridge: Garland Publishing, 1996.

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Word count: 3950

Key words: Globalization, internationalism, transnationalism, UNESCO, non-governmental organizations, global education, state and education, functionalism, status competition, conflict theory, institutional theory, compulsory education, vocational education, gender equality, educational statistics, Church and education.

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The globalization of education and schooling (terms that will be used interchangeably here) has four major dimensions. It began in medieval times, particularly from the eleventh century onward, with (1) the revitalization and bureaucratization of the Western Church and the accompanying establishment of a decentralized European "system" of education for the production of clergy and secular officials. That dimension will be treated only briefly in favor of more recent developments. In the nineteenth century we find (2) international comparisons and rivalries between countries involved in the initial construction of mass schooling, a process of mutual imitation that gave schooling a largely uniform structure among these competing countries. In the twentieth century, educational globalization intensified with (3) the spread of the state as the dominant political form everywhere in the world, with the consequence that the construction of national educational systems became a ubiquitous endeavor, along with the establishment and growth of transnational or global organizations concerned with education. These organizations, especially UNESCO and the many non-governmental bodies associated with UNESCO, came to constitute a normatively authoritative "global center" for the discussion and implementation of educational ideas and organizational models. Hand-in-hand with the latter two dimensions we find (4) growing social scientific interest in education, producing analyses of the history and operations of schooling in many countries and studies of the effects of schooling on such phenomena as economic growth, stratification, and political behavior. In recent decades much of the social scientific research has been incorporated into the work of global educational organizations and thereby has become part of the globalization process itself.

(1) **Transnational and national education in pre-modern Europe.** The expansion and bureaucratization of the Roman Church was predicated on the production of literate clerics. The Church directly promoted the founding and expansion of cathedral schools and universities; religious orders devoted at least partly to education, including the Augustinians and Dominicans,

flourished from the thirteenth century onward. Teaching principally in Latin and concentrating on abstract knowledge and skills, these institutions constituted a transnational community of scholars and students equally at home in Dublin, Aachen, or Bologna.

The universalism of the system was complicated by the emerging system of competing states, which gradually fashioned bureaucratic administrations based on the model provided by the Church. Monarchs relied heavily on Church men to staff their administrations; this interpenetration of secular and spiritual authority formed the organizational basis for the centuries-long struggle between Church and state. One result was recurring state attempts to wrest control of education from the hands of the Church, particularly through the establishment of independent universities.

The increasing nationalization of formal education, which would remain an elite activity producing clerics, lawyers, and administrators through the eighteenth century, is indicated by the introduction of vernacular languages and the founding of regional universities designed to promote a common national culture. Lund University, for example, was established in 1668 to promote the Swedification of Scania, which the Swedes had taken from Denmark ten years earlier. Yet the curriculum of the universities retained its abstract philosophical/theological character well into the modern era, focusing on forms of knowledge that transcended considerations of national identity, and educated elites continued to constitute an essentially transnational community as well. Seventeenth-century monarchs in post-Reformation Europe may have founded academies of science, language, and the arts for the purpose of national aggrandizement, but the scholars, artists, and clergymen supported by those academies saw themselves as engaged in universally applicable discourse, expression, analysis, and spiritual meditation.

(2) **Nineteenth-century nationalism and internationalism.** By the nineteenth century, the thoroughgoing cultural transformation of the West produced an entirely new social logic regarding education. The spread of capitalist exchange, technological development, bureaucratic political administration, and individualistic concern for liberty and self-development made

exclusively elite schooling seem inadequate for the problems of the day. The masses, too, needed schooling.

Precursors of the notion that mass schooling was both necessary and useful had surfaced as early as the sixteenth century, when the Reformation shifted the focus of religiosity from rituals conducted by the clerical elite on behalf of their flocks to direct participation and faith on the part of individual parishioners. Both Protestants and Counter-Reformation Catholics, especially the Jesuits, turned to schooling as a means of winning souls. Compulsory schooling laws formalized this notion as early as 1619 in Lutheran Weimar and 1642 in Puritan Massachusetts. Two centuries later, the necessity of schooling had become conventional wisdom throughout the European-centered world system. Schooling was needed to teach the lower classes better agricultural methods and new skills required for factory work. Schooling would instill the virtues of sobriety, discipline, and respect for authority. Schooling would foster patriotism and a willingness to sacrifice for the national good. Schooling would, in short, transform the "lower classes" into model individuals who would create strong, efficient, progressive societies.

This view of schooling as functionally imperative was not without its critics. Schooling for the masses was a dangerous business, they claimed; it would give the lower classes ideas and capabilities unsuited to their station, and encourage rebellious attitudes to boot. But the infectious optimism of the nineteenth century produced a remarkably common outcome of the schooling debate: everywhere in Europe, and in most independent countries that had once been European colonies, states built school systems in which most children spent a fair proportion of their childhood days. The transnational character of this process is evident in the sheer fact of its simultaneity: In 1800 not a single mass schooling system was in operation, but by 1900 such systems were commonplace.

Nineteenth-century educational development was, however, more international than global. The "educated person" ideal to be pursued via mass schooling was certainly a transnationally shared image, but national systems were the means to be used in the pursuit. The internationalism of the process became clear as elites and educators looked to one another in

designing and constructing school systems: What was under construction was not distinctly French, Australian, Bavarian, or Canadian systems, but a range of variants on a common basic model. American educators like Alexander Dallas Bache (1839), Horace Mann (1844), and Henry Barnard (1835--37) toured the continent to study structure and methods with an eye to school reform at home. Victor Cousin visited Holland and Germany on France's behalf; Swedish educators experimented with the English monitorial method of instruction; Pestalozzi and Herbart became international figures of great regard. Prussian education quickly established itself as a favorite model, with its strict discipline, close ties to the expansive Prussian military machine, and obvious effectiveness (the French were wont to attribute their loss of the war with Prussia in 1870 to the "Prussian schoolmaster"). The U. S. Office of Education, established after the American Civil War and initially led by Barnard, became the most prominent source of statistics and in-depth reports on European systems through the end of the century.

This "age of nationalism" was also, then, an age of systematic mutual surveillance and learning in which state administrators and educators searched for optimal models and methods. Parliamentary debaters in places as diverse as England, Sweden, the Netherlands, Argentina, and Mexico routinely made reference to developments in other countries as arguments for or against proposals in their own countries. The ideas and mechanisms to be used for education were seen as transnationally valid, despite much disagreement about such matters as the desirability of maintaining two-track systems to keep children of different classes apart.

Internationalism was institutionalized in an unexpected way in the work of statisticians who strove to standardize the compilation of vital and educational statistics. Leading the way was the International Statistical Congress, under the leadership of Adolphe Quetelet, which met nine times between 1853 and 1876 to coordinate the activities of official representatives from a large number of states. Eventually undermined by Bismarck's refusal to allow Prussian officials to participate, the ISC gave way to non-governmental bodies in which many of the same participants acted as private members. Chief among these were the International Demographic Congress, first held in 1878, and the International Statistical Institute, founded in 1885.

These developments sharply improved the basis for country-to-country comparisons, thereby facilitating more intense international competition regarding education. In addition, reform groups within countries increasingly turned to statistical sources to buttress their concerns about the relatively advanced state of schooling in other countries and, therefore, the necessity of improvements at home.

(3) **The spread of statehood and global organization.** The transformation of colonies and dependencies into politically independent countries following the collapse of the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, British, and French empires led to an unprecedented wave of state formation and nation-building in the twentieth century. By this time, it was taken for granted that every state should establish and vigorously support a national educational system. Compulsory mass schooling laws and rapidly growing school systems sprang into being almost everywhere, enrolling most children in some semblance of a school despite a frequent dearth of trained teachers, up-to-date textbooks, school buildings, or competent administrators. Schooling became a major national project in all countries as this "world educational revolution" (Meyer, Ramirez, Rubinson, and Boli 1977) proceeded.

Table 1 shows some of the remarkable trends in educational enrollments in the post-war period. For the world as a whole, the primary enrollment ratio (primary school enrollments as a proportion of the relevant age-group of the population) rose from about 58% in 1950 to 84% in 1970 and 98% in 1992.

Table 1 about here

For secondary schooling, the corresponding ratio rose from about 13% in 1950 to 53% in 1992, and for higher education from 1.4% to about 14%. Most of the increase in primary enrollment ratios is due to expansion in the less developed world, since the richer countries already had virtually universal elementary schooling by 1950. The increases in secondary and tertiary education reflect across-the-board change, the general pattern being higher absolute ratios in the

richer countries but more rapid expansion among poorer countries. This expansive process is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that so many new countries with relatively weak states and few resources achieved independence in this period.

In counterpoint to the extraordinary expansion of national systems, the global organization of education also rose sharply. Prior to 1900, only a handful of education-oriented transnational organizations had emerged, such as the World ORT Union of 1880 (for the education of Jews in manual labor occupations), the International Society of Study, Correspondence and Exchange of 1895, and the International Society for the Development of Commercial Education of 1897. As Figure 1 shows, however, after World War I these non-governmental educational organizations became quite numerous, and after 1945 they proliferated rapidly. These bodies include professional teacher associations, associations of schools, societies for the promotion of teaching techniques (everything from audio-visual instruction to the Montessori method), and groups devoted explicitly to global educational development (for example, the International Reading Association, the International Council on Education for Teaching, and the World Association for Educational Research).

Figure 1 about here

Alongside them, and to some extent following the lead of the non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental bodies have become increasingly important global actors; the first of these was the International Bureau of Education, founded in 1925.

For fifty years now, the single most important organization in the globalization of education has been UNESCO. Its programmatic efforts help states organize teacher training facilities, prepare curricular programs, establish systems for textbook preparation and procurement, and much more. UNESCO's statistics-gathering system, which has become increasingly comprehensive and standardized through the years, itself has significant effects: many countries have restructured their national systems to match the model suggested by the statistics-gathering form, including the sequence of six years of primary school followed by three

years each of intermediate and secondary schooling.

By these and other means, including the many global conferences on education that it sponsors, UNESCO has shaped the educational system-building process by promoting a largely uniform model of schooling, and it has become more effective in doing so as more non-Western administrators and staff have joined its ranks. No longer perceived, as in the early days, as a body dominated by the West, UNESCO is now heard readily by state officials in the less developed world. Thus, UNESCO has become a primary instructor of and aid to states in the educational realm.

In relationships that range from easy harmony to rather tense co-existence, the intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations that structure the global field engage in intense interaction. Some nine hundred non-governmental organizations have consultative status with UNESCO, more by far than with any other UN agency. Because education is considered crucial to many aspects of development, from economic growth to environmental protection to social equality, a wide range of non-governmental organizations can reasonably claim to have concerns relevant to schooling. For this reason, bodies as diverse as the Arab Industrial Development Organization, the International Council on Women, and the Latin American Peace Research Council work actively with UNESCO, in addition to such directly educational organizations as the World Organization for Early Childhood Education and the International Association of Universities.

The globalization of education since World War II has encompassed a good deal more than structure, methods, and transnational organizations. Increasingly, a common educational ideology has been adopted and, in good measure, implemented in the world's national school systems. Statements of national educational purpose show rising emphasis on both national development and individual growth and advancement for all citizens, at the expense of elite training and the strengthening of local communities. National constitutions almost without exception define schooling as both a right and a duty of citizens, and as an obligation on the part of the state to ensure that the right to education is implemented. Studies of the curricula of

national systems reveal impressive uniformity in the subjects taught and the amount of time allocated to each subject. They also show widespread trends over time, such as increasing emphasis on modern foreign languages and integrated social studies programs at the expense of classic languages (Latin, Greek) and history and geography. Another curricular impact is the rise of self-styled global education, designed to help students see issues in transnational terms and understand the significance of global interdependence. Meanwhile, longitudinal analyses of secondary education show that vocational training has declined sharply in favor of comprehensive schooling. Everywhere in the world, educators have come to put the "whole student" more at the center of the enterprise, reserving the narrower education entailed in occupational preparation for the tertiary level.

One striking aspect of education's ideological development is a marked increase in sexual equality in schooling over the past several decades. Female enrollment rates have risen to match or approach those for males not only at the compulsory schooling level, where enrollment equality is bound to occur as mass schooling becomes universal, but also at the secondary and tertiary levels. By 1992, women accounted for 46% of all primary school enrollments in the world and 45% of all secondary enrollments. These figures are not so different from the 1950 figures, which were 43% for both levels. In higher education, though, the change is dramatic: from 32% in 1950 to 37% in 1970 and 45% in 1992. Even in regions with what are considered highly patriarchal cultures, such as the Middle East, women's share of tertiary schooling has risen rapidly (from 21% in 1955 to 42% in 1985). The entry of women into once male-dominated areas of advanced study, such as law, medicine, and engineering, is also a worldwide phenomenon. Such growing sexual parity in education obviously cannot be attributed to the action of educators and administrators alone, but it is equally clear that school officials have by and large been enthusiastic promoters of this aspect of the worldwide drive for sexual equality.

Finally, some effort has been made to create a uniform set of standards for educational credentials so that diplomas obtained in one country will be valid in others. The leading organization in this effort is the International Baccalaureate Office, created by the International

Schools Association in 1968 in cooperation with UNESCO. UNESCO itself has also established a goal of producing a universal system for the mutual recognition of credentials. To this point, the success of these efforts is limited. The International Baccalaureate is generally recognized only in Europe, and relatively few students apply for it. Despite the halting progress of such formal efforts toward credentialing comparability, the propensity of students to study abroad has increased rapidly throughout the world, with the USA being the greatest magnet for foreign students.

What is most striking about the trends in schooling structure, purposes, curricular content, and enrollments is their very general character. The trends apply to African, Asian, Latin American, European, and Middle Eastern school systems. They apply to the most developed countries and the least developed. They are found in countries with strong democratic traditions and countries subject to long periods of authoritarian or one-party rule. In short, they are very nearly universal. Education has become a central sector of every national society and the primary means whereby children receive formal preparation for adult life. Given the great diversity among countries in terms of wealth, power, technology, cultural traditions, and history, the uniform character of schooling cannot be accounted for by national-level causal mechanisms. The main conclusion of all these detailed studies of education in the post-war world is, then, that education has become a global social process that both reflects and helps create the global society that is under formation.

(4) **The intellectualization of education as a global enterprise.** Well into the nineteenth century, most writing about education was moral-philosophical, concerned with prescriptions for the "proper" aims and methods of education rather than analyses of educational institutions' origins and actual operations. When analysis began to supplement prescription, internationally-oriented work quickly settled on the comparative study as the favored model. Still common today, this model is usually atheoretical, concerned mainly with describing similarities and differences in the educational systems of two or a few countries and treating only speculatively such issues as the relative effectiveness of different systems or methods. In early

comparative work, schooling success essentially meant schooling expansion: Successful systems enrolled large proportions of children, and the best systems reached all children.

In the 1950s and 1960s, analyses of education became more theoretical. The working assumption, rarely stated explicitly, was that schooling operates in accordance with general principles that apply in all societies. Economists began to incorporate education into their models via the concept of "human capital," first as a convenient residual category to account for economic growth not explained by conventional factors of production, later as a variable measured by school completion rates. On the sociological side, theories of the origins and effects of schooling received formal statement. Functionalist theory described schooling as a product of urbanization and industrialization in nineteenth-century Europe; for less developed countries, schooling was supposed to be an engine for modernization, reversing the original causal relationship. Schooling's effects were presumed to operate through the changes they wrought in individual students, and these changes were seen as beneficial both to the students themselves (empowering them as modern economic and political actors) and to the societies that schooled them.

These were the ideas that came to dominate in transnational and intergovernmental educational organizations, particularly UNESCO and the host of non-governmental bodies associated with it. They are strikingly apparent in the highly influential *World Survey of Education* conducted by UNESCO in the 1950s and 1960s, which became a landmark document in the globalization of education. The intellectualization process crystallized into what can best be described as an unofficial but authoritative world ideology regarding education, a received wisdom that national schooling systems sought to implement as fully as possible. Consultants, advisers, and experts from global organizations became active agents of this ideology, teaching national school officials how to construct their systems in accordance with it.

Challenges to the received wisdom appeared in several guises from the late 1960s onward. Scholars reacting against the generally harmonious tone of functionalism emphasized the stratifying effects of schooling, developing theories of education as elite social control or as status

competition among ethnic, religious, and class-based groups. Careful historical studies overturned the presumed connection between modernization and schooling, showing that schooling often preceded urbanization and industrialization and that education's effects on economic and political development were often small, sometimes negative, and at best ambiguous. Meanwhile, John Meyer and his colleagues developed the institutional perspective on schooling that downplays schooling's effects on individuals, focusing instead on the broad implications for societies of the rise of formal education as a major axis of social organization.

As comprehensive cross-national statistical data banks began appearing in the 1970s, the ground was thus prepared for systematic studies evaluating these general theories of the causes and effects of educational growth. A host of studies appeared, almost all of them making the global assumption that politically independent countries were wholly comparable cases subject to a common set of causal processes. In counterpoint, studies of the comparative effectiveness of schooling systems became a minor industry, led by the International Evaluation of Educational Achievement (initiated in 1959) and related programs. The latter studies provided a new set of metrics for comparing national systems of schooling --- mean country scores on tests of mathematics, natural science, geography, foreign language ability, and so on. As such, they provided new dimensions of national competition and concern, leading to widespread reform efforts in many parts of the world to "catch up with the Japanese" or "meet the challenges of the twenty-first century."

In the 1980s, the mounting body of evidence regarding the largely unexpected homogenization of schooling throughout the world led researchers to recognize the world-systemic character of educational development. Institutional theory in particular developed explanations based on the globalization of educational principles and models and the promotion of those ideas by global organizations. Deeper immersion in historical materials, both for the period of mass schooling (since the early nineteenth century) and reaching back to the origins of formal schooling in Europe, has both expanded the reach of these analyses and uncovered new puzzles to be solved.

The global institutionalization view of schooling calls into question both functionalist and conflict theories of schooling, particularly at the primary and secondary levels. Above all, it has led to the view that education is better conceptualized as the symbolic transformation of individuals in line with idealized models of the good citizen than as a mechanism for the transmission of directly useful skills, attitudes, and self-concepts. So far, however, this and the other challenges to functionalist thinking on education have made little headway in the global education sector. The view that education is indispensable to economic growth, political modernization, and individual development remains the bedrock of educational policy almost everywhere.

Still only two decades old, global analysis has so far neglected several major issues in world educational development. First, traditional educational institutions in numerous societies (especially in Asia and the Arab world) have been ignored. Even though contemporary models of mass schooling derive mainly from the European experience, the interplay between traditional and contemporary models must enter the analysis. Second, much of the evidence regarding globalization is purely formal. Researchers use readily available data on such matters as policy statements, official enrollments, and curricular plans for the allocation of teaching time, rather than the much less accessible information about actual administrator behavior, student attendance, or teacher use of classroom time. The links between formal structure and everyday action must receive greater attention. Third, globalization study too often assumes the absence of alternative and competing models of educational systems in world culture. Islamic, Asian, and African models co-exist to varying degrees with Western models, and they have the potential to pose challenges to Western-derived systems. In this respect, globalization study would benefit by bringing the methods of in-depth comparative research into its more highly theorized approach to global educational analysis.

Table 1
World Educational Enrollment Ratios, 1950--1992

	<u>Primary schooling</u>	<u>Secondary schooling</u>	<u>Tertiary (university)</u>
1950*	58%	13%	1.4%
1960	77	27	6.0
1970	84	36	11
1980	96	45	11
1992	98	53	14

Figures are total schooling enrollments in the world divided by the number of children or youth in the relevant age groups. All data are from the UNESCO *Statistical Yearbook*, as follows: for 1950, the 1970--71 volume; for 1960 and 1970, the 1984 volume; for 1992, the 1992 volume. Retrospective figures are not entirely consistent in the various editions.

* Values are mean figures for national enrollment ratios of independent countries, rather than total world ratios.

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