RETHINKING EDUCATION IN TERMS OF COSMOPOLITANISM

MASTER THESIS – PHILOSOPHY, POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

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Research question: 'How should the principles governing national education policy be modified to take into account the impact of population flows as a result of globalization?'

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Abstract

The present thesis aims to introduce an educational proposal that will allow our societies, and particularly the society of Spain, to deal with the challenges presented by a globalised world. It is a proposal for a balance between knowledge, social equality, and learning. The development of cosmopolitan education, managed through both schools and the community (local administration), is presented as a key to the sustainable development of our societies. An assessment of the rise of migrations in a context of asymmetrical globalisation, and its relation to sustainable development is a requirement when considering the importance of education in understanding the migration phenomenon to promote sustainability. A greater symmetry between sustainability and cosmopolitan education is recommended in order to heighten awareness in the world about the meaning and importance of sustainability and cosmopolitanism for our future.

Introduction

The importance of schooling and the value of education in contemporary society has been a focus of debates for many years. Various authors have written proposals and developed social theories to argue the need for a particular claim to be put into practice. In a globalized world of perpetual change where migratory flows are constant, there is a need to rethink the kind of education we need to help our future citizens deal with new problems.

However, the link between migration, sustainable development and education cannot be clearly pinned down, due to the fact that relations between them have different characteristics depending on the context and depending on the approach that is privileged at the time, situating these in a global or local perspective (Santos Rego, Migraciones, sostenibilidad y educación, 2009).

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the type of education that can contribute to dealing with the challenges presented by a globalised world. The research question I aim to answer is: How should the principles governing national education policy be modified to take into account the impact of population flows as a result of globalization?

The thesis is divided into four main sections. In the first section I will present the concept of globalisation and the impact it has on our societies. Understanding globalisation as a constant and accelerating source of rapid social change, we have to bear in mind its three main aspects: migration, the information revolution, and the growth of capital markets, with the consequent increasing hegemony of a model radically based on consumption. Considering these aspects will lead to a better understanding of migration flows, and allow a re-situating of the dialectical relation between education and migratory processes.

In the second section I will analyse how we understand education and its value in globalised societies ruled by economic forces. I will argue that education should be seen as a public space, and schooling as a potentially transformative practice that is simultaneously a way of developing our capacities to relate to the otherness. In this section I will present the case study of Spain. Spanish society, among others, is currently struggling to deal with new problems caused by the effects of globalisation. Analysing its school curriculum and the pressures it faces from global forces, I discuss how this is leading to an increasing standardisation and harmonisation in education, which may lead to an over-investment in young people as 'human capital'. The situation in Spain demonstrates the impact of migration in society, and exposes the fact that the formation of ghettos negatively affects the schooling of immigrants, and consequently their integration. I have chosen the case of Spain firstly because, as I will argue later, the increase of migration is fairly recent if we compare it with other countries, as France, where they are dealing with it for forty decades now. Therefore, by taking into account the experiences of other countries, Spain has the potential to deal with the current situation in a manner that may result in more positive outcomes. Secondly, the case of Spain, one of the latest nations to organise a nation-wide, state-organised and comprehensive education system, resulting in a weak educational autonomy, is perfectly placed to clearly demonstrate the problems currently faced by many education systems.

In the third section I explain the concept of cosmopolitanism and how this can be used in an educational framework, rejecting multiculturalism as a favourable option. I argue against an 'idealistic' conception of cosmopolitanism, opting for a 'realistic' one, which offers another kind of political language, faces the embedded difficulties of living together, and emphasizes the pluralistic nature of social life, embracing democracy and universality.

This makes room for a practice of teaching that involves judgement instead of embracing standard rules or principles.

In the conclusion, I propose that a shift in education is needed in order to educate good citizens for a globalized world. It is a proposal for a balance between knowledge, social equality, and learning. The development of cosmopolitan education, managed through both schools and the community (local administration), is presented as a key to the sustainable development of our societies. Furthermore, a greater symmetry between sustainability and cosmopolitan education is recommended in order to reinforce the efforts to heighten awareness of the meaning and importance of sustainability and cosmopolitanism for our future.

SECTION 1. GLOBALISATION

In order to understand our present, we cannot ignore the importance of our history. Therefore, in this section I wish to unpack the term 'globalisation', a term that is not just a concept but also a fact of our everyday life. I will explain how we have arrived at the stage we are now, and highlight the importance of being conscious of this in order to make the best decisions not just in the short-term, but also looking further into the future. Special emphasis will be placed on migration flow in order to evaluate and analyse its impact on schools.

The influential book 'Sociology' (Giddens, 2006) provides an explanation of the course travelled by different societies and leading to the present era of globalisation. Giddens distinguishes different types of pre-modern society: the *hunter-gatherer societies* in which people dedicated their lives to gathering plants and hunting animals, the *pastoral societies* in which domesticated animals were the main source of subsistence, and finally the most developed and largest, the *urban societies* which formed the traditional states.

We are currently facing a constant *social change,* which "may be defined as the transformation, over time, of the institutions and culture of a society. The modern period, although occupying only a small fraction of human history, has shown rapid and major changes, and the pace of change is accelerating" (Giddens, 2006: 69). For this reason, the unceasing changes cannot be seen or accounted for by any single-factor theory. Giddens suggests three categories of influence: the first is the 'physical environment', which includes

factors such as climate and accessibility by road. Due to their effect on early economic development we should consider them as important elements, but should refrain from overemphasizing them. The second factor is the political organization that affects traditional and modern societies, with the possible exception of the first type of pre-modern society, the *hunter-gatherer societies.* In the third category we find 'cultural factors', such as religion, communication systems and individual leadership.

In modern social change, the most important economic influence is industrial capitalism. This promotes, and at the same time depends on, constant innovation and the revision of productive technology. Therefore, science and technology are affected by, and in turn affect political factors. Moreover, cultural influences - such as the critical and innovative character of modern thinking - are another effect of science and technology, constantly challenging tradition and cultural habits.

Thus, we see why "globalization is often portrayed as an economic phenomenon", even though this view is a simplification. "Globalization is produced by the coming together of political, economic, cultural and social factors. It is driven forward above all by advances in information and communication technologies that have intensified the speed and scope of interaction between people around the world" (Giddens, 2006: 69).

On the same page, Giddens points out three different factors that contributed to increasing globalization:

> First, the end of the Cold War, the collapse of Soviet-style communism and the growth of international and regional forms of governance have drawn the countries of the world closer together. Second, the spread of information technology has facilitated the flow of information around the globe and has encouraged people to adopt a global outlook. Third, transnational corporations have grown in size and influence, building networks of production and consumption that span the globe and link economic markets.

Due to all the changes experienced by societies and the challenges faced, globalisation became and remains a topic of current discussion. This emphasises the importance of globalisation, because it is a transnational phenomenon in the sense that it "is producing challenges that cross national borders and elude the reach of existing political structures" (Giddens, 2006: 70). This suggests that individual governments are devoid of the tools and abilities necessary to handle transnational issues, highlighting the need for new forms of

global governance that can address problems with a global context in a pertinent way. Therefore, it might be that the main challenge of the twenty-first century is, as Giddens states it, "reasserting our will on the rapidly changing social world" (Ibid.).

In a way, this is my aim here too, as one of the challenges that must be faced in this century is that of rethinking and re-evaluating the space and meaning of education, as well as its aims and the role that it plays in our societies.

How does globalisation affect the organisation of our societies? Within the global economy, cities are gaining more importance, but global cities in particular, are characterised by high levels of inequality. For this reason, local governments must be ready to face certain global issues such as economic integration, migration, trade, and public health, among others. Therefore, they should be positioned to manage economic productivity, promoting social and cultural integration, etc. This is where education plays a key role, because education, as we will see, is one of the centre-points of this global network, one which has the capacity to change and challenge the differences and problems created at the local level by the global level. It is also through education that the arising problems of integration can be resolved by working hand in hand with local administrations.

Giddens gives us three reasons to explain why education is important all over the world, but mostly in *developing countries*:

> It contributes to economic growth, since people with advanced schooling provide the skilled work necessary for high-wage industries. Second, education offers the only hope for escaping from the cycle of harsh working conditions and poverty, since poorly educated people are condemned to low-wage, unskilled jobs. Finally, educated people are less likely to have large numbers of children, thus slowing the global population explosion that contributes to global poverty - (Giddens, 2006: 400).

The fact that the "world population is projected to grow to over 10 billion by 2150" (sic) (Giddens, 2006: 429) and that most of this will occur in the *developing world*, is also a factor to bear in mind when considering long-term projects. In contrast, the *developed world* "will grow only slightly and a process of ageing will occur and the number of young people will decline in absolute terms" (Giddens, 2006: 430). These forecasts will help us to understand why we must talk about sustainability in education. In a world that is being exploited – not just in terms of its natural sources but also its population – by the globalisation

phenomenon, any potential solution to these problems, or even to aspects of them, must also take into account sustainability (Santos Rego, 2009).

1.1.   Migration flows

The connection between migratory flows and the phenomenon of globalisation is not a new topic, but is one that has been discussed many times over the past century. The difference now is the specific conditions that the globalised world is experiencing (for example poverty, violence, environmental degradation, climate change, political changes, technology, transport, etc.) due to the increase in migration.

We should bear in mind the fact that migration is – and has always been- a factor in the formation and reconfiguration of societies and states (Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Even so, migration is not the only aspect of globalisation. Other factors include on the one hand, the information revolution, new technologies and communication, and on the other hand (but intrinsically related), the growth of capital markets and the consequent increasing hegemony of a model radically based on consumption. The great challenge here and now is to educate and coexist in a suitable way for a global culture (Torres, 2002).

As we have seen, globalisation is understood here as a process of change. Migratory pressure is increasing rather than decreasing, and specific policies are needed in order to reduce tension and inequality, with juridical guarantees, in the recipient countries but also (and urgently) in the countries of origin. An asymmetric globalisation is dangerous if we aim a system based on freedom, equality and justice. Therefore, authors like Federico Mayor (2009) point as the responsible of this situation the mistake of swapping democratic values (social justice, equality, solidarity, etc.) for the laws of the market. In his article "The problems of sustainability in a globalised world", he calls for a citizen participation and education, working together, as a part indispensable of the solution.

Can we speak about sustainable development without mentioning immigration and human rights? One of the biggest problems of sustainable development is the impossibility of implementing appropriate strategies in countries where a brain drain is a fact. Development and migration are interrelated, not just because migration is a factor in this development but also in relation to human rights. Development is the goal, the content of a

right, both individual and collective, of each person, of each human being and of the entire human community.

The factors that influence, and the causes that provoke migrations, either directly or indirectly, are not homogeneous, nor are they fixed in time and space. Depending on the historical period but also according to initial conditions, there have been migratory projects undertaken by individuals, couples, families, etc. with different profiles and needs. Emigration contributes to the forging of a social and common character and demonstrates a unique philosophy of resistance (Redón Pantoja, 2011).

In the past century, it was thought that immigration into Spanish territory was mainly undertaken by families in situations of extreme poverty and lacking even elementary education. Nothing could be further from the truth. A recent study proves that our vision of migration has been dyed by prejudices and stereotypes (Santos Rego, 2009). This discovery helps to re-situate the dialectical relation between education and migratory processes in developing countries, making visible associations with levels of schooling or professional qualifications. We should take these into account in order to enhance decision-making and utilise the synergies created between policies of migration and policies of development.

Another big question is whether or not education can overcome the factors and social conditions that enable the maintenance of injustice and its translation into inequality of opportunity for students and migrant families. For this reason, the educational system of a democracy should have no other aim than the upholding of human rights in the public sphere of the civil society. This is the greatest platform of sustainability in the short, medium and long-term.

SECTION 2. EDUCATION

> The key question for me right now and for the foreseeable future is equality: are we prepared to undertake the investment of money, talent, and energy that would be necessary to lift the lower third or half (or more) of our students into full political economic and cultural literacy? If we are not, we are going to see a global elite of highly educated people spinning off from the national mass – and the distance between these two groups will put our democracy at risk! - (Walzer, Shaughnessy, & Sardoc, 2002: 74-75)

Education is very often seen as a social good, but what it actually means is culturally and socially variable. If we accept that education is a social institution enabling and promoting the acquisition of knowledge, skills and the broadening of horizons, then schooling is the access point through which certain types of skills and knowledge can be delivered. this section will analyse what we understand by education, its value in our societies, and its power on our future citizens.

Following Durkheim (Ash, 1971), education can be seen as an important part of the socialisation process where culture and values are transmitted between generations, while simultaneously producing a skilled labour force. Some, such as Bowles and Gintis (Brown & Saks, 1977), claim that schools function on the correspondence principle: formal schooling structures correspond to the structures of workplaces in capitalist economies. In this sense, education via schooling does not create equality, but rather disparity. For this reason, authors like Illich (Prescott, 1973) focus on the study of the hidden curriculum, which includes the process of learning the dominant values of the society. Others, like Bernstein (Sadovnik, 1991), state the importance of language in the reproduction of social inequalities, arguing that formal education is run in the language of the middle classes and consequently gives advantage to members of those classes. Extending this argument, Bourdieu (Barsky, 1991) points to different ways in which the values of the educational system develop particular kinds of cultural capital that are already owned and valued by the middle classes. Consequently, we are again faced with the fact that educational systems reproduce and thus legitimise existing social inequalities. In this vein, Stevenson suggests a return to "the tradition within critical theory that views education as both a public space and as a potentially transformative practice", claiming that they will need to "become a site of learning, criticism and democratic contestation" (Stevenson, 2012: 121).

My position is linked to Stevenson's reasoning. In today's day and age, we need the type of education that "encourages forms of critical reflection and autonomous self-development" (Stevenson, 2012: 122), which has a place for critique and contestation because "schooling and education more generally are being instrumentalized and privatized precisely because they have the potential to operate as alternative public spheres where students can become more critical citizens" (Ibid.). Therefore, we cannot forget the

importance of schooling in our social lives because it is through education that we have the possibility to develop our capacities to relate to the other.

In order to better understand the main value of education in our societies I now turn to an analysis of the state of the educational system in Spain. This will provide an actual example of the impacts of globalisation, and in particular migration, on a society and the problems that schools have to deal with as a result.

2.1.   In Spain

For a large part of its history, education in Spain has been under the direction of the Catholic Church. Therefore, its education *networks* developed and operated as 'private' institutions independent from central political control. This is one of the reasons why "Spain has been among the latest nations to organise a nation-wide, state-organised comprehensive education *system* and its weak educational autonomy" (Smehaugen, 2006: 351). According to Smehaugen (2006), the influence of the French elitist system is conspicuous in the educational system of Spain, manifested in a weak connection between education and work, but with a greater support from the church for the elite.

If we analyse the variation in cultural and religious dimensions and their relation to the State, there are certain factors to bear in mind. There are four basic institutions that produce and deliver welfare: the family, civil society (including the Church and voluntary organisations), the market, and the State. In Spain, in contrast to other northern countries, such as Norway, the family and the civil society assume much of the burden of dispensing welfare. As Smehaugen explains: "in Spain (as in the other Mediterranean countries) welfare is delivered mainly by the family and civil society (the *principle of subsidiarity*, in which the Catholic Church is a strong actor)" (Smehaugen, 2006: 352).

The ten-year-period of reform in Spanish education (from 1991 to 2001) concerned pedagogy, structure, organisation and curriculum, and aimed to bring more equality to the sector. The concept of equality refers to the probability that children from different social groups can achieve four goals: the first is to access education, "equality of access"; the second is the "equality of survival", in other words, to remain in the school system; "equality of output" is to learn the same things; and the "equality of outcome", is to live

relatively similar lives subsequent to and as a result of schooling (this refers to income, access to work, access to social positions, etc.) (Smehaugen, 2006).

Almost every four years, coinciding with the entrance of a new political party into the governemnt, the Spanish educational curriculum changes, destabilising the sector. This is reflected in the work of the teachers, who must respond to the resulting changes, challenges and unresolved problems in order to maintain the quality of teaching, and also negatively affects the students.

One of the arguments provided for the history of changes in the Spanish curriculum is the continuous pressure from global forces, and generally economical forces, creating a need "to adapt to these forces in order to become competitive" (Smehaugen, 2006: 363). This leads to an increasing standarisation and harmonisation in education however, which "may be viewed as diffusion of democratic rights of inclusive educational systems" or as

> a response to global competitive forces at the regional level, a response that, in accentuating standardization and democratization, may lead to over-investment in young people as 'human capital', and at the same time under-utilisation of their efforts and competence obtained by formal education. It is likely that social excluding forces will affect young people who cannot cope with these extended, formalised educational demands. - (Smehaugen, 2006: 363-4).

2.2.   Current situation

In Spain, social inequalities have been more obvious since the recent rise in immigration. Research by the *Defensor del Pueblo*[1] (2003) showed that the number of immigrants in public schools is double that of immigrants in private or charter schools. As Sami Naïr (2003) argues, the school is one of the most important elements for integration into a society. He claims that we have never insisted enough on the importance of the schools as a vector of social and cultural integration. Schools are the only place where immigrants have the possibility to be introduced to the new social and cultural context they find themselves in.
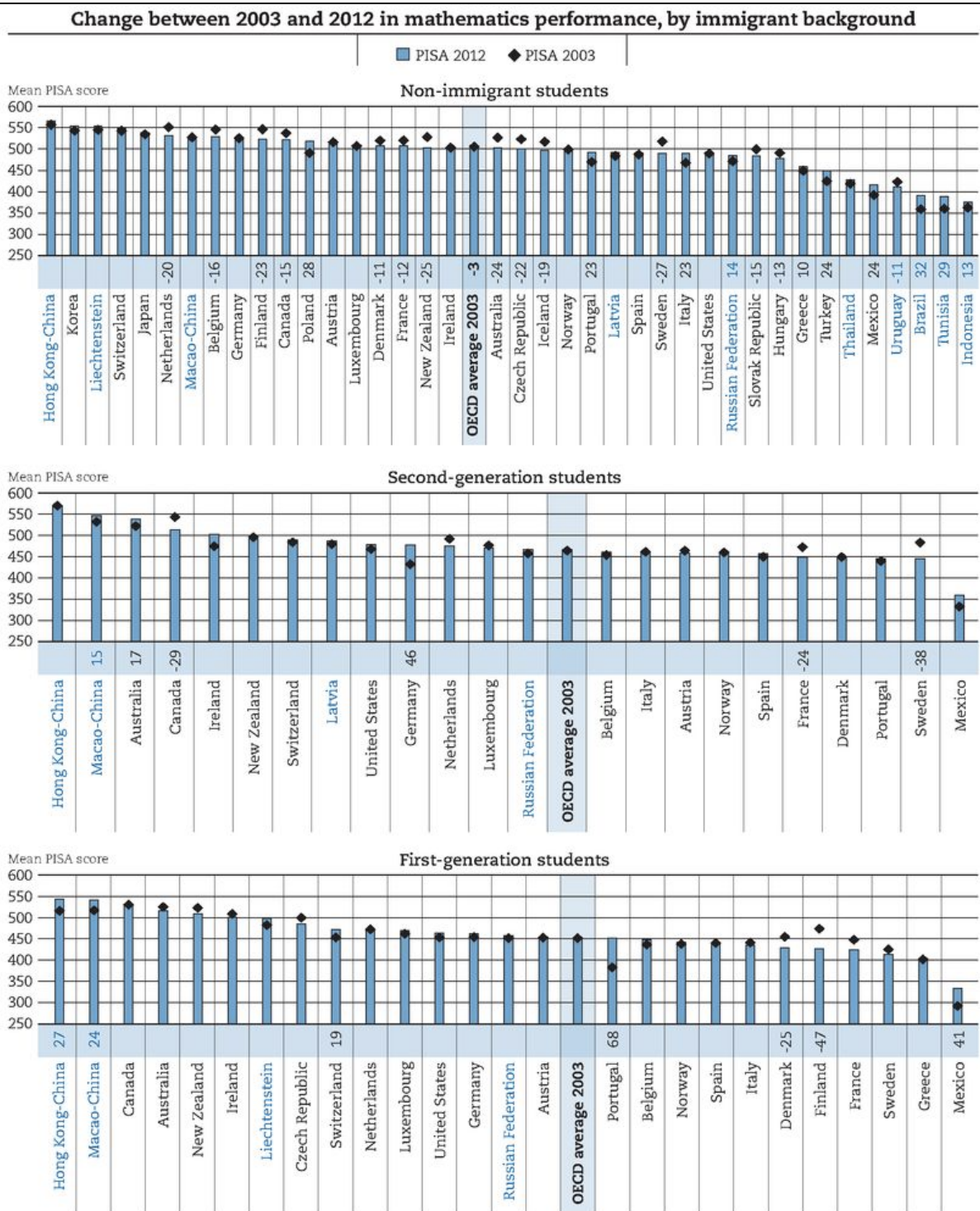
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[1] According to its website, the *Defensor del Pueblo* is the High Commissioner of the Parliament responsible for defending the fundamental rights and civil liberties of citizens by monitoring the activity of the administration and public authorities.

The importance of schooling for immigrant children has been a focus of debate for more than 20 years. Facing the rise of unemployment in the sixties, the main recipient countries tried to establish new policies that were more directed towards inciting immigrants' children to return to the countries of their parents, rather than towards integrating them. For this reason, the recipient countries favoured the teaching of 'languages and cultures of origin'. This attitude backfired however, leading to the definitive establishment of the immigrants in the recipient countries. Although France has drove reforms on migration policies towards assimilation, from 1975 the results show an increasing communitarianism and delaying the schooling of foreign students, letting the religious institutions be in charge of their "formation" in the suburbs in which they lived.

In some European countries such as the Netherlands, a proposal established in a deliberative way was mainly based on a culture of turning away from integration. Here the failure was more flagrant, resulting in isolation, inter-communal clashes, growing racism and increasing social marginality of the immigrant populations. Concerned about this problem, the Dutch government reconsidered its policies of integration and placed in the centre of its plan, a policy of 'assimilation' into the culture and common values of the recipient country.

In 2003, Spain was more or less in the same situation as France in 1975 (Sami Naïr, 2003), facing increasing rates of immigrant children enrolling in schools. According to the report by the *Defensor del Pueblo* 124,340 foreign children were enrolled in 2001 (28% in Madrid, 18.6% in Catalonia, 11.2% in Andalusia, 7.8% in the Canary Islands and 7.4% in Valencia). Among these, more than a third were from South America and the Caribbean (33.7%), another third were from Africa (among them, 26% from the Maghreb) and 17.7% from the European Union. The ethnic balance in education in Spain was quite positive during the first years of this century, but now the situation has changed. A recent study by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2015) shows that there has been a setback in the educational integration of immigrants. Spain is, according to this study, one of the countries where in the last decade, the gap in mathematics results between foreigners and non-foreigners has increased. Italy, France, Iceland, and, curiously, Finland have all experienced a reduction in this gap between 2003 and 2012 (see figure 1).

Change between 2003 and 2012 in mathematics performance, by immigrant background

Legend: ☐ PISA 2012 ◆ PISA 2003

Non-immigrant students

Second-generation students

First-generation students

Notes: Only countries and economies with comparable data from PISA 2003 and PISA 2012 are shown.

Changes between PISA 2003 and PISA 2012 in mathematics performance that are statistically significant are shown next to the country/economy name.

OECD 2003 average includes only OECD countries with comparable data since PISA 2003.

For each chart, countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the mean score in mathematics in 2012.

Source: OECD, PISA 2012 Database.

Underlying data for the figures in this chapter can be found at www.oecd.org/edu/school/Immigrant-Students-Chapter2-Figures.xlsx.

Figure 1 – OECD, 2015

The study, named 'Integration, Immigrant Students at School: Easing the Journey towards' (OECD, 2015), used databases from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) of the OECD, and expects to be - according to the director of the 'Educación del organismo' (Education of the organisation), Andreas Schleicher - a working document to aid in determining whether the schools of occidental countries are ready to deal with the arrival of refugees. This report affirms that the schools with greater numbers of immigrant students are located in impoverished neighbourhoods. "A high concentration of socio-economic disadvantage tends to be associated with a larger gap in test scores between immigrant and non-immigrant students. Across OECD countries, the concentration of immigrants in "enclave schools" is particularly high in Canada, Greece and Italy" (OECD, 2015: 9) (See figure 2). This is, from the point of view of the OECD, the key to their poor results. It must be added that, as recorded by the OECD, the number of first generation immigrants (children who have been born abroad and whose parents are also immigrants) has increased 5.5 percentage points in Spain, whereas the average in other countries of the OECD is 0.4 percentage points.

Concentration of immigrant students in schools
Percentage of immigrant students in schools where at least half of the students are immigrants
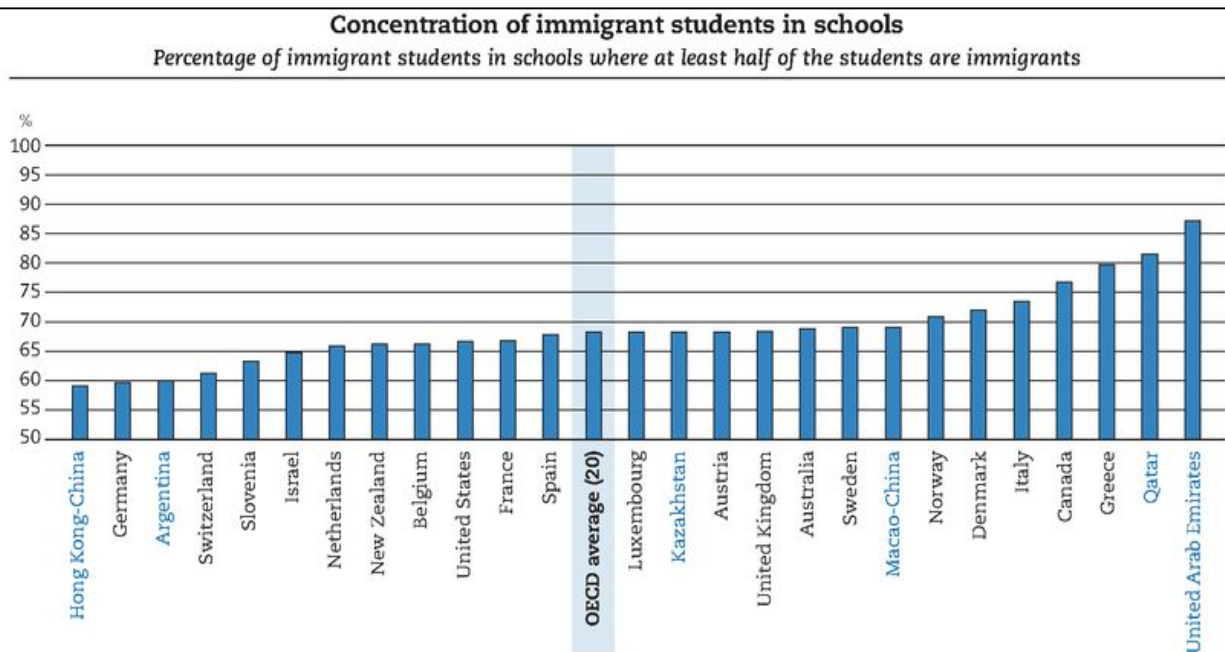
Figure 2 – OECD, 2015

The OECD study puts an emphasis on the importance of educational policies when there is a will to pursue complementary social policies towards integration. The development of educational policies in order to respond to the needs of foreign students is

not an easy task however, especially without language reinforcement. The experts of the OECD suggest, among other alternatives, an increase in permanent linguistic assistance in schools in order to guarantee the integration of immigrants. To help resolving these situations the OECD suggests "allocating resources for immigrant education to more local authorities, such as school districts or municipalities, the funding can then be used to support initiatives tailored to the local context" (OECD, 2015: 94)

The OECD gives special importance to the feeling of belonging to one's environment. Therefore, in their study they asked questions about how pupils feel in their school, if they have friends in their classrooms and if they meet outside. It was not only important to know how the new arrivals or the first generation students felt – those who arrived after having already started school in their country of origin – but also the second generation immigrants – students who were born in the recipient country as children of immigrants and speaking languages of their country of origin at home. Immigrant students from Arabic-speaking countries are more academically successful in the Netherlands than in Finland, although they feel a greater sense of belonging in Finland than in the Netherlands. This suggests that successful integration is not equivalent to good academic results.

The *Defensor del Pueblo*'s report formulates a proposal about the educational model that should be applied to young foreigners. It is based on promoting integration and the values of Spanish society, the respect of cultural differences, and the positive value of other cultures, as well as encouraging the learning of the languages of their native country.[2] Consequently, we may face a very complicated problem if we fall in a claim for differentiation, which penalises social integration. This problem stems reinforcing a double identity which induces the young foreigners to be less open to the values of the host country, less productive in school and, later, less competitive in the professional sector. This effect has been demonstrated in the histories of countries such as England, Germany, the Netherlands and in particular, France, which have been receiving foreigners for a longer period than Spain, and have applied policies based on this differentiation which resulted in

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[2] As previously mentioned, France adopted this policy of teaching the languages and cultures of origin in order to stimulate their foreign students to 'return' to the country of their parents, and that was a complete failure (Naïr, 2003). [If that's the case, why is it being adopted in Spain too? What's the hope for it? Or what is the difference?]

increased marginality (Naïr, 2003). These social integration problems tend to become irreconcilable problems of identity.

In order to avoid the problems that have occurred in these countries, Spain should apply a new policy, projected into the future, with specific pedagogic goals that respect cultural diversity without rejecting the common values of the receiving society. Any society is deeply diverse, but also homogeneous in the sharing of values or ways of communication, particularly language, which is an important bond between individuals. Schools have a duty to educate citizens, allowing them access to the common cultural identity of the host society. 'Multiculturalism' should not be an excuse to create cultural groups that must be *tolerated* but which tend to be stigmatized. The main aim of schooling is civic identity, constructed not from a policy of recognition of difference but from the conception and transmission of three main values: reasoning, equality and tolerance. The school should spread knowledge of a shared identity, and its first function is to guarantee equality of opportunity to everyone (Redón Pantoja, 2011: 448-452).

According to Naïr (2003), the school represents the values of reason, critique, equality, freedom and solidarity. This core of common values, which supports many others, should be transmitted in a systematic way. Therefore, schools emphasising the value of reasoning should climb above the rest. Differences should not be rejected, but certain sources of difference such as religion should remain in the private sphere, not in the public one. In fact, he argues that secularism is an ideology of emancipation, not of domination, but churches, mosques and synagogues have never abandoned public space. In some cases, they aspired to return to the centre of the educational system.

Can we say that globalisation is having an impact on the common or public sphere? According to Naïr (2003), the answer is affirmative because what is being globalised is mercantile competence, not knowledge. The social bond is being privatised, and with it all the spaces of common life. Faced with this fact, we should defend spaces of production of the common good such as knowledge and the transmission of knowledge, where competition has no place. In this vein, but talking more specifically about universities Howells, Karataş - Özkan, Yavuz, & Atiq wonder about the impacts of the increasing globalisation and its consequent "marketization" of higher education because "given the notion that universities are populated by free thinking autonomous individuals, it is

surprising that there has not been more resistance to changes in university management or their structures and processes" (Howells, Karataş - Özkan, Yavuz, & Atiq, 2014: 267).

SECTION 3. TOWARDS COSMOPOLITANISM

> It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future - (Huntington, 1993: 22).

Even though I do not discuss here the same as Huntington (Muslims and the West) and acknowledging that his words are clearly controversial and cannot be verified, if we were to accept this hypothetical situation, we should definitely reconsider and rethink the kind of education we want to provide to our future citizens. Globalisation has many positive aspects but also creates problems. Cosmopolitanism should therefore be seen as a part of the solution and not as part of the problem. Once I have explained the main characteristics of cosmopolitanism, I will demonstrate that cosmopolitan education can be posited as a possible answer to the current situation in Spain due to the fact that it might offer a more deep-seated, mutually beneficial response to evolving global conditions.

We cannot ignore the role that multiculturalism has had on our education when trying to deal with the new situations created by globalisation. From my point of view, the policy of multiculturalism in education has demonstrated its incapacity to integrate and give identity to the other, whoever this other may be.

3.1.   Rejecting multiculturalism

Multiculturalists do not imagine a universal Humanity manifested on a taxonomy of different cultures, but rather "take as axiomatic the existence, value and effective claims of local, historical and collective sources of belonging and selfhood: that is, the multiplicity and diversity of cultures" (Donald, 2007: 291). Moreover, they think it a necessity that the form which humanity takes on the stage of history is medium-sized ethnic, religious, national or

linguistic collectivities. However, this approach presents the problem that "cultures exist as cultures in this sense only by drawing boundaries around themselves to create the set of differences that specifies their unique self-identity" (Donald, 2007: 291).

The potential flaw in multiculturalism is that, in denying the ambitions of cosmopolitanism, "it may allow 'cultures' to fall back into a parochialism that misrecognises contingent meanings, values and beliefs as universal truths – a prejudice towards 'community-as-destiny'" (Donald, 2007: 291).

According to Donald, multicultural theorists strive to avoid essentialism or "the reification of culture and embrace the historical and contingent variability of culturally or ethically identified groups" (Donald, 2007: 291). If we talk about cosmopolitanism, reconceptualised in a multicultural light, it should be seen as an awareness of the complexity and diversity of forms of human life that dislocates and disrupts the enforced unity of a culture and the claims of the local, transcending the idea of particularity in favour of an acultural universalism.

On the other hand, cosmopolitanism may offer a way of thinking beyond the antagonism of local-global, or particular-universal. Moreover, it makes possible the conceptualisation of each of these terms being constitutive and disruptive of the other at the same time. As Donald explains it: "communities and cultures are never hermetic, there is always a disorientating interplay between culturally specific traditions and community-transcending events and communication" (2007: 292). In the same way, institutions, global relations and cultures are always encountered locally, a fact that permits their negotiation and remaking together with local traditions, sensibilities and frames of interpretation. Therefore, cosmopolitanism maintains a self-questioning and imaginative encounter with external cultures. Due to this encounter, collectivities and individuals can develop a self-defining relationship with a culturally complex and globalised here-and-now.

Both cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism have had different kind of problems in dealing with the concept of the nation, and I refer to "problems" because the discussion among both on the term of nation is patent; nation appears too global for multiculturalism, but too local for cosmopolitanism. Here the question is: What is the nature of national identities and their claims? Through this question we can redraw the familiar social imagery of culture, community and identity.

For Gellner (1983), any essentialist claims about national identity are not just unfounded, but exemplify ideology as a not-so-noble lie. Therefore, they are unreal and fraudulent: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist" (Gellner, 1964: 168). In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson presents a persuasive alternative through which communities should not be distinguished "by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined." In other words, the only way through which people are able to sustain any sense of belonging in a place or to a community is through the process of imagining, and at the level of the imaginary (Anderson, 1991: 5-7).

Anderson's argument shifts the emphasis to the effective functioning of group solidarities, and this approach makes it easier to see that "groups do not exist outside or before the processes of social interaction, public participation and negotiations about representation and space-sharing that bring them into being and to which they continuously adapt" (Donald, 2007: 293). What is more, Anderson also makes the point that national self-imagining is about the creation of new forms of virtual being-together, the spread of markets and mediated communication thanks to the newspaper, as well as novel forms of media and technology. Therefore,

> the imagined nation might thus be seen as politically universalist to the extent that it recognises but brackets the multiple, layered loyalties of its citizens, but equally as culturally monist to the extent that supposedly neutral liberal states require identification not with an abstract civic patriotism but with necessarily cultural meanings – the crown, the flag, the football or cricket team, certain songs, the memory of old television comedy shows, and so forth - (Donald, 2007: 293-4).

As a result of this tension, the modern citizen-subjects will not inhabit one single community.

The widest understanding accepts culture as a state of being, as a given and frozen identity, whereas the alternative approach acknowledges culture as a never-ending and intrinsically unstable process of negotiation and change, as a process of becoming. This is to imagine diaspora as a signifier of how the cosmos gets into the polis, and not just as a label for transnational movement.

> The local should not be imagined as a settled community that is disrupted by newcomers. Rather, the possibility of settlement - that is, sharing space together

and in doing so creating a symbolic and institutional fabric of cultural and social relations - is conceivable only through processes of often inharmonious and sometimes even violent negotiation that exceed any given version of identity. This is how the cosmopolitan necessarily informs locality - (Donald, 2007: 295).

What does this way of thinking entail for multiculturalism? First of all, it puts a question mark over any version of the term that assumes that "cultures" are a set of things. Secondly, it muddies the "image of self-sufficient cultures negotiating difference and contamination when they bump up against other cultures" (Donald, 2007: 295). Moreover, it "undermines the idea of an uncomplicated and unambiguous national, ethnic or other cultural identity, and in doing so it pulls the rug from under the idea that the responsibility of a university education is either to bolster a unitary national identity or to affirm as equally and unarguably valid multiple cultural identities" (Donald, 2007: 295). Instead, this way of thinking entails a capacity for agonistic respect, which implies taking seriously an effective appreciation of, and respect for, diversity. The term "agonistic respect" connotes:

> …a civic virtue that allows people to honour different final sources, to cultivate reciprocal respect across difference, and to negotiate larger assemblages to set general policies. Agonistic respect is a reciprocal virtue appropriate to a world in which partisans find themselves in intensive relations of political interdependence. Agonism is the dimension through which each party maintains a pathos of distance from others with whom it is engaged. Respect is the dimension through which self-limits are acknowledged and connections are established across lines of difference (Connolly, 2002 xxvi).

All in all, these various writers make it possible to think of culture as a process of meaning-production, which always entails a negotiation of differences. This is a crucial notion for us in evaluating why cosmopolitanism is a superior alternative to multiculturalism.

> We should bear in mind that it is the cosmopolitan who reminds the multiculturalist of the contingency and historicity of affective and moral communities, the lethal consequences of giving culture precedence over politics in the ordering of social affairs, and the need to articulate political discourses that adopt a universal frame (like those of citizenship, law and rights), even while acknowledging the partiality of all universalism - (Donald, 2007: 306).

Cosmopolitanism should be seen as a way of learning to feel a bit at home anywhere, and to accept being fully at home nowhere, while avoiding the romanticising of a life of movement and migration.

3.1.   Why cosmopolitanism?

In the previous section I have provided some arguments why cosmopolitanism is a better option than any other alternative, in particular multiculturalism. Here I will link these arguments to the educational system, and in particular to the current educational system in Spain.

It is possible to undertake an analysis of how we shaped our educational systems according to the relation between culture and migration: We passed from "monoculturalism" or an imposition of the hegemonic culture above others, sometimes conflated with ethnocentrism, to an experimentation with 'multiculturalism' or the tolerance of other cultures. This has a disadvantage in that it does not consider the positive relations between cultures, accepting the values of each. The most recent policy is "interculturalism" or the accepting of differences with the intention of constructing a superior culture that articulates universalism and equality. We have gone from the cultural "I" and "you", or "we" and "the rest" to an intercultural "we" (Rodriguez Rojo, Palomero Pescador, & Palomero Fernández, 2005). Cosmopolitanism is the latest addition.

"Cosmopolitanism" has diverse meanings, and we should not view the concept in homogeneous terms. It has been proposed as an economic, political, cultural and ethical theory. Lately, a body of literature on the field of political science – for example, Nussbaum, 1994, 1996; Held, 2005, 2010; Appiah, 2006) – has identified 'cosmopolitanism' as a key concept for understanding contemporary citizenship. In fact, a principal core of cosmopolitan theories is the acceptance of the 'fact' of globalisation and the consequent desire to define and understand citizenship identities as a *transcending rootedness* in the nation-state. In other words, "cosmopolitanism" is the result of the empirical fact that the processes of globalisation have arisen in social and political networks, making traditional citizenship affiliation less significant.

I would like to specify, before going further into the question of cosmopolitanism, that the idea that I will propose here may be quite different from what the reader may have

in mind when thinking about cosmopolitanism. It is not my intention to delineate an idea or promote a view from "nowhere", nor do I wish to suggest that we should detach ourselves from more specific cultural locations and understandings. My intention here is to promote a specific view of cosmopolitanism in order to be able to integrate it in a "real" way into the school curriculum.

From my point of view, the extended opportunities resulting from applying cosmopolitanism as a concept and idea is what makes this option richer, and a real and practical possibility. It must be emphasised however, that the kind of educational claim I am proposing here is based on the case of Spain, and arose through a study of its its particular context, history and development. Therefore, this proposal - although following the path of cosmopolitanism - does not pretend to be applicable in every state, because that would be a mistake. On the contrary, my aim is to rethink and rebuild education in cosmopolitan terms, evaluating and studying a specific society in order to change its education system, integrating its "unique" environment into the globalised world. We share an idea of cosmopolitan education but we cannot, for example, apply the same curriculum everywhere because this must vary depending on the environment, history, culture, migration, source of wealth, etc. of the particular society in question. As I argued previously, Spain is currently experiencing a situation similar to that of France in 1975. Therefore, in the frame of cosmopolitan education, the actions required in these specific countries are not the same, despite their educational systems sharing a core aim: to create a space of integration, educating its citizens under a light of tolerance, respect and sustainability.

What I would like to fill out here is the missed point of "how ideas of the 'universal' become translated into particular histories and cultural locations" in Nussbaum's argument of cosmopolitanism where she "fails to consider that the meanings of cosmopolitan universalism are likely to be shot through with antagonism and cultural variation" (Stevenson, 2012: 116).

3.2.   How?

In order to live together in a globalised world, forever new and changing constantly, we should implement, first of all, some of the most basic principles in morality. To do so is an easy but complex task that requires teachers and pedagogues to make a shift from

"thinking in terms of cosmopolitanism" to "thinking cosmopolitanism" (Todd, 2009). This shift must occur not just in the curriculum but also in the mindset of the scholars. There cannot simply be a large number of rules to which we can turn when we have to plan a lesson or an annual program, but rather there should be an integral line, like a spinal column, which holds and guides the idea of cosmopolitanism throughout the entire process of education.

Therefore, in a multicultural, diverse and changing society, we have to learn how to live and interact with other cultures, languages, personalities, preferences, etc. In other words, we have to learn how to accept the Other, how to accept differences and not avoid them. The first step is therefore to start applying these basic principles on an individual level. We have to start being responsible for ourselves, for this is necessary to learn how to think about and deal with different situations. We should not expect that somebody will come and tell us what to do and what the best decision to make is, first of all because this is a sign of immaturity, and secondly because the answer is going to be different from one time to the next. We should handle every situation depending on the circumstances, the context, the people, etc. There is no space for a third, objective person, nor is there a definitive answer that can be used once and for all.

Obviously, this needs comprehension and knowledge of oneself, leading simultaneously to the comprehension, tolerance and understanding of the Other, which is essential in a balanced and respectful coexistence. It is a permanent acting and thinking where we must have internalised that every human being has an *absolute moral worth*. We will not do it properly if when we make a decision or perform an action we have to consciously think of it. We must grow up with this fact in our minds, it should be a deep-seated value ingrained into us, a part of our behaviour. In this way, we will forever treat and understand everyone as fundamentally equal and find ways of effectively communicating with others. Moreover, the fact that through communicating with others we develop our own way of thinking shows the value and importance of communication itself.

The importance of communication is essential then, to understand the shift that we should make in education, offering "another kind of political language through which issues of conflict are not swept under the magic carpets of harmony, consensus and universalism" (Todd, 2010: 227). As Todd argues, we need to face the embedded difficulties in this living together in order to make it better, to make it a space where everyone's voice counts

equally. Therefore, all different views – which provide a counterpoint to our interactions - should be taken seriously if we do not want to end up silencing them. As a consequence, "rethinking how to engage our different voices is both a political exigency, particularly for those who are continually threatened with harassment and school expulsion, and a future-oriented commitment to educating for living in a dissonant world – a world that is both now and not yet, a world, we might say without a theme song" (Todd, 2010: 227).

Todd (2010) argues for an agonistic cosmopolitics as an alternative to cosmopolitanism, arguing that the dialogical model of democracy is based on harmony and consensus. She adds that its view of universalism is non-political, and its claims about rights and humanity are immutable. She proposes to embrace "a democracy that reframes the difficulties of pluralism within a 'multi-polar' perspective that offers a vibrant, political engagement with the antagonistic dimensions of human interaction," together with a "commitment to universality that recognizes itself as a signifying practice, always engaged in acts of cultural translation and thereby subject to alteration, modification, and refinement" (Todd, 2010: 226). In other words, she differentiates her conceptualisation by placing emphasis on the pluralistic nature of social life, embracing both democracy and universality.

All in all, I think Todd is correct in highlighting the "idealistic" view from which some authors describe cosmopolitanism, and I think that in order to reach a more "realistic" and fair treatment, knowledge and practice of this concept, we should approach these antagonistic dimensions of human interaction for democratic dialogue. Only thus can we then claim that we want to make a shift, because we will take into consideration the real problems that we are facing.

If our goal in cosmopolitan education is to move beyond dialogue, consensus and definitive criteria, we will have to put more emphasis on, and make more relevant, the aims of learning to live with ambiguity, the difficulties of pluralism, and the dilemmas of freedom and justice. This implies facing the specific situations of lived realities instead of learning certain knowledge about rights, because as we have seen, this approach avoids some of the dilemmas of judgement that are involved. Therefore, Todd (2010) suggests a pedagogy that calls attention to how and why judgements are made. Consequently, the practice of teaching involves judgement. Instead of embracing the standard rules or principles, making decisions is a requirement (a practice of justice). Only through the cosmopolitan existence can the suitable conditions for thinking and judgement arise.

As Todd (2009) argues, we can find alternative approaches in order to acquaint our existence and practices with a plural, imperfect and antagonistic world through learning about living with ambiguity, uncertainty and complexity.

SECTION 4. CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, globalisation is a phenomenon that reaches and affects our public spaces. Methods of communication have changed, the population grows, the environment is exploited and the flux of people in and out of countries increases. More particularly, in global cities, the forming of ghettos and discrimination are increasing. Consequently, due to a lack of communication and the inadequate integration of immigrant families into local administrations or schools, problems are emerging from the schooling of young immigrants, in terms of their integration and academic results.

Equality, reasoning and tolerance should be the core values of societies, and because this is not promoted by global agencies, my proposal is to claim them for local action, and in particular for a network between schools and local administrations.

We have seen through the case study of Spain that the influence of religion initially made a lack of autonomy necessary in schools. This was followed by pressure from global economic forces, which led the state curriculum to become more competitive. With a great increase in immigration, the result is that the principal host agencies – schools – are not helping to neutralize social and economical gaps in the society.

Although the OECD gives some suggestions as to how to handle these situation (for example, avoiding the concentration of immigrant students in disadvantaged schools), there has not been any change. Moreover, the OECD's study shows that in countries like Finland, where academic results have declined, the integration of immigrants has improved, whereas in Netherlands, where academic results have improved, immigrant integration is much lower. This suggests that if we blindly follow the global economic pressures of competition, we fail as a community. There is a need to sacrifice quantity for quality, because what is the point of accumulative knowledge if we do not know what to do with it? Most importantly, how can we become better citizens if we follow a rigid curriculum which does not contemplate the needs of the community?

In the same vein, when the time comes to design a new curriculum, we should be mindful of working within a multicultural context because this could serve as an excuse to create cultural groups which have to be *tolerated,* and with a tendency to be stigmatised. Moreover, for multiculturalism, cultures – which are the main characteristic of societies – exist as cultures "only by drawing boundaries around themselves to create a set of differences that specifies their unique self-identity" (Donald, 2007: 291). Contrary to this view, I argue for the accepting of culture as a never-ending and intrinsically unstable process of negotiation and change, which should be understood as a process of becoming. This could be taught in schools through the different experiences and histories of countries around the world.

As a result, integration would become easier since we would be following the idea that newcomers are not an interruption of settled communities because "the possibility of settlement should be conceivable only through processes of inharmonious and sometimes even violent negotiation that exceed any given version of identity. This is how the cosmopolitan necessarily informs locality" (Donald, 2007: 295).

These are the arguments through which I claim a need for the addition of basic principles of morality to the curriculum: learning how to live accepting the Other – that is, accepting differences but not avoiding them; being responsible for ourselves – meaning to learn to think and deal with different situations and not depend on somebody else to tell us what to do; and paying attention to the value and importance of communication, because in communicating with others we develop our own way of thinking. We should therefore develop another kind of political language that does not avoid or disguise conflict. In doing this, we will recognise the pluralistic nature of social life, embracing universality and democracy. As a consequence, the practice of teaching will involve judgement, in the sense that instead of embracing the standard principles or rules, making decisions will be a requirement.

As I have argued here, the suitable conditions for thinking and judgement can simply arise by taking into consideration the real problems that we are facing in our cosmopolitan existence.

In a more general sense, it should be noted that at the social and communitarian level, the projects of cosmopolitan education have to be designed and understood in the

context of social sustainability. In our democracies, the continuous improvement of the management of projects that concern ethnic and cultural diversity should be a fundamental principle and inherent value of the State and public policies.

The educational management of cultural diversity in favour of a greater development of cosmopolitan competence in children and adults is similar to the sustainable projects in the sense that there is not a definitive or complete model or format for any time or context.

There are two main advantages of a cosmopolitan perspective for education in a century which portends big environmental transformations as a consequence of migratory and technological developments, particularly in Spain, where the effects of globalisation are penetrating faster than ever. The first is that it can implement more value in conventional forms of learning, in the way that the management of the changes in our societies, diverse and plural in many ways, incorporates an intercultural capital in order to achieve a civic conscience in the development of our children. In this vein, different positions and voices within western societies arise the question of pluralism. Consequently, it brings into question the right of self-determination of the state and the way that education plays the role in service to the state. Todd (2009), being concerned of the political and ethical aspects of education, proposes to address human plurality in a way where conflict and antagonism must be recognized as the conditions for creating democratic political spaces.

The second is intertwined with the first. One of the aims of the curriculum is that the subject become familiar and that the students become confident with the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to be a responsible citizen. The curriculum could therefore be understood as an opportunity to learn a sense of sustainability in a world which is biologically and culturally diverse. It might be the case that we have to sacrifice a little efficiency in order to gain this greater awareness.

Because this is not a simple cause-and-effect relation, the crystalization of a comprehensive analysis of education, migrations and sustainability is far from being achieved. I hope to have contributed to this endeavour in some small way.

Spain was analysed here as a case study because being my home country and working there as a teacher, I have a deeper knowledge of that context than any other. I realise that the reader may find reason to criticize this choice, as in arguing for a

cosmopolitan education not based in Western tradition, I study a system steeped in this tradition. This choice was made consciously however, as my aim here was not to present a unique alternative or proposal, but rather to show that an analysis of a particular country should be undertaken in order to make a shift in its education towards cosmopolitanism. I would have put forward a Western proposal if I had argued here that a single curriculum should be established all over the world, without consideration for each unique historical and contextual situation.

I conclude with some words from the Charlie Chaplin film, *The Great Dictator* (1940), which highlight the most important reason for directing all our efforts to making the world a better place, with better societies, better citizens, better people, better souls:

> We want to live by each other's happiness - not by each other's misery. We don't want to hate and despise one another. In this world there is room for everyone. And the good earth is rich and can provide for everyone. The way of life can be free and beautiful, but we have lost the way. Greed has poisoned men's souls, has barricaded the world with hate, has goose-stepped us into misery and bloodshed. We have developed speed, but we have shut ourselves in. Machinery that gives abundance has left us in want. Our knowledge has made us cynical. Our cleverness, hard and unkind. We think too much and feel too little. More than machinery we need humanity. More than cleverness we need kindness and gentleness. Without these qualities, life will be violent and all will be lost.

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