rethinking Schooling For the 21st Century

The State of Education for Peace, Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship in Asia



United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization



Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development

Rethinking Schooling FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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Drafting group:

Yoko Mochizuki, Rethinking Curriculum Programme of UNESCO MGIEP

Krishna Kumar, Former Director, National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), India

Edward Vickers, Prof. of the Faculty of Human-Environment Studies at the Kyushu University, Japan

Nitika Jain, UNESCO MGIEP

Jai Kamal, UNESCO MGIEP

Regional authors-compilers:

Nur Surayyah Madhubala Abdullah, Korotenko Vladimir, Kurokhtin Aleksei, Esenalieva Gulnur, Mohammad Tariq Ahsan, Murshid Aktar, Sherlyne Almonte-Acosta, Sherly Aprilya, Boy Randee C. Cabaces, Larissa Chekmareva, Pearl Jinjoo Chung, Byambajav Dalaibuyan, Bolormaa Damdinsuren, Sanjarbek Doniyorov, Himmatul Fahirah, Srishti Goyal, Latika Gupta, Malvika Gupta, Iqbal Hossain, Zhongjing Huang, Shobhna Jha, Mona Karami, Sunethra Karunaratne, Chan Narith Keuk, Aya Kiriake, Thu Hoai Le, Loi Van Le, Elham Liravi, Kah Seng Loh, Sovann Ly, Elaissa Marina E. Mendoza, Seyed Mohsen.

Review Committee:

Dr. Saravanan Gopinathan, Prof. of Teaching and Learning Academic Group National Institute of Education at the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Dr. Paul Morris, Prof. of Religious Studies at the University of California

Dr. Kaori Okano, Prof. of Department of Languages and Linguistics at the La Trobe University

Review Committee of CA Region Collection:

Dr. Osmon Togusakov, Prof., NAS KR Corresponding Member, Vice-President, National Academy of Science of the Kyrgyz Republic

Dr. Aleksei Smutko, Head of the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic

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The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) represent a shared global ambition and intergovernmental commitment to meet a range of targets by 2030. The Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (MGIEP) is UNESCO's first Category 1 education-related Institute in Asia and the only Institute focusing on education for peace and sustainable development, now enshrined in SDG Target 4.7. As a Governing Board Member of UNESCO MGIEP, I am pleased to see this publication released at a time when education for peace and sustainable development is needed more than ever.

SDG 4.7 re-articulates a humanistic agenda for education, building on UNESCO's normative instruments, including the 1960 Convention against Discrimination in Education; the 1974 Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; and the 1990 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Report also supports advocacy for Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) as an integral element of quality education and key enabler for progress towards sustainable development (UNGA Resolution 70/209), as well as for Global Citizenship Education.

UNESCO MGIEP, in partnership with UNESCO's Asia and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education (UNESCO Bangkok) and field offices in the region, in 2016 launched a project to review the extent to which concepts and competencies associated with SDG 4.7 are mainstreamed in education policies and curricula in 22 countries across Asia. This report builds on this project and reports on the state of education for peace, sustainable development and global citizenship in Asia, taking into consideration the larger political, economic and social contexts within which education discourses, policies and practices unfold.

I highly commend this report for boldly illuminating fundamental challenges confronting efforts to promote peace and sustainable development through education. I hope it inspires policymakers' and educators' own efforts to address these challenges in Asia and beyond.

hynkoluba

Arzu Rana Deuba First Lady of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal Member of Parliament of Nepal Member of the Governing Board of UNESCO MGIEP

Director's Message

The UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (MGIEP) was established with a mandate that goes naturally towards achieving Sustainable Development Goal 4, Target 7 (SDG 4.7). The vision of the Institute is to transform education for humanity which cuts to the heart of fostering education for peace, sustainable development and global citizenship to build peaceful and sustainable societies.

The global indicator established for SDG 4.7 measures the extent to which Global Citizenship Education (GCED) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), including gender equality and human rights, are mainstreamed in national education policies, curricula, teacher education and student assessment.

There are two methods through which we can interpret the term 'mainstream' in the global indicator. The first method, which I would call the 'traditional approach', entails the introduction of specific subjects on ESD and GCED into the existing school curriculum and students being tested in similar fashion as mainstream subjects such as mathematics, sciences, geography and languages, among others. The second method, which I would call the 'integrated approach', emphasises the integration of core concepts, principles and examples of sustainable development, global citizenship, gender equality and human rights within the present cadre of mainstream subjects.

The choice of which approach to take must be dictated by the ground reality countries presently face. And in most countries this reality is depicted by growing unemployment among the youth within a job environment that demands technical skills. Moreover, we must also acknowledge that adding more subject matter to an already overloaded curriculum is unrealistic.

A majority of reports produced to date have evaluated the mainstreaming of ESD and GCED based on the traditional approach. This report is different as it focuses on reviewing the existing policies and curricula of traditional subjects and exploring how sustainable development, peace, gender and human rights are illustrated in these subjects. It is indeed an ambitious endeavor; however, I am encouraged by the results that have emerged by this first review within the Asia region, across 22 countries.

I sincerely hope that some of the recommendations and future actions summarised in this report are taken forward by the Member States and UNESCO,

including an overall re-think on the fundamental priorities of education policy, promoting a participatory model for curriculum development and creating a platform to bring together experts in child-centered education and curriculum to design core subjects at the primary and secondary level, amongst others.

I am confident that this report will demonstrate how SDG 4.7 can be achieved, while simultaneously improving competencies in the core subjects.

Anantha Kumar Duraiappah Director UNESCO MGIEP

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Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
APCEIU	Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASPnet	Associated Schools Project Network
DESD	Decade of Education for Sustainable Development
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EFA	Education For All
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
ESDP	Education Strategic Development Plan/ Education Sector Development Plan
ESP	Education Strategic Planning
GAP	Global Action Programme
GC	Global Citizenship
GCED	Global Citizenship Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEMR	Global Education Monitoring Report
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GNH	Gross National Happiness
HDI	Human Development Index
IBE	International Bureau of Education
ІСТ	Information and communications technology
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IS	Integrated Studies
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LGBTQIA	lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, intersex, and asexual/agender/aromantic

MECS	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MTB-MLE	Mother tongue-based multilingual education
MTL	Mother tongue language
ΜοΕ	Ministry of Education
MoES	Ministry of Education and Science
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NCF	National Curriculum Framework
NEA	National Education Act
NEP	National Education Policy
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PEP	People's Education Press
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
RTE	Right To Education
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SD	Sustainable Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEAMEO	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization
SEP	Sufficiency Economy Philosophy
SSDP	School Sector Development Plan
TVET	Technical and vocational education and training
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNESCO MGIEP	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
νтο	World Trade Organisation

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Sub-Regional Syntheses

This report follows UN convention in designating Asia as a 'region'. 'East', 'Southeast', 'South' and 'Central' Asia are therefore here termed 'sub-regions'.

As noted in **Part I**, the compilation of this report has involved the extensive coding of policy and curricular documents from countries across Asia. These documents are referenced and cited comprehensively below. As discussed in **Chapter 2**, the coding data are useful in showing which concepts embedded in SDG Target 4.7 have been absorbed by the policy discourses of education systems in the 22 Asian countries covered by the current study. It shows, comparatively across the countries in terms of weightage given to each sub-category, which concepts have been mainstreamed at least at the level of national education policy, which concepts remain to be more fully integrated, and which concepts are absent. However, great caution is required in interpreting the data generated through the coding exercise.

Firstly, official 'vision statements' for education policy or school curricula often serve a largely symbolic purpose, signalling to the media, the public, businesses - and, at times, organisations such as UNESCO whose seal of approval is often valued by government officials - that policymaking is in line with the most 'advanced' thinking. But a more accurate indication of official priorities for education is likely to come not from policy documents or curricular quidelines, but from examination syllabi, state-approved textbooks and the teachers' guides that accompany them (see Adamson, 2004, for China). This is especially so in a region such as East Asia, where state control over textbook approval is relatively strict and centralised, where textbooks and public examinations tend to be very closely aligned, and where both occupy a central role in teaching and learning. While formal guidelines constitute the 'public face' of curricular policy, the true character of official priorities is thus more likely to be revealed in the advice or recommendations of ministerial textbook screening committees. Indeed, both the importance and political sensitivity of such committees is reflected in the fact that their proceedings are almost always highly confidential and thus unavailable to the researcher.

A second set of issues that indicate caution in interpreting public statements of curricular policy relates to the danger of assuming alignment between the values expressed in such documents, and those espoused by teachers, parents and students. Even where educational authorities genuinely aspire to foster student 'autonomy', 'creativity' and appreciation of 'diversity', for example, little thought may have been given to how actually to achieve such a pedagogical transformation, let alone reconcile such aims with conflicting aspirations (i.e. the promotion of uncritical patriotism and moral 'correctness'). While some teachers may share aspirations to render learning less intensely competitive and more student-centred, they may do so for reasons rather different from those that animate policymakers. And many will remain highly sceptical of the prospects of achieving greater 'student-centredness' in a context of largely unreformed public assessment systems, large class sizes and persistent pressure from principals, parents and students themselves to achieve 'results'. Even insofar as officially promulgated 'courses of study' truly reflect government aims, the translation of such aims into practice can never be assumed. As described in **Chapter 1**, however, integration of ESD/GCED into teacher education lies outside the scope of the original research that informs the present study. In what follows, therefore, reference will be made to recent ethnographic and other studies of Asian schooling that shed light on the actual situation in schools and classrooms.

Finally, and crucially, while this report draws on extensive numerical data generated through the coding of official curricular documents, the capacity of these data to represent even the meanings of those documents must be considered on a caseby-case basis. As pointed out in **Chapter 2**, a proliferation of references to 'gender equality', for example, may indicate strong official commitment to promoting this ideal through education, or it may merely constitute a superficial or symbolic 'flagging' of the concept aimed at deflecting criticism. More fundamentally, texts impart meaning through narrative, not through numbers; it is the stories they tell that are important, not the regularity with which they deploy particular words or phrases. The reliance on quantitative analyses of curricular and policy documents is one reason why research associated with 'World Culture Theory' often gives an exaggerated or misleading impression of convergence across education systems (on this, see Carney, Rappleye and Silova, 2013).

The analysis of curricula here, while citing quantitative data generated through the coding exercise, therefore also strives to place these documents in their broader political and educational context, interpreting the stories that they tell. The data in the country-level background reports and coding results are carefully weighed against other comparable datasets and socio-anthropological and fieldwork studies. The following four sub-regional chapters – East Asia (**Chapter 3**), Southeast Asia (**Chapter 4**), South Asia (**Chapter 5**), and Central Asia (**Chapter 6**) – follow a similar structure, providing a comparative analysis of the coding results framed by three sets of challenges to the meaningful integration of ESD/ GCED into education policy and curricula.

These challenges are not simply the often-cited obstacles to scaling up 'good practices', such as a lack of understanding and resources, seen as resolvable through technical adjustment or incremental tinkering. They encompass rather more fundamental and complex barriers to the promotion of peace, sustainable development and global citizenship through education. And they remind us that reorienting policy and practice towards the pursuit of such aims requires consideration of how education is embedded in broader political and social structures, and reappraisal of the cultural or ideological assumptions that underpin these.

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Three Challenges

The first set of challenges, involving 'instrumentalism and ethics', concerns understandings of the aims of education as revealed in official sources. A central issue here is the extent to which students, teachers and the natural environment itself are intrinsically valued, or treated as 'resources' or 'capital' for the promotion of industrialisation, modernisation or national aggrandisement. Do conceptions of the purpose of education (as manifested in policy, curricula and textbooks) embrace a broad vision of human 'flourishing', care for the natural environment, etc. as *intrinsic* goods – i.e. worthwhile in and of themselves (Sen, 1999)? Or do they prioritise the *instrumental* utility of the 'skills' or competencies gained through schooling in terms of promoting economic growth and national competitiveness?

The second category of challenges, relating to 'nationalism and identities', focuses on how the ethical positions informing curriculum development (including notions of state-citizen relations) have been expressed in state-promoted narratives of identity – and the implications of this for sustaining diversity and promoting tolerance and understanding both *within* and *between* nation-states. The analysis here asks whether, or how far, 'national' priorities have tended to undermine the valuing of individual autonomy and dignity – seeking to subordinate individuals and diverse communities to the pursuit of a 'greater good'.

Finally, we investigate challenges of 'competitiveness and regimentation'. Whereas the first two challenges focus on the ideological underpinnings and content of policies and curricula, here we focus on how schooling socialises children at a mundane, day-to-day level, and the implications of this for peace, sustainable development and global citizenship. There is an increasing international recognition that schooling is not a positive experience for many children and adolescents (see, for example, UNESCO, 2016d, 2017a). In addition to describing the magnitude of competitive pressures and the often distressing nature of a learning environment which features extensive private tutoring, school violence and bullying, we also touch upon the implications of differentiated schooling experiences for the 'elite' and the 'masses' in the societies under review. Elitist approaches to education – persistent in some societies, emerging or re-emerging in others – lead to the blatantly unequal distribution of knowledge and sensibilities, undermining a sense of common or shared humanity and global citizenship.

Central Asia

THE CONTEXT: POST-SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

The term Central Asia typically denotes Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan: all were part of the Soviet Union before 1991. Together with Mongolia, Manchuria and parts of Iran and Western China, they are sometimes alternatively described as Inner Asia (Rossabi, 2017). Mongolia is hard to classify geopolitically, having had extensive historical links with various parts of Northeast and Inner/Central Asia (and points far beyond) during different periods (Sabloff, 2011). But for the purposes of this report, we treat Mongolia together with the states of Central Asia, given their shared recent legacy of Soviet hegemony, and the importance of this for their educational development.

The Central Asian states and Mongolia share many social and cultural commonalities, but their recent socialist past and the scale and impact of their post-socialist political, economic and social transformations are among the most significant. While the Central Asian states were numbered among the Soviet Union's fifteen republics, Mongolia, although formally sovereign, was often regarded as the 16th republic or a Soviet satellite state by foreign observers (Lattimore, 1956). Though each state had a distinct geopolitical and domestic political situation, the rediscovery of national identities and the process of nation building became one of the fundamental tasks for the countries in this region after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In particular, establishing unitary states in multi-ethnic societies was one of the major and urgent challenges for the Central Asian states, which until the collapse of the Soviet state prompted feverish efforts at nation-building throughout the region, as the governing elites of new states sought to re-appropriate and re-interpret histories distorted or ignored

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during Communist times, and turn schooling to the purpose of instilling new forms of national consciousness.

Economic and Political Contexts

The countries reviewed in this chapter – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia and Uzbekistan - find themselves in significantly different political and economic situations after nearly three decades of 'post-Soviet transition'. The abrupt end of the Soviet-era command economy in the region, which was the poorest and least developed in the entire socialist bloc, and consequent economic crisis in the 1990s, had a devastating effect on the school system. High unemployment, steeply rising poverty and declining government expenditure on public goods, including education, were experienced across the region. The economies of the Central Asian states and Mongolia declined by 20-60% of GDP by 1996 (Hill, 2002; UNDP, 1997). The education system faced unprecedented difficulties due to a lack of funding, shortages of human resources and declining enrolment rates. The Central Asian states and Mongolia have addressed these issues with varying effectiveness, depending on the performance of their resource-dependent economies and official policy priorities. Post-socialist educational reforms have been circumscribed by the availability of finance, in turn contingent on national economic performance. But as elsewhere in the former Soviet bloc, these societies were also subjected to ideologically flavoured doses of 'shock therapy', administered by institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, As Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe (Chapter 6, 2006) have argued with respect to Mongolia, this contributed to the wilful destruction of the institutional infrastructure of schooling systems that had achieved strikingly high levels of literacy and numeracy during the Soviet period.

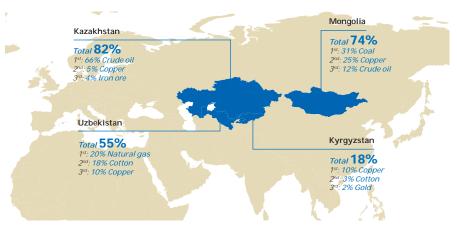


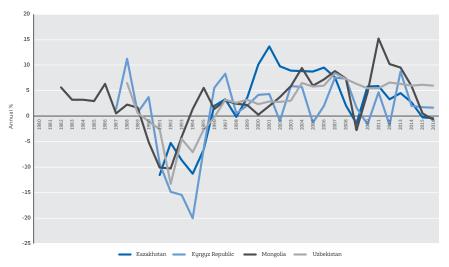
Figure 6.1 Share of commodities in total exports in Central Asia and Mongolia

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Source: Adapted from Saggu and Anukoonwattaka, 2015

The pace of the government programs of economic reform (price liberalization; privatisation of companies, land and public apartments; and financial reform) - particularly privatisation of medium- and large-scale state companies intensified through the mid-1990s across the region, resulting in a substantial shifting of assets into the private sector. Though Uzbekistan implemented 'gradual reform', including partial financial reform and privatisation - and enjoyed relatively strong economic performance - the country faced high rates of unemployment and rising income discrepancies between urban and rural regions (Falkingham, 2005; Pomfret and Anderson, 1997). In recent decades, an abundance of extractive resources, including oil and gas, has had a pivotal role in the economies of the Central Asian states, particularly Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan (Pomfret, 2010). The petroleum and gas industry in particular has been key to the economy of Kazakhstan, which also depends heavily on the export of minerals (see Figure 6.1). A booming energy sector fuelled doubledigit annual economic growth in the early and mid-2000s. Uzbekistan has relied heavily on production and export of gold and uranium, of which it boasts rich reserves. In Mongolia, a global mining boom beginning in the mid-2000s boosted production and export of minerals, especially coal, copper and gold (Pomfret, 2010). However, the region has suffered from symptoms of the kind of 'resource curse' afflicting many mineral-rich societies elsewhere, especially in postcolonial Africa. Corruption and political mismanagement of natural resources have been widespread, irrespective of the political complexion of the region's regimes. While facing the same kind of governance challenges, Kazakhstan has been rated more successful than its neighbours in managing its mineral wealth (Collier and Venables, 2011; Liebenthal, Michelitsch and Tarazona, 2004).

Kazakhstan has also topped regional HDI rankings in recent years (UNDP, 2016). According to the UNDP report, Kazakhstan's life expectancy at birth is 69.4 years, gross national income per capita is US\$20,867, and expected and mean years of schooling are 15 and 11 respectively. Mongolia and Uzbekistan have improved their HDI score over the past decade and currently lie at 92nd and 105th respectively in the UNDP's global rankings (see also Introduction, Figure 0.1). Improvement in access to education and in economic growth and stability have been key to their recent progress (UNDP, 2016). The increase in Mongolia's HDI by 0.13 over the past decade was largely due to a 1.1 percentage point increase in the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (Enkhtsetseg, 2012, p. 4). Overall, Uzbekistan suffered the least from the collapse of the Soviet Union. The country restored its GDP to pre-independence levels as early as 2002, and has since maintained an extended phase of sustained economic growth. The nation's economy has grown rapidly over the past decade and lifted significant parts of the population out of poverty (World Bank, 2016b). The increasing export of gas, gold and copper, coupled with high commodity prices, has financed a sharp increase in public investment (IMF, 2015). Ranking at 120th, Kyrgyzstan has the lowest HDI score among the four countries surveyed here, and is the only one categorised as a 'medium' rather than 'high' performer by the UNDP. Between 1990 and 2015, Kyrgyzstan's life expectancy at birth increased by 4.5 years, mean years of schooling by 2.2 years and expected years of schooling by 1.2 years, but the country's GNI per capita decreased by about 9.1 per cent (Casey, 2017; UNDP, 2016). The growth of Kyrgyzstan's economy has been highly volatile compared with the countries in the region (see **Figure 6.2**), mainly due to volatility of external flows (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016a).





The trajectory of the post-socialist transformation across this region has had a profound influence on the education sector. In Central Asia, as elsewhere, the systemic capacity of education is critical to success in introducing and integrating ESD/GCED into school curricula. Investment in teacher training, educational resources and schooling infrastructure is bound to the national economic capacity and policy priorities. In Kyrgyzstan, rural areas suff er f rom high unemployment, decreasing rates of school enrolment – especially for impoverished families and girls – and declining social services. As of 2017, 32.1 per cent of the population lives below the national poverty line, the large majority of them in rural areas (ADB, 2017). Government expenditure on education has been among the highest in the region, but outcomes are limited by an extremely high level of poverty especially in rural districts.

In political terms, the Central Asian states are mostly categorised by international observers as non-democracies – though the extent to which democratic principles are embedded in political institutions and processes, and the role of the state in economic and social aff airs, varies considerably across the region. It has been observed that the post-Soviet Central Asian states have established governments, with varying degrees of authoritarianism, behind a formal quasi-

Source: World Bank, 2017d

(or pseudo-) democratic facade (Rumer, 2005, p. 3; see also **Chapter 2, Figure 2.6**). Kyrgyzstan, often labelled as a case of 'soft authoritarianism' or as a 'semiconsolidated authoritarian regime' (Freedom House, 2017), is widely seen as the most open and democratic of the Central Asian states. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, politically and economically the region's most important states, have been governed by highly centralised political regimes for over a quarter of a century. In this context, Mongolia has been seen by international observers as 'an island or oasis of democracy' in the heart of Asia (Fish, 2001; Torbati, 2016).

At the advent of the post-Soviet transition, Mongolia was the only country in the region to choose a parliamentary system of government. But the institutional consolidation of this system remains far from fully accomplished. Entrenched corruption and cronyism in the government and political parties have eroded the rule of law and public trust in political institutions (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016b; OECD, 2015b). In 2010, Kyrgyzstan also adopted a semi-presidential, semi-parliamentary system. Earlier, Kyrgyzstan had been the least politically stable country in the region: public protests against corruption, clientelism and the deterioration of livelihoods overthrew two presidents: Akavev in 2005 and Bakiyev in 2010. In contrast to Akayev's largely peaceful overthrow, clashes between protestors and Bakiyev's forces in 2010 led to violence and the death of nearly one hundred civilians (Esengul, Mamaev and Yefimova-Trilling, 2014). The share of the industrial sector in the Kyrgyz economy declined from 62 per cent in 1990 to 16.1 per cent in 2004, with the fall blamed partly on lack of finances and deficiencies of managerial competence and probity, combined - as elsewhere in the region - with the disintegration of the socialist command economy (Kasymov and Nikonova, 2006). Kyrgyzstan's economic and political volatility help explain why the influence of the international donor community has been especially strong there (see the next section).

These diverse political environments have influenced the direction, pace and breadth of education reforms. As noted above, however, the Central Asian states share in common the significant fact that nationhood was essentially a novelty thrust upon them by the dissolution of the USSR. The national delimitation process of the Soviet Union in the 1920s had 'established them

as distinct national territorial units, albeit with their sovereignty highly circumscribed' (Isaacs and Polese, 2015, p. 372); but, unlike the Baltic states, until 1991 they were politically quiescent and lacked strong popular movements for independence. An important difference between Mongolia and the Central Asian states is that, despite their common subjection to Soviet rule (or strong 'guidance'), the former had long enjoyed both the trappings of a sovereign state and a strongly distinct identity, and national narrative when the geopolitical earthquake struck in 1991. But in Mongolia, as across

The Central Asian states share in common the significant fact that nationhood was essentially a novelty thrust upon them by the dissolution of the USSR Central Asia, search for symbols and 'national ideologies' took place throughout the region in the 1990s.

For the states of Central Asia, but far less so for Mongolia, the challenge of affirming a 'de-Russified' national identity was thus acute. Whilst the Uzbeks, Turks and Tajiks were the dominant population in their respective countries, accounting for 80 per cent of the total population, both Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan hosted a large number of 'minorities'; in the former, ethnic Kyrgyz accounted for only 65 per cent of the population, while in the latter Kazakhs only crossed the majority threshold in 1999 (Peyrouse, 2008, p. 1). As a result of Soviet ethnic engineering, the Central Asian states shared a legacy of russification and sovietisation. The 1990s witnessed a tide of emigration of Russians and other ethnic minorities, but

The multi-ethnic and multilingual characteristics of the Central Asian states and the potentially existential risk posed by serious internal conflict are reflected in education policy and practice in different ways the societies of the region still exhibit exceptional ethnic diversity, with inter-ethnic tensions high in societies such as Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Security and stability across the region depend on the careful management of ethnic relations (Azizov, 2017; Massansalvador, 2010). In contrast, Mongolia is more ethnically homogeneous, with a small Kazakh minority accounting for just 4 per cent of the population (Mongolia, 2011). The Soviet (mostly Russian) presence pre-1991 was largely transient rather than settled, consisting of technical specialists and military personnel, who left when the USSR collapsed. The multi-ethnic and multilingual characteristics of the Central Asian

states and the potentially existential risk posed by serious internal conflict are reflected in education policy and practice in different ways. These include the introduction of bi-or tri-lingual education (see **Appendix III**) and publication of textbooks in multiple languages.

International Influence on Education Reforms

Since the 1990s, most governments in Central Asia have adopted policy reforms incorporating 'international standards' or 'Western' education values such as student-centred learning, standardisation of student assessment, introduction of curriculum standards and diversification of educational provision (Shagdar, 2006; Silova, 2009a). Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia actively experimented with a range of imported education policies, mostly linked to funding from international donor organisations.⁸⁰ Curriculum reforms focused on reducing the number of subjects, introducing integrated curricula, or reducing curricular content to promote 'efficient' learning and heighten emphasis on

⁸⁰ In addition to international aid from the Western donors, there has also been aid provided through the modality of South-South cooperation or 'policy borrowing' from close neighbours such as Turkey and Russia.

critical thinking and problem solving rather than the mastery of specific subject material (Shagdar, 2006). Various foundations and initiatives have spent vast sums introducing 'interactive teaching methods', 'participatory teaching', 'active learning methods', 'creative thinking' and 'critical thinking', and human rights and civic education throughout Central Asia, with perhaps the largest impact in Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (DeYoung, 2006; Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006).

In Mongolia, education reforms have been initiated by nearly every new administration following four-yearly parliamentary elections. The early period of post-socialist education reform is described by local researchers as a period of 'confusing and unconscious imitation of others' (Kaye et al., 2017). Three rounds of curriculum reform have taken place in Mongolia since 2002. A new Law on Education was approved by the Mongolian Parliament in 2002 and a number of changes were made to the Education Law for Primary and Secondary Education. Schooling was reorganised into an 11-year system from 2005. The development of new set of State Education Standards (SES), introduced in 2004, was intended to replace a previous curriculum, developed in 1997, which was essentially contentdriven. The 2004 SES sought to promote a skills-based curriculum, emphasising student-centred methodologies. It espoused new concepts such as lifelong education, open curriculum and student assessment standards, while UNESCO's four pillars of learning were cited by local educators and researchers as central to their overarching framework (Nookoo, 2016). In 2006, the government approved the Master Plan for the Development of Mongolian Education 2006-2015, which aimed to move to a 12-year system in 2008. Major modifications were made to the SES in 2007, 2010 and 2011, with the stated intention of improving implementation and outcomes. To support implementation of the SES, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has organised a nation-wide project on student-centred teaching methods since 2006.

In Kyrgyzstan, substantial impetus for curriculum reform at the policy level came in response to what were seen as the dismal results of the country's first participation in PISA in 2006, when it placed last among the 57 participating countries and economies. This was interpreted as indicating a need to align school curricula and educational institutions with international standards. The PISA results were used by the Ministry of Education and Science (MoES) to legitimate reform and gain donor support. Since 2006, the Soros Foundation-Kyrgyzstan has provided technical and methodological assistance to efforts to promote a competence-based approach, and to establish (in 2009) a new National Framework Curriculum for Secondary Education (Soros Foundation-Kyrgyzstan, 2014). This national standards document introduced a new framework for shaping the content of 'outcomes-based education', and the development of a new competency-based curriculum has subsequently proceeded with assistance from international donors such as the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank (Kyrgyzstan, 2012a). PISA results in 2009 indicated little change since 2006, a

fact cited as evidence of a troubling slowness in the curriculum reform process. A lack of coordination among key government agencies and donor-funded projects and inadequate consultation with schools, teachers and service receivers were blamed (Shamatov and Sainazarov, 2010). But it is unclear quite how a curricular revolution could be expected to deliver radical change in 'outcomes' within three years.

Kazakhstan introduced its own New State General Educational Standards in 2002, but it did not significantly alter the previous content-driven approach. With the support of international donors - especially the Soros Foundation - the introduction of outcomes-based education was proposed by a group of national educators (Bridges, 2014). The State Programme of Education Development 2005-2010 was developed on the basis of government acknowledgement that curricula and pedagogy required substantial reform, including a transition from rote learning to outcomes-based learning. Three types of competencies were defined in the programme, namely general competencies, subject-area expected outcomes and subject-based outcomes. Nine learning areas (literature and language, person and society, social studies, mathematics, informatics, science, arts, technology and physical education) and expected outcomes, including general competencies such as problem solving and life skills, were defined by the programme (UNESCO, 2011). The new approach proclaimed the goal of fostering greater flexibility, diversity and choice. School-based curriculum development was to be encouraged, and schools would be allowed to specialise in diff erent subject areas such as foreign languages, mathematics and the natural sciences.

Since 2007, Kazakhstan has participated in international monitoring studies such as TIMSS (2007) and PISA (2009). Nationwide discussion of the results of these tests, especially the below-average achievement in PISA, has had a direct impact on education reform policy (Bridges, 2014). The State Program of Educational Development in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011-2020 set a target of developing 'the training system and professional development of the pedagogic staff of Kazakhstan'. For achieving this target, the government initiated a teacher education reform program, selecting the University of Cambridge as a strategic partner. A new set of State General Education Standards were introduced in 2012 and 2016. The 2016 State General Education Standards are applied only in schools piloting a 12-year curriculum. The rest of the system remains under the 2012 State General Compulsory Education Standards, which determines the list of compulsory subjects, programmes and study plans and allows each school to develop its own educational plan (Pons et al., 2015).

While Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan have thus imported a range of education policies linked to fi nancing from multilateral or bilateral donors, Uzbekistan has been less keen to follow this path (DeYoung, 2006, p. 505). The Uzbekistan government has been determined essentially to preserve the status quo, control policy convergence and implement reform gradually. Uzbekistan's legal and statutory framework for regulating schooling has remained relatively unaltered since 1997. The Law on Education, the National Program for Personnel Training (NPPT) and the Basic Education Development Program were adopted in 1997. The main target of the NPPT – restructuring the education system and introducing new forms of compulsory 3-year specialised, technical and vocational provision at secondary level – was achieved in 2009. In compliance with the NPPT, the Government of Uzbekistan approved the SES for general secondary education in grades 1-9. This incorporates a modern basic study plan, education standards for 23 subjects, and standard curricula and training programs established in 1999 (Weidman and Yoder, 2010, p. 64).

As with many curricula reforms across the region, targeted programs and projects on ESD have often been financed by international donor organisations. In Kyrgyzstan, for example, the 2005 establishment of the Education Council for Sustainable Development as well as the development of national guidelines on the integration of ESD into school policy, practice and learning resources were associated with various donor-funded projects. However, a recent review reports on limited communication and coordinated action among the relevant government ministries and agencies, and the weak capacity of Ministry of Education personnel with respect to the implementation of ESD (Duishenova et al., 2016, p. 15). Similarly, in Uzbekistan the Coordination Council for Environmental Education and ESD was established in 2006, in collaboration with UNESCO, to implement the National Policy on ESD (UNESCO/UNECE, 2007; United Nations, 2010). However, reports subsequently pointed to serious inadequacies in the capacity and supporting environment needed for the implementation of ESD (United Nations, 2010). In Mongolia, the National Program for ESD for All was approved by the Government in 2009, with support from international donors such as the Swedish Development Agency (SIDA) and Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development (SDC). The guidance document titled 'Main rationale and directions for integrating ESD into the school system and activities' was released by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (MECS) in 2016, with assistance from SDC.

As sustainable development still tends to be understood in narrowly environmental terms, many of these ESD guidance documents or advisory bodies have not had much impact on mainstream education stakeholders. In Kyrgyzstan, emphasis on the environmental dimension of sustainable development is evident in a range of projects on promoting biodiversity conservation, environmental safety and green building principles, and in normative legal documents such as the Concept of Ecological Safety of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Concept of Education for Sustainable Development. In 2001, Kyrgyzstan's ratification of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (known as the Aarhus Convention) accentuated emphasis on the environmental dimension of ESD.

Much work labelled as 'ESD' in Central Asia has taken place within the framework of the 'Environment for Europe' process, a partnership of 56 Member States of the UNECE region (which includes European countries as well as Canada, the United States and former Soviet states), UN organisations represented in the region, other intergovernmental organisations, regional environmental centres, NGOs, the private sector and other groups. The process is a regional pillar of action for sustainable development, and focuses on helping countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia to improve their environmental standards. This means that government agencies responsible for environmental conservation and protection have often had responsibility for administering projects and events related to ESD. Integrating ESD initiatives into mainstream schooling thus remains a major challenge in Central Asia, as elsewhere across Asia.

The Legacy of Soviet Education

The legacy of Soviet infrastructure and ideas have had a varying impact on post-1991 education reform. The system devised and imposed by Soviet pedagogues, administrators and advisers aimed to create a new, universal 'socialist person', and was characterized by a view of education as an orderly, systematic, well-

organised process of acquiring and consolidating disciplinary knowledge (Fimyar, 2015). Traces of this approach are still widely evident in national curricula and entrenched pedagogical practices and beliefs across the region.

While secondary schools in the former Soviet Union and Mongolia emphasised gender equity and occupational specialisation, they were characterised by authoritarian, teacher-centred pedagogical approaches, highly centralised systems of curriculum development and subject curricula tightly packed with factual and formulaic content (DeYoung, 2007). Trust While secondary schools in the former Soviet Union and Mongolia emphasised gender equity and occupational specialisation, they were characterised by authoritarian, teacher-centred pedagogical approaches, highly centralised systems of curriculum development and subject curricula tightly packed with factual and formulaic content

in the scientific method and a focus on the acquisition of 'facts' and 'correct' information transmitted via the teacher were criticised by reformers from the 1990s for contributing to insuffi cient at tention to the quality and manner in which students were learning (Silova, 2009a). But calls for a shift to student-centred pedagogy challenged the foundations of the traditional Soviet-based school education system.

Policy makers and teachers were often unconvinced by claims regarding the supposed weaknesses of Soviet-style pedagogy and resistant to calls for

substantial curricular revision (Silova, 2005). Indeed, amidst the uncertainty of the transition from state socialism, admiration for some of the educational achievements of the Soviet past has increased (Reeves, 2005, p. 10), as has interest in localised theories of moral and cultural education, such as those in Kyrgyzstan based on the redefined 'seven precepts of Manas'⁸¹ (DeYoung, 2007). The influence of Soviet-style approaches tends to differ between social studies and humanities (except history) on the one hand, and mathematics and natural science on the other. With respect to the latter, policy makers and educators generally remain strongly convinced of the superiority of established methods, and committed to maintaining them (Silova, 2009a); after all, Soviet achievements in mathematics and science were widely admired in the West (Brown, 2009). In contrast, there has been far greater willingness to countenance introduction of new pedagogical approaches in the social studies and humanities, where post-socialist ideological and political transformations required a significant reconfiguration of old identities and values systems (Nookoo, 2016). Therefore, although references to the merits of 'student-centred' approaches are more or less pervasive in policy and curricular documents across the region, the extent to which this signifies the adoption of new approaches to subject teaching at classroom level is highly variable. Since it is often aid donors who are pushing the new approaches, linking funding to the adoption of their agendas - but precisely for this reason, official rhetoric on such notions as 'student-centredness' should not be taken entirely at face value.

New State Education Standards: Transitioning to Competency-based Approach

As discussed above, all four countries under review in this chapter have adopted policy reforms to align their education systems with 'international standards' and 'competency-based' approaches. The previous sections have described some of these efforts and challenges confronting their realisation. This section further examines the introduction of new SES, with a particular focus on Mongolia, whose SES has been most frequently revised, and Uzbekistan, which has adhered to a more conservative or 'protectionist' policy under the 'Uzbek model of gradual transition' (reforms to SESs in the four countries are summarized in **Figure 6.3**).

In Mongolia, as already noted, it has become customary for each new administration to introduce its own signature package of education reforms. Implementation of the SES introduced in 2004 faced a range of challenges such as ill-equipped teachers and the lack of relevant materials and resources. Although the SES proclaimed the introduction of new pedagogical approaches, the national curriculum remained overloaded with theoretical and factual content. A lack of complementary resources and support from the government contributed to the relative lack of change in actual classroom practice (Mongolia, 2013). In 2009, the newly formed government launched the Mongolian Cambridge

⁸¹ An epic poem (see *Manas*, 2004. Translated by Walter May. Rarity, Bishkek).

Education Initiative with the intention of aligning the system more closely with international standards. New curricula were piloted in English, mathematics and science in selected laboratory schools. The project aimed to review and update the National Curriculum and Assessment Framework, supporting the implementation of a 12-grade curriculum and a national testing system. Once again, following parliamentary elections, the MECS launched a new comprehensive education sector quality reform program in 2012 to 'upgrade the curricula and teaching approaches to international standards and better meet the needs of a diverse range of student needs' (Mongolia, 2015). The new core curriculum focuses on skills or competencies to be acquired by students at various stages of schooling from pre-primary to senior secondary, through studying an integrated subject curriculum. The competency-based approach permeates the policy framework for 2012-2016, encompassing reforms to the national curriculum, recommended teaching and assessment methods, textbook and teaching-learning resources and the system for teachers' professional development (Sarvi, Munger and Pillay, 2015).

By contrast, in Uzbekistan, the government for many years largely eschewed curricular reform, instead devoting more resources to building and renovating schools across the country, while boosting student subsidies and teachers' salaries - with the express intention of improving equal access to education through enhancing the 'material-technical base' (UNICEF, 2010). The SES introduced in 1999 defined compulsory content or minimum standards for each educational level, along with optional components dependent on students' particular needs and capacities, the availability of facilities, staffing and the developmental requirements of the local area (UNDP, 2008). This 'old SES' remained highly prescriptive, underscoring the importance of theoretical knowledge and rote learning, and was seen as at odds with approaches for developing and assessing learners' competencies and life-skills (Centre for Economic Research, 2010). Preparatory studies began in 2005 with a view to developing a new SES to meet changing societal 'needs'. A lead government policy research institute in Uzbekistan concluded that improving educational quality required an urgent transition to a new approach focused on developing knowledge, abilities and competencies (Centre for Economic Research, 2009). The new SES was adopted in 2010 (Uzbekistan, 2010), but in the event it did not represent a substantial break with its predecessor (Nasirov, 2017).

In 2012, Uzbekistan adopted a National Education Sector Plan 2012-2017. This called for improvements to schooling in order to better equip learners with skills of independent thinking and organisation. The Plan aimed to prepare students for successful progression into vocational education, bestowing competencies that would enable them to contribute to society. The government pointed to complaints from parents and other stakeholders regarding the inadequacy of the existing SES and the country's schools and teachers to meet 'modern requirements' (Usmanova, 2017). Global and regional trends towards

Figure 6.3 Introduction of New State Education Standards (SES) in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia and Uzbekistan

Kazakhstan:

- The New General SES (launched in 2002) introduced mainly an outcome-based education program.
- The State Programme of Education Development 2005-2010 was developed based on the acknowledgement that education standards and processes required a substantial reform

 including the transition from rote to outcome-based learning.
- The nationwide discussion of the results of Kazakhstan's participation in international monitoring studies such as the TIMSS and PISA – in particular the below-average achievement in PISA – had a direct impact on Kazakhstan's education reform policy (Bridges, 2014). The SES were revamped in both 2012 and 2016, which determined a list of compulsory subjects, programmes and study plans, and allowed each school to develop its own educational plan (Pons et al., 2015).

Mongolia:

- The new SES (launched in 2004) introduced a skills-based curriculum, emphasising student-centred pedagogies. Major modifications were made to the SES in 2007, 2010 and 2011 to improve its implementation and outcomes.
- In 2009, the newly formed government launched the Mongolian Cambridge Education Initiative in order to align Mongolia's education system to international standards (a new curriculum was piloted in English, maths and science in selected laboratory schools). The project also aimed to review and update the National Curriculum and Assessment Framework.
- Post-parliamentary elections, the Ministry launched another comprehensive quality reform program for 2012-2016, that mainly focused on skills/competencies that students must acquire – a competency-based approach to learning achievements (Sarvi, Munger and Pillay, 2015).

Uzbekistan:

- In compliance with the National Program for Ferromed Training (NPPT), the Government of Understand approved the SES for general secondary education for grades 1-9 in 1999, which incorporates a modern basic study plan, education standards for 23 subjects, and act curricula and training programs (Weidman and Yoder, 2010, p. 64).
- A new SES was adopted in 2010 but could not substantially improve the standards of ducation (Nasirov, 2017).

Kvrgyzstan:

- In Kyrgyzstan, a new SES was first developed in 1996 and subsequently revised in 2002, 2004 and 205, while the Law on Education was adopted in 1992 and amended in 1997 and 2005.
- After much deliberation, the Government approved the new SES and an Action Plan in 2015 for the phased implementation of new generation standards in secondary education by 2022 (Soros Foundation, 2014).

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competency-based schooling, and the widespread view of education as a tool for enhancing national economic competitiveness, have put increasing pressure on the government to follow the lead of countries like Mongolia. In April of 2017, the Government of Uzbekistan approved a new SES for general secondary schooling, and for special and vocational education. The introduction of the new standards for particular subjects, and publication of textbooks to accompany them, is due to proceed gradually until 2020.

PEACE, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP IN EDUCATION POLICY AND CURRICULA

The Soviet education system emphasised universal and equal access to schooling, proclaiming investment in education as central to the socialist project of empowering the masses. This has contributed to a persistent belief among the peoples of Central Asia and Mongolia in the intrinsic value of schooling. At

At the same time, the role of schooling in political socialisation has been turned to new nationbuilding purposes. Policy and curricular documents often juxtapose highly nationalistic sentiments with emphasis on values and attitudes apparently aligned with SDG 4.7 the same time, the role of schooling in political socialisation – a key concern of Soviet policy makers – has been turned to new nationbuilding purposes. Policy and curricular documents often juxtapose highly nationalistic sentiments – often hard to reconcile with claims to democracy – with emphasis on values and attitudes apparently aligned with SDG 4.7. For example, in Uzbekistan, the 1999 SES stated that secondary education ensures the formation of the student's personality; acquisition of systematic, scientific knowledge; the development of abilities in creative thinking; and the inculcation of a responsible

attitude towards the surrounding world through knowledge sharing on national heritage – both cultural and spiritual.

In this section, we explore the implications of these countries' eff orts t o a lign their school curricula with 'international standards' and 'competency-based education', and ask whether basic education has consequently become more aligned with the goals of peace, sustainable development and global citizenship.

A: Challenges of Instrumentalism and Ethics

Largely regardless of political and ideological diff e r ences, t h e p urpose o f education as described in legal and statutory documents across this region encompasses both its instrumental and intrinsic qualities. Education is universally hailed as an essential tool in the national quest for competitiveness;

but documents also generally espouse a vision of education as a vehicle for

human fulfilment, the expansion of rights and individual empowerment.

Nonetheless, the policy and curricular documents of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan appear overall to embody a more instrumental vision than those of Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia. Policies in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, strong states with highly centralised political regimes, make clear the absolute priority of strengthening national economic competitiveness. By comparison, the policy visions of Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan are less definite regarding the ordering of priorities, despite – or owning to – their openness to technical and financial assistance provided by the international donor community. Education is universally hailed as an essential tool in the national quest for competitiveness; but documents also generally espouse a vision of education as a vehicle for human fulfilment, the expansion of rights and individual empowerment

Kazakhstan

In 2006, President Nazarbayev in his message to the people of Kazakhstan emphasised the importance of making the education system contribute more effectively to enhancing national competitiveness. Accordingly, in 2007 a new Law on Education initiated the process of transitioning to a 12-year curriculum, along with reforms to pedagogy and teacher training. However, problems with implementation, blamed on a lack of resources, capacity and preparation, soon prompted the government to review its strategy and increase investment in schools and teacher development (Mynbayeva and Pogosian, 2014). For example, the initial deadline for universalising the 12-year system was postponed several times (Bridges, 2014, p. 35). 'World education standards' and the 'competitiveness of Kazakhstan' have become catchphrases of policy discourse since 2007. This period is described by Bridges as the 'modernization of an entire system of education based on a strategic partnership model with major international educational partners' (2014, p. 30).

The State Program of Education Development in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011-2020 was based on the main priorities of the Kazakhstan 2030 Strategy. The Programme asserts that investment in human capital results in significant economic and societal benefits, stating: 'education should be regarded as [an] economic investment...not just a social expenditure' (Kazakhstan, 2010, p. 2). In Kazakhstan, officials evidently see managing society via incentives and regulations within the framework of market competition as the primary role of the state; state initiatives emphasise this idea with slogans such as 'a competitive nation' and 'competitive products' (Adams and Rustemova, 2009). Investment in human capital is seen as of vital importance to the development of a technically progressive, productive labour force (Kazakhstan, 2012). Enhancing national competitiveness is linked to the role of education in enabling individuals to

participate in the global economy as professionals. Indeed, President Nazarbayev asserted that the success of the educational reforms could be judged by whether any citizen obtaining education and qualifications in Kazakhstan could become a specialist and professional in any country of the world (Tassimova, 2013, p. 99).

Meanwhile, the Kazakhstan state proclaims full commitment to upholding human rights, to be guaranteed through a variety of government agencies, organisations, institutions, including the Human Rights Ombudsman.⁸² However, while concepts related to human rights are highly prevalent in official documents (Appendix II-4), discussion of activism and the functioning of civil society is largely avoided (Appendix II-13.iii). While democratic principles are formally enshrined in law, the political monopoly of the ruling party Nur Otan and state domination of society and the media constrains the exercise of civil rights (Satpayev, 2012). The coding data show that in Kazakhstan activism is interpreted mainly as alertness of, and intolerance towards, anti-social, terroristic and religiously extremist elements (Grade 9, Geography, p. 8). The importance of obeying the law, displaying patriotism and agreeing with the current political, economic and social ideologies is emphasised. Kazakhstan is the only country – across the 22 surveyed for this report – whose documents feature significant coverage of the sub-category 'genocide, terrorism, war, refugees' (see Appendix II-9c). Environmental action for the protection and conservation of natural resources and endangered animals is encouraged in curricula (Grade 9, Geography, p. 4), but participating in demonstrations and organising political opposition are not portrayed as desirable forms of activism. The meaning of democracy is thus interpreted rather narrowly, as in many other Asian countries. In the new national strategy document 'Vision of Kazakhstan 2050', democratic development is defined as consisting of the following steps: decentralisation to empower the rural population; improving public sector personnel to ensure better transparency and less corruption; and reforming the criminal justice system (Kazakhstan, 2012).

In Kazakhstan, very detailed methodological recommendations and instructions ('Letters') for school teachers are issued annually by the National Academy of Education relating to building patriotism; fostering inter-ethnic tolerance, peace and respect for historical heritage; or promoting multilingual education. Ever since the 'Vision of Kazakhstan 2050' was approved by President Nazarbayev, the Letters have been directed at achieving the specific targets identified in the document. This sets out an aspiration to join the ranks of the top 30 developed countries not only in terms of per capita income, but also in terms of a wider range of social, environmental and institutional achievements (Linn, 2014). The State Program for Education and Science Development for 2016-2019 (based on the Nation Plan '100 Steps' to support the realisation of the 'Vision of Kazakhstan 2050') set as its overarching goal to increase 'the competitiveness of education and science and human capital development for sustainable economic growth' (2016, p. 2). While nearly all subject curricula refer to certain aspects of

⁸² See http://www.ombudsman.kz/en/.

environmental protection and conservation (**Appendix II-2**), and some subject curricula – such as Grade 9 biology and Grade 9 foreign language – contain content on global and national environmental issues, very limited space is devoted to discussion of the socio-environmental aspects of economic growth.

Uzbekistan

Similar to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan is also a strong state which has devoted much attention to discourses on the 'Uzbek model' of development, nationhood and moral order (Adams and Rustemova, 2009). A lack of horizontal government accountability and space for independent public debate has prompted serious criticism both abroad and (with greater circumspection) domestically. According to Bertelsmann's Transformation Index (2016), political space is tightly controlled by the ruling party, which strictly censors any criticism of the government and its policies.

A significant enhancement of the quantity and quality of the physical infrastructure of schooling, improvement of the 'material-technical base', and a gradual increase in teachers' salaries have been reported by the Government of Uzbekistan as major achievements of its program for developing the secondary education system over the past decade (UNESCO, 2012b). The government states that 'a key educational goal in Uzbekistan is the preparation of highly-qualified specialists for the country's economy and industry as well as the intellectual and spiritual development of citizens' (Uzbekistan, 2013, p. 64).

The education policy documents stress upon the state's objectives and achievements in the areas of social welfare provision – subsidies for poor families, free textbooks and other assistance to vulnerable groups – as well as the high rate of school enrolment. The Education Law defines the purpose of general secondary education as inculcation of necessary knowledge, independent thinking, organisational skills and social experience, and development of initial professional orientation and awareness of the next levels of education (1997, p. 4).

As discussed in the previous section, the recent introduction of the new SES based on a competency approach was a response to the regional trend of modernising curricula to align with international standards (Uzbekistan Today, 2017). It was also aligned with the 'Concept of ESD' approved in 2011. The concept document set out to improve the competency of teaching personnel and learners, and to reform pedagogical approaches in schools (Uzbekistan, 2011). This explains why Uzbekistan is exceptional amongst Asian countries in the prominence given in policy and curricular documents to 'ESD' (see **Appendix II-14**). However, the official interpretation of competency-based learning seems narrow and instrumentalist. The new SES described six key competencies including:

communication competency;

- information competency;
- self-improvement competency;
- civic competency;
- · national and universal competency; and
- mathematical and innovation competency. (Uzbekistan Today, 2017)

The content of several subjects has been revised signific a ntly; for example, elements of basic coding have been introduced into the curriculum for primary school mathematics, and the subject 'Labour training' has been changed to 'Technology'. According to a senior government offic i al, as are sult of implementing the new standards, learners will now say 'I can...' instead of saying 'I know...' (Nasirov, 2017). The competencies are conceptualised as 'the actual activities that the student must master by the end of a certain stage of training' (Uzbekistan Today, 2017).

With country-level data collection and analysis completed before the new SES for secondary education were adopted in April 2017, the analysis here is based on the results of coding curricular documents collected for Uzbekistan in 2016 (see **Appendix IV**). The coding data of Uzbekistan show that many aspects of the environmental dimension of sustainable development carry a high weighting in curricular documents, including environmental conservation, renewable energy and ecology (**Appendix II-2**) and environmentally sustainable lifestyles (**Appendix II-13g**). This is perhaps in part a consequence of the environmental devastation of the country as a result of utterly unsustainable economic policies pursued during the Soviet period – with massive irrigation projects and the introduction of industrialised agriculture leading to widespread desertification and the virtual destruction of the Aral Sea. Social dimensions of sustainable development – good health, human rights and interconnectedness (**Appendices II-3, 4, 10**) – also feature prominently in curricula.

However, there is no reference to the category 'activism' (Appendix II-13.iii). The absence of references to 'current and future participation in civil protests' (13k) and 'engagement in debates on socio-political issues' (13l) undoubtedly reflects offi cial reluctance to countenance any challenge to the image of Uzbek society as peaceful, orderly and contented. An emphasis on orderliness and political quiescence is further reinforced by promotion of a vision of the family as central to the regulation of society and the provision of welfare. Reflecting the provisions of the Law on the Family and the Civil Law are curricular exhortations to respect the elderly, particularly parents, take care of children and respect national traditions.

Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan

Instrumentalist understandings of education are also clearly present in Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan, but there they take a somewhat diff erent form. In both Mongolia

and Kyrgyzstan, as in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, documents lack references to 'activism' (Appendix II-13.iii). At the same time, they extensively discuss the importance of critical and creative thinking – although (ironically) to a lesser extent than Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan (Appendix II-11). Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan have been relatively 'free' politically and open to the involvement of donor agencies in policy formation.

In all Central Asian states and Mongolia, documents lack references to 'activism'

Bilateral and multilateral donors have exerted significant influence on their national policy priorities, in education as in other sectors. A lack of either topdown or broad-based, stable and long-term national development visions is also common to these two countries. Policy consistency has been undermined by political volatility. At the same time, democratic accountability has recently exposed governments to intensifying public demand for better educational provision.

In Kyrgyzstan, the Education Development Concept approved in 2002 defined development plans and strategies for the education sector until 2010, calling for a system that provides students with 'knowledge and skills to meet the demands of a market-oriented economy' (UNESCO, 2010). The MoES sees a rapidly changing world requiring individuals to be adaptive and adequately prepared to deal with a high degree of uncertainty, according to the 'Education Development Concept of the Kyrgyz Republic until 2020' (Kyrgyzstan, 2012b). The SES defines desired outcomes as core competencies that will help each student to achieve their individual, civic and professional needs (p. 3). One of the main official goals is to combat unemployment by equipping citizens with appropriate 21st-century skills and competencies. These, combined with a set of socio-emotional skills and moral values and attitudes, are seen as a formula for nurturing the ideal Kyrgyz citizen, ready to compete at local, regional and global levels (see Appendices II-13.i-ii). By 2020, in addition to priming citizens for competition in the global economy, the education system is supposed to be fostering in them qualities of patriotism, acceptance of democratic and civil rights and freedoms, tolerance and readiness for active professional experience (Kyrgyzstan, 2012b, p. 7).

In Mongolia, the MECS launched a comprehensive quality reform program for the education sector in 2012 to upgrade the curricula and teaching approaches, and to better meet the needs of a diverse range of students (Mongolia, 2015). As elsewhere, Mongolia's new curricula highlights critical and creative thinking skills (see **Appendix II-11**). In 2013, the Mongolian government began to implement a national program titled 'Right Mongolian Child' (Зөв Монгол Хүүхэд). The objective of the program was to enhance the enabling familial, social and educational environment for every Mongolian child in order for them to become citizens with self-confidence, skills of creative thinking, decision-making, collaboration and life-long learning, and who respect the national language, culture and traditions (Mongolia, 2013). The basic premise of the policy is that the 'development of each and every child' should replace the 'all children' approach, and parents, schools and the local community should be assisted to work together to help children acquire adequate cognitive, physiological and moral development, and self-confidence. The Action Plan of the Mongolian Government (2016-2020) states that a key objective of its education policy is to:

...transform schools to human development centers. Schools will offer not only knowledge, education and skills to children but will also help them grow up 'healthy, with a positive mind-set, well-disciplined, be a good person able to lead a dignified life, be patriotic and be proud of being a Mongol. (Mongolia, 2016)

Instrumental and Intrinsic Value of Education

While the instrumental role of education in developing human resources for strengthening economic competitiveness is underscored in education policy and curricula in these four countries, moral and values education seems to carry equal – if not more – weight in the education policy discourse. The high prevalence of 'values education' (Appendix II-14) in the documents analysed for Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan is striking, reflecting the importance of schooling in ideological socialisation (see the next section). But it is unclear to what extent the high priority accorded to top-down political socialisation warrants the dismissal as mere rhetoric of the high prevalence of references to 'human rights', including freedom and civil liberties, across all four countries (Appendix II-4).

While the instrumental role of education in developing human resources for strengthening economic competitiveness is underscored in education policy and curricula in these four countries, moral and values education seems to carry equal — if not more weight in the education policy discourse

The Soviet ideology of egalitarian education seems to explain – at least partially – why the category 'human rights' was coded very frequently in Central Asia and Mongolia, compared to other Asian regions. However, the coding data also show that gender equality is among the themes least integrated into education policy and curricula (**Appendix II-5**). Although the universal principle of gender equality has been enshrined in the Constitutions and major legal and statutory documents of the four countries – which all inherited from their socialist past a strong cultural norm of gender equality – this appears to have had little bearing on the formulation of curricular objectives and content. Integration of gender-sensitive education and values of gender equality into curricula and textbooks thus appears to be one area of weakness with respect to the understanding and implementation of ESD/GCED – but the coding results should not be interpreted as signifying that Central Asia is more retrograde in this respect than some

countries, such as those in South Asia, that appear to give greater prominence to gender issues in their curricula.

At the same time, it is also evident that education reforms in Central Asian states and Mongolia have sought to replace the Soviet and Communist ideologies with projects of political socialisation tasked with strengthening national identity on the one hand, and fostering acceptance of the norms and values of the global market economy on the other. While this does not necessarily mean that the intrinsic value of education – as a process of enhancing human capabilities and freedoms – is automatically or universally subordinated to Although the universal principle of gender equality has been enshrined in the Constitutions and major legal and statutory documents of the four countries, this appears to have had little bearing on the formulation of curricular objectives and content

instrumentalism, the newly introduced competency-based approaches seem to be leading in some cases to a curricular narrowing, as with the 'six key competencies' identified in Uzbekistan's new SES. The next section further explores the implications of a state-centred, instrumentalist vision in relation to the role of schooling in fostering citizenship.

B: Challenges of Nationalism and Identities

Although a range of concepts associated with 'human rights' are highly prevalent in the curricula and policy documents of the four countries under review (**Appendix II-4**), it is important to consider whether concepts such as civil liberties and democracy may in some circumstances themselves be deployed as instruments of political indoctrination and manipulation, as some international observers have argued (Silova, 2009a). Concerns for national security, territorial integrity and consciousness of imperilled sovereignty often permeate the national narratives promoted by the elites across Central Asia and Mongolia. And perhaps these concerns are not entirely self-serving. In a landlocked location between major global and regional powers, and faced with post-colonial legacies

Policy documents and curricula across the region show little evidence of effective integration of SDG 4.7, particularly when it comes to promoting forms of identity consciousness that transcend national divisions from a diaspora to contested borders, foreign policies across the region have been influenced by intersections of competing interests (Rumer, 2005). Prospects for better relationships among the Central Asian states have been frustrated by vexing transnational and bilateral issues such as border disputes, drug-trafficking, tussles over the exploitation of shared natural resources, trade and transit, and water management (Linn, 2006). Many issues facing the Central Asian states such as water security and climate change require inter-state cooperation for significant progress (Bernauer and Siegfried, 2012; Weinthal, 2006). It is difficult to assess the extent to which values and competencies required for understanding and addressing these critical issues are included in learning resources and educational practice on the ground, but policy documents and curricula across the region show little evidence of effective integration of SDG 4.7, particularly when it comes to promoting forms of identity consciousness that transcend national divisions.

Loving the 'Motherland'

The imperative of loving the 'Motherland' and respecting its history, culture and traditions is universally prioritized across this region. The coding data show overwhelming emphasis on national identities, patriotism and nationalism in the three Central Asian states and, to a slightly lesser extent, in Mongolia (**Appendix II-12i**). On the other hand, national policy documents and curricula largely neglect concepts pertaining to global citizenship (see **Appendices II-7-10**), with some partial exceptions. For example, Kazakhstan's SES contains a few sections where global environmental issues, poverty, consumerism and racism are presented as issues for discussion in specific subjects (Grade 9 Biology and Geography); similarly, Kyrgyzstan's subject curricula feature significant coverage of issues of sustainable development, with an emphasis on its transnational environmental dimension (Grade 9 History and Grade 9 Geography; see **Appendix II-2**).

The project of building a new national identity has been most intensive in the Republic of Kazakhstan, which experienced the most extensive 'russification' of all Central Asian Soviet republics. Building a unitary state and a bilingual and multicultural nation has also become a key priority for Kazakhstan's political elites (Cummings, 2005). The state policy documents and President Nazarbayev's speeches have explicitly referred to Kazakhstan as the ethnic centre of the Kazakhs, and Kazakhs as the original successors to the nationhood, but simultaneously they acknowledge the multinationalism of Kazakhstani society (see **Box 6.1**). The coding data show significant consistency regarding nation-building priorities across policy and curricular documents. Through literary readings in the Kazakh language, for instance, the objective is to 'foster respect for the language, culture, history of the Kazakh people, love for the Motherland, [and] the Republic of Kazakhstan⁴⁸³ (Grade 4, p. 2); similar objectives are echoed in the curricula of other subjects.

In Kyrgyzstan, as elsewhere in Central Asia, developing a new state ideology that integrates concepts such as the nation, freedom, responsibility and development has been viewed as a key to successful nation-building (Murzakulova and Schoeberlein, 2009). The SES presents the aim of education as developing 'love for the Motherland, respect for national traditions, and respect for the cultural

⁸³ Original in Russian: 'с предметом «Литературное чтение»: через аутентные тексты учащиеся учатся высказывать свое мнение с учетом познавательных особенностей казахского языка; воспитывает уважение к языку, культуре, истории казахского народа, любовь к Родине, к Республике Казахстан'.

and natural wealth of Kyrgyzstan³⁸⁴ (p. 2). Attempts to foster a consciousness of national identity have focused on 'cultural and ethnic history' (Chapman et al., 2005, p. 522). The 'Ideological Programme of Kyrgyzstan: Charter for the Future' (Ideologicheskaya Programma, 2003) and 'Development through Unity: The Comprehensive National Idea of Kyrgyzstan' (Razvitie cherez edinstvo, 2007) are among the most comprehensive statements of the ideological underpinnings for nation-building in independent Kyrgyzstan. They were accompanied by the publication of various books and brochures, as well as the performance of state-orchestrated celebrations, such as those commemorating the 1,000-year anniversary of the epic of Manas and the 2,200th anniversary of Kyrgyz statehood (ibid). The History curriculum of grades 7-9 emphasises the importance of understanding and taking pride in the national identity and cultural heritage of Kyrgyzstan (p. 12, 16), but it also evinces acknowledgement of ESD/GCED categories such as multiculturalism (p. 12), gender equality (p. 11), tolerance (p. 9, 11, 16, 17) and the rule of law (p. 11). This seems to suggest that concepts aligned with democratic principles have to some extent complemented the state-driven effort to forge a national identity based on celebration of a shared ancestral past. But the attempt to construct a cohesive sense of Kyrgyz national identity has been a far from harmonious process, as discussed in the next section.

Managing Diversity

Representations of national identity that emphasise a shared immemorial past can be in tension with respect or tolerance for domestic ethno-cultural diversity. In Kyrgyzstan, the new state-sponsored ideology of the nation has been perceived differently by ethnic minorities. A substantial change occurred in the ethnic composition of the country in the post-Soviet period. In 1989, Kyrgyz made up only 52.4 per cent of the population and Uzbeks 12.9 per cent, while Russians – many of whom emigrated after the Soviet collapse

Representations of national identity that emphasise a shared immemorial past can be in tension with respect or tolerance for domestic ethnocultural diversity

– accounted for 21.5 per cent. The Kyrgyz state adopted a predominantly ethnic model of nationalism in the early years of independence, which highlighted the importance of Kyrgyz culture and identity. This understanding of the nation contributed to growing discontent among the minorities, mostly Russians and Uzbeks. In the early 1990s, many Russians left Kyrgyzstan, so that Uzbeks become the largest minority ethnic group. As of 2017, the country's ethnic mix is: Kyrgyz (73.2 per cent), Uzbeks (14.6 per cent) and Russians (5.8 per cent) (NSCoKR, 2017).

Reflecting the need to manage interethnic tensions, the concepts of tolerance (Appendix II-12e), solidarity (Appendix II-12g) and respect for diversity (Appendix II-10c) are extensively mentioned in the policy and curricular documents.

⁸⁴ Original in Russian: 'любовь к Отчизне, уважение национальных традиций и бережное отношение к культурному и природному богатству Кыргызстана' (Kyrgyzstan, 2014).

However, references to peace are absent except for the sub-category 'peace building' (**Appendix II-6b**). The local meaning of 'peace-building' relates to the management of inter-ethnic tensions within the country. The risk of ethnic conflicts, especially between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the south of the country, has not been managed effectively in the post-independence period. Since the Kyrgyz-Uzbek conflict in Osh (Southern Kyrgyzstan) in the spring of 1990, several interethnic clashes have taken place, including conflicts between the Dungan and Kyrgyz youth in a village in Chui province (Marat, 2006) as well as continued clashes between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in Southern Kyrgyzstan (see Akiner, 2016). Interethnic tensions have also been exacerbated by a politicised divide between the country's north and south. The commitment and ability of the government to eradicate the North-South divide is key to achieving 'peace-building' in Kyrgyz society.

Content relating to understanding multicultural realities and traditions, tolerance and peaceful conflict resolution features in some subject curricula (Grade 7-9 History and Grade 7-9 Geography). The History curriculum, for instance, emphasises 'the formation in schoolchildren of the skills of applying historical knowledge for understanding the essence of modern social phenomena, in communicating with other people in a modern multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-confessional society'⁸⁵ (p. 8). In this situation, new concepts such as global citizenship may take some time to be recognised in the country; consolidating the nation-state takes precedence. Multi-lingual education has been viewed as a path of transformation for Kyrgyzstan towards greater national unity and stability. Related policies include the 'Concept of Poly-cultural and Multilingual Education in the Kyrgyz Republic', which was issued in 2008, and a guide for designing and implementing multilingual programs approved in 2016.

Another factor to be considered in discussing diversity is religion. In Central Asia, the political and social influence of Islam was profoundly reduced (or suppressed) during the period of Soviet rule. Although the post-Soviet transition has witnessed the revival of Islam across the region, the Central Asian states have largely maintained a commitment to local Islamic beliefs and practices, resisting, for example, the influence of fundamentalist forms of Islam prevalent across the Middle East. According to the 2016 Global Terrorism Index,⁸⁶ Central Asia has relatively low levels of the impact of terrorism compared to East, Southeast and South Asia, and Mongolia has seen no (zero) impact; Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan rank far below Finland (at 68th), at 84th, 94th and 117th, respectively. The spread of radicalisation remains limited across these countries, but political repression, social injustice and inequality mean that it remains a latent threat

⁸⁵ Original in Russian: 'формирование у школьников умений применять исторические знания для осмысления сущности современных общественных явлений, в общении с другими людьми в современном поликультурном, полиэтничном и многоконфессиональном обществе'.

⁸⁶ See http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf

(Hann and Pelkmans, 2009; Omelicheva, 2016). In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, attempts to dampen the influence of Islamic images and ideas have included the exclusion of religious symbols from these state's national flags, in contrast to those of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, which feature half-crescents and stars signifying Islam. Religion has not been used by political elites to create a national identity, partly because this might stoke tensions with ethnic Russian minorities, and incur the ire of Russia itself, still a crucial regional power (Hilger, 2009).

Policies in Kazakhstan relating to the promotion of multiculturalism in school curricula are summarized in **Box 6.1**.

Box 6.1 Promoting multiculturalism in Kazakhstan

In 1995, President Nazarbayev established the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan (APK) — a consultative body set up under Article 44 of the Constitution and designed to represent the interests of all ethnic groups in the country. Learning about the APK is included in the Grade 9 Geography curriculum (p. 3).

In his annual address in 2008, President Nazarbayev stated that his concept of the 'Trinity of Languages', which defines Kazakh as the state language, Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication and English as a tool for integration into the global economy and society, is essential for achieving the prosperity of the nation. In 2011, he approved the state program on trilingual education for 2011-2020.

In 2009, the government promulgated the Doctrine of National Unity, a blueprint for maintaining the multicultural character of Kazakh society through acceptance of common values such as patriotism, tolerance and appreciation of shared history. The Doctrine identifies three principles: 'one country, one destiny'; 'various origins, equal opportunities'; and 'development of national spirit' (Melich and Adibayeva, 2013). The coding data show that multiculturalism, tolerance and patriotism are integrated widely, and often as interrelated values, in policy documents and curricula (Appendices II-10c, 12e, 12i).

According to the coding results, 'multiculturalism' is highly prevalent in state education policy documents and curricula in both Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (Appendices II-10c, 12f). This reflects the Kazakhstan government's vision of multi-ethnic and multicultural harmony (Schatz, 2000) and a similar emphasis in official discourse in Kyrgyzstan. In Mongolia and Uzbekistan, by contrast, acknowledgement of the multi-ethnic and multicultural character of the nation tends to be low-key or altogether lacking. The coding data reveal no reference to multiculturalism, respect for diversity and embedded identities in the Mongolian documents analysed, no doubt reflecting perceptions of the Mongolian nation as ethnically homogenous (Appendices II-10c,12d, 12j). But attitudes and values of 'tolerance' are frequently cited in the documents from Mongolia as well as in those from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, though rather less so in Uzbekistan (Appendix II-12e). The notion of embedded identities (see Appendix-I) hardly features in materials from any of these countries, with the partial exception of Kyrgyzstan (Appendix II-12j). There is also a paucity of references to concepts associated with peace among the three Central Asian states (Appendix II-6).

This arguably reflects the relatively low priority accorded to promoting a sense of shared regional identity which, as well as being desirable in itself, is critical for underpinning inter-state cooperation on cross-border issues such as drugtrafficking, natural resource development and water security.

Civic and Citizenship Education

The varying nature of political regimes across the region, and related variations in the strength and scope of civil society, have influenced integration of civic and citizenship education into education policy and curricula. Civic and citizenship education in the region mainly focuses on human rights education and values of democratic participation and active citizenship. In Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia, local civil society has been more vibrant and influential in advocating human

Civic and citizenship education in the region mainly focuses on human rights education and values of democratic participation and active citizenship rights and social justice, and lobbying against the government on issues such as corruption. The coding results show that Mongolian documents extensively cover concepts associated with the category 'human rights', including civil liberties, social justice and to a lesser extent, democracy (see **Appendix II-4**). This in part reflects extended efforts by local civil society groups and foreign donor organisations (Altangerel, 2009; Damdin and Vickers, 2015). However, policy and curricular documents from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan feature considerable coverage of human

rights and civil liberties, albeit with less of an emphasis on social justice and democracy. Intriguingly, Uzbekistan is the only country out of all 22 surveyed for this report which gives a very high or high weightage to 'human rights' across all five related sub-categories (**Appendix II-4**). This in part reflects numerous references to the notion of education itself as a universal human right, which was a characteristic of Soviet official discourse. But the impression given by the coding results of Uzbekistan's promotion of human rights through schooling constitutes one more reason for caution in relying on quantitative data alone to monitor progress towards achieving SDG 4.7.

It is also important to note that the local meaning of civic and citizenship education has changed over time. For example, in Mongolia, the term 'Civic/ Citizenship Education' introduced by civil society organisations and donors was used interchangeably with 'Democracy Education' in the 1990s. However, when 'Citizenship Education' began to be discussed as an integral component of the primary and secondary curriculum in the 2000s, it was considered by policy makers and leading educators as 'Citizen's Education' or 'Civilization Studies'. The terms 'citizenship' and 'civilization' can be translated by the same word *irgenshil* in Mongolian, and this concept is associated with the widespread perception amongst educators of Civics as a vehicle for teaching about morality, Mongolian traditional customs and national values. For example, the primary objective of the current Grade 8 Civic Education curriculum is to raise citizens who 'value Mongolian customs and cultural values'⁸⁷ (p. 1, 3, 5, 7). The high priority accorded to cultivating national identity is accompanied by relative neglect of concepts pertaining to global citizenship (see **Appendices-II-7-10**).

Meanwhile, research by Damdin and Vickers (2015) suggests that schooling in Mongolia may be reinforcing, or at least failing to moderate, negative attitudes amongst many students towards their powerful neighbour, China (views of Russia amongst the students interviewed by contrast generally seemed rather positive). Until the 1940s, China: claimed suzerainty over the country; is still home to the majority of ethnic Mongols; has been the chief foil for articulating consciousness of a distinct Mongolian identity; and is today the country's most important trading partner. Indeed, the question of how or to what extent growing Chinese influence across Central Asia has impinged upon curriculum development, especially as it relates to the portrayal of national identities, is one on which the country reports prepared for this study remain largely silent. But it is of crucial importance for understanding the relationship between schooling, strategies for national development, the emergence of any sense of transnational identity and the prospects for regional peace.

C: Challenges of Competitiveness and Regimentation

While education policy discourses changed substantially between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s, education practices on the ground did not keep pace (Silova, 2005; Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006). Complex reactions, or 'mutations' and 'localizations', sprang up in response to the introduction of new 'international' education standards and 'the latest global trends in education' (Karpov and Lisovskaya, 2001; Nookoo, 2016). There has been a dynamic interplay between the new ideas and existing educational institutions, the political agendas of post-Soviet regimes, legacies of traditional pedagogical approaches and the capacity or willingness of educators to adapt to proposed changes.

'Student-centred Approach' in Practice

Governments across the region have ostensibly embraced 'new teaching methodologies' at the policy level, but persuading teachers and schools to ditch establish practices has been difficult, given the entrenched Soviet practice of teaching by disciplines, and prioritising transmission and mastery of authorized, 'scientific' knowledge. Ethnographic work reveals how notions of student-centredness have been adjusted or tailored to local contexts. For example, in Mongolia, even though teachers used the term 'student-centred teaching', their 'presentations, Governments across the region have ostensibly embraced 'new teaching methodologies' at the policy level, but persuading teachers and schools to ditch establish practices has been difficult

87 Original in Mongolian: 'монгол èc заншил, соèлын үнэт зүйлсийг эрхэмлэн хэрэглэдэг иргэн болж төлөвшинө'. discussions and other activities remained teacher-led At no time during the lesson was there room for student- or group-initiatives, or student-led activities' (Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006, p. 119).

The coding data cannot tell us whether this kind of gap between policy and practice has been addressed in recent years, but research on individual countries suggests that progress may require more time. Researchers generally acknowledge that understandings of student-centred approaches among educators in the region can differ significantly from those espoused by overseas researchers or officials from the foreign aid community, especially because values such as collective identity and solidarity, respect for teachers and elders in general, an emphasis on effort and conventional views of academic achievement remain central to local visions of the nature and purpose of schooling. For example, research has indicated that the cultural beliefs and practices of Kazakhstani teachers are hard to reconcile with student-centred and collaborative approaches (Burkhalter and Shegebayev, 2012, p. 59). And a study of Kyrgyzstan concludes that the majority of teachers, students and institutions there are not adhering to a student-centred approach (de la Sablonnière, Taylor and Sadykova, 2009).

There is a mismatch between attempts to reform curricula and teaching methods, and lack of reform to systems for assessing student performance The coding data show that education policy and curricula in the four countries extensively refer to student-centred approaches (see **Table 6.1**).⁸⁸ A significant gap between the stated aspirations of reformed national curricula – which appear increasingly competency-oriented – and approaches to assessing educational performance – which still largely adheres to the established practice of testing mastery of knowledge and set formulae – characterizes schooling systems throughout the region. The mismatch between attempts to reform

curricula and teaching methods, and lack of reform to systems for assessing student performance, is vividly illustrated by the following comment from a Mongolian schoolteacher:

At our school we frequently use interactive teaching methods from September through March. In April, we refocus on content so that our students pass the exam in June. (Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006, p. 112)

⁸⁸ The very high number of references in documents for Kazakhstan can be partly attributed to the coder's propensity to overcode, as compared to other coders, coupled with the volume of documents analysed.

	Student/ Learner Centred	Respecting Learner's diversity	Inter- disciplinary	Whole- school approach	Use of ICTs/ Social media
Kazakhstan	623	50	72	0	50
Kyrgyzstan	23	2	12	0	8
Mongolia	18	16	4	4	7
Uzbekistan	76	1	12	1	11
TOTAL	740	69	100		76

Table 6.1. Teaching/learning approaches in all coded documents (number of references)

Although a student-centred approach is heavily emphasised in education policy and curricula, a tradition of teacher-centred pedagogy remains – as does a strong emphasis on preparation for national-level high-stakes examinations such as the National Graduation Test, and Maths Olympiads. A boom in private tutoring and examination preparation courses across the region has been connected to a number of drivers, including the deteriorating quality of education in mainstream schools, the persistent importance of high-stakes examinations, and the increasingly competitive and insecure nature of the labour market combined with the collapse of Soviet-era welfare guarantees (Silova, 2009b) (the issue of supplementary private tutoring is taken up in the next section).

In Kyrgyzstan, teachers were offered little training for the task of creating new materials for the purpose of school-based curriculum development, as envisaged in official policy (de la Sablonnière, Taylor and Sadykova, 2009). Central authorities did not allow schools to choose texts, and those they had were rarely updated. Research in the late 1990s reported that, in the absence of substantial training and new resources, teachers could only 'follow slavishly' the approach laid down in such materials, leading to a 'very passive stance' (Webber, 2000). Although the central authorities introduced new concepts and approaches such as assessing the surrounding environment, critical analysis, collective decision-making and the use of phrases such as 'learner autonomy' and 'critical thinking', they did not provide any specific guidance or new resources to assist in operationalising

these ideas. In the Central Asian societies, teachers had little exposure to the discourse of alternative ways of conceptualising education (de la Sablonnière, Taylor and Sadykova, 2009).

As Amsler (2009) observed in Kyrgyzstan, the hope that education promises a brighter future for both the individual and society often coexists awkwardly with teachers' extremely low salaries and declining professional legitimacy. The social status of teachers has weakened in The hope that education promises a brighter future for both the individual and society often coexists awkwardly with teachers' extremely low salaries and declining professional legitimacy all four countries since the 1990s to varying degrees. Poverty among teachers is prevalent throughout the region; for example, as of 2009 many teachers in Kyrgyzstan were living below the offi cial poverty line (Silova, 2009b). Meanwhile, the education ministry and regional authorities typically fund only teachers' salaries, often leaving local schools to fend for themselves in terms of acquiring materials and maintaining basic infrastructure (Mertaugh, 2004).

Mongolia and Kazakhstan also exhibit long-standing issues with the qualific ation level, motivation and compensation of their teaching force, excessive teacher workloads, inadequate infrastructure (with some schools hosting two or even three shifts a day), lack of resourcesandinsufficient provision of teacher training. Teachers' base salary is often insufficient to meet basic living expenses, let alone fin a ncially support a household. As a result, teachers a cross the region have developed various compensation strategies such as teaching additional hours, collecting fees from parents at school and taking on additional work outside of school (UNICEF, 2011).

Regimenting the Mind

Aside from a serious lack of teacher capacity in general, one reason why many teachers resist adopting new student-centred approaches to teaching is a reluctance to compromise their privileged position in the classroom (de la Sablonnière, Taylor and Sadykova, 2009). Ordinary teachers have, at best, limited opportunities to initiate change or to raise questions in order to discuss major issues. In Kyrgyzstan, for example, both teachers and children profess respect for the authority of leaders and regard it as inappropriate to question them (Yakavets, 2016, p. 695). Especially in more rural schools, teachers expressed fears that independent thought and action in the classroom and in school were inappropriate (DeYoung, 2007, p. 251).

Whereas authoritarian pedagogical styles are far from uncommon in other Asia regions, the extent to which schools function as sites of ideological control across much of Central Asia is striking. For example, in Kazakhstan, the president's speeches – enshrined in laws, government policies and initiatives – are cited in every school's development plan (Yakavets, 2016). In Uzbekistan, books by President Karimov have been included in the secondary curriculum for memorisation and recitation in university entrance examinations (Ashrafi , 2008). In 2015, the government of Uzbekistan banned the teaching of political science (Kutcher, 2015), reflecting offi ci al sensitivity over forms of ed ucation seen as liable to foster critical awareness of political issues amongst Uzbek youth. In Central Asian countries under highly centralised political regimes, Silova (2009b) argues, 'many parents have actively sought private tutoring for their children to compensate for the strictly imposed ideological indoctrination that has dominated school curricula and left students without the basic knowledge and skills necessary to survive in the post-Soviet context' (p. 59).

Education, Social Justice and Corruption

As elsewhere in Asia, private supplementary tutoring is now a major phenomenon across Central Asia and Mongolia. In the late 2000s, a cross-national study covering three Central Asian countries revealed that 64.8 per cent of students surveyed in Kazakhstan and 52.5 per cent in Kyrgyzstan were receiving supplementary private tutoring during the final grade of secondary school (the proportion is today almost certainly higher); the study also highlighted the negative implications of private tutoring, including exacerbating social inequalities and fuelling corruption in mainstream schools (Silova, 2009b). At around the same time, a study focusing on Mongolia revealed that over two-thirds of students surveyed had received private tutoring; it also revealed that the percentage of students receiving private tutoring stood at more than 70 per cent amongst those residing in the capital (Ulaanbaatar) and whose parents had received higher education (bachelor's degree or higher)(MEA and OSIESP, 2005).

The proportion of students being tutored by their own teachers is large across Central Asia, compared to other countries of the former socialist bloc While the transition to a market economy has contributed to generating new education opportunities for many youngsters, it also led to unequal educational opportunities and outcomes and eroded teaching as an autonomous profession. For Silova (2009b), the scale of private tutoring in Central Asia not only reflects 'a dramatic crisis of confidence in mainstream schooling' (p. 169) but also the stark reality that 'education has become a public sector conducive

to corruption' (p. 171). Various factors interact to invite corruption, but perhaps the most important is the low salary level of civil servants, including teachers. The proportion of students being tutored by their own teachers is large across Central Asia, compared to other countries of the former socialist bloc. To compensate for their low salaries, some teachers intentionally withhold part of the syllabus in their regular classes, thus incentivising their students to pay for out-of-school tutoring. Indeed, 'students frequently report being extorted by their teachers to use private tutoring on a regular basis' (p. 169).

'Shadow education' aside, even initiatives aiming at improving the quality of formal schooling can sometimes have unintended consequences in terms of aggravating inequality and social injustice. For example, when governments choose particular schools as partners or laboratories piloting innovative programs or approaches, this tends to make certain public schools more prestigious than their 'ordinary' counterparts. In Mongolia, though high-performing or relatively prestigious public

'Shadow education' aside, even initiatives aiming at improving the quality of formal schooling can sometimes have unintended consequences in terms of aggravating inequality and social injustice schools are in theory obliged to accept children from their catchment area, they tend to find ways of reserving places for the best-performing students as well as children whose parents offer special 'donations' (similar practices became widespread in China from the 1990s; see Vickers and Zeng, 2017, **Chapter 9**). In Uzbekistan, upon completion of nine years of basic schooling, students continue their education in specialised, vocational education institutions (lyceums and colleges), where they can enrich their academic knowledge and gain professional qualifications (Uzbekistan, 2013). However, the system has created inequity and opportunities for corruption. Unlike universities, which use a state controlled examination for admission, lyceums and colleges hold their own entrance examinations. The process of admission to popular lyceums and colleges that prepare students for promising professions has thus presented significant opportunities for corruption (Yusupov, 2009).

CONCLUSION

Coming last in our analyses of Asian regions, this chapter vividly illuminates the challenges confronting efforts to reorient education towards peace, sustainable development and global citizenship. First, it exposes how schooling in post-Soviet Central Asia has been reconceptualised to serve the need for rapid nation-building in a region whose states were unprepared for independence when the USSR collapsed. Schooling thus goes to great lengths to popularize narratives of the national past, imputing immemorial, semi-mythical origins to what (with

The particularly heavy emphasis on nationbuilding across this region, accompanied in some cases by crude leader cults, is symptomatic of the fraught and fragile nature of post-Soviet statehood, and a political context that severely complicates the task of implementing SDG Target 4.7 the significant exception of Mongolia) are mostly new entities of considerable ethnic diversity. The particularly heavy emphasis on nation-building across this region, accompanied in some cases by crude leader cults, is symptomatic of the fraught and fragile nature of post-Soviet statehood, and a political context that severely complicates the task of implementing SDG Target 4.7.

Second, this chapter highlights the transformation of Soviet-era understandings (however constraining) of education as a 'common good', and their supplanting, at least at the level of policy discourse, with a relentless emphasis on schooling as an instrument for generating 'human resources' equipped with the competencies the market demands. Of course,

Soviet policy makers also saw education in largely instrumentalist terms, to be valued for its contribution to strengthening the state and maintaining the technological rivalry with the West (especially in armaments production). But the ideals of internationalism, egalitarianism and popular welfare that socialism also claimed to champion have passed into eclipse in Central Asia, as across much of the former USSR, since the early 1990s. This is perhaps in part precisely because of the cynicism bred by the yawning gap between Soviet ideals and reality, although, as Brown notes (2009), by the 1970s and 1980s citizens of the Central Asian regions of the USSR were generally more content under Soviet rule than their counterparts in European Russia or the Baltic region.

Many observers have also noted the role played by international donors in shaping education discourse and policy in post-Soviet Central Asia and Mongolia. Niyozov and Dastambuev (2012) have identified three strategic interests guiding these external actors: (i) detaching Central Asian states from the Soviet past (i.e. securing their independence and keeping them out of the Russian orbit);

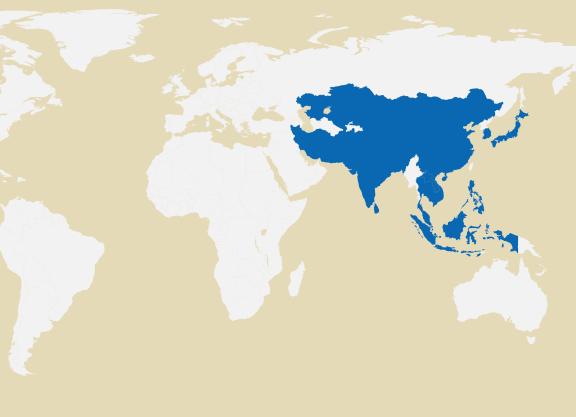
(ii) inoculating or quarantining them against the spread of anti-Western Islamic extremism; and (iii) securing their integration into and dependence on the global market economy. The dichotomisation of 'socialist' and 'capitalist' systems and the outright rejection of the former has typically informed the work of international donors and local policymakers, clearing the ground for the dominance of the market-oriented human capital paradigm. In post-socialist Central Asia, education has come to be seen primarily as a 'private good' rather

In post-socialist Central Asia, education has come to be seen primarily as a 'private good' rather than a public one

than a public one. As Silova (2009b) puts it, 'education (including various types of private tutoring) has become the last hope and the main way to advance or maintain one's socio-economic position as the economic prospects for those without educational credentials deteriorate' (p. 167).

Although the coding results and the qualitative analysis indicate some lingering influence of the egalitarian Soviet legacy at the level of policy rhetoric, the post-Soviet social reality is one of widening inequality, which under-resourced and increasingly stratified schooling systems are ill-equipped to counter. Attainments in the fields of education, health care, science and equality during Soviet rule were initially expected, after 1991, to form a strong foundation for a swift transformation of the Central Asian states into stable, prosperous democracies (Niyozov and Dastambuev, 2012). But even a cursory survey of the current state of schooling across the region illustrates how widely off the mark such predictions have proved. Instead, the Central Asian states and Mongolia have embraced a new totalising paradigm – of schooling for the production of marketable human resources and reinforcement of nationalist loyalties – which, while rather different from the Soviet ideological cocktail, is no more conducive to peace, sustainability or domestic or international harmony.

Conclusions and Ways Forward



Conclusions

The present study demonstrates that the ideals of peace, sustainability and global citizenship associated with SDG 4.7 are reflected to varying extents in education policies and curricula across Asia. However, it also reveals the extent of the challenges that remain if schooling is truly to become a vehicle for realising a sustainable and peaceful future, underpinned by a consciousness of what we owe to each other and to our shared home by virtue of our common humanity. Superficial insertions of particular concepts and competencies into policy documents and curricula guidelines will not suffice for this purpose. The piecemeal and largely rhetorical adoption of ideas of critical thinking, or empathy, or even 'peace' in curricular documents is unlikely to loosen the nexus between unsustainable development and formal schooling. While ESD, GCED or related areas remain consigned to the fringes of school curricula, 'scaling up' existing good practices in this area will make little contribution to securing the peaceful and sustainable future we all presumably desire. We need to place these concerns at the centre of our thinking about education.

The findings of this study show that these ideas remain peripheral rather than central to official discourse on schooling across Asia. Both the coding results discussed in **Part I**, and the qualitative analysis in **Part II**, demonstrate that despite the immense political, economic and cultural diversity of the societies under review, they mostly share a broadly similar orientation towards the goals of schooling – one that is in fundamental respects at odds with the goals enshrined in SDG 4.7.

Most espouse the overwhelming or absolute priority of national interests and identities over transnational understandings. Many in Despite the immense political, economic and cultural diversity of the societies under review, they mostly share a broadly similar orientation towards the goals of schooling — one that is in fundamental respects at odds with the goals enshrined in SDG 4.7

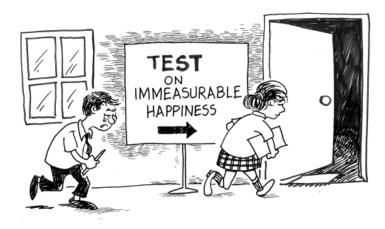
turn define the nation – explicitly or implicitly – in terms of rigid ethno-cultural categories, with implications for the status of minorities and migrants, and for the accommodation of diversity. And many, though not all, portray the nation as an object of unquestioning loyalty rather (or more) than a guarantor of rights – as an entity that commands its citizens, rather than being commanded by them. Schooling typically reinforces the imperative of absolute loyalty by presenting children with a vision of the world that is implicitly Darwinian – in which strong nations compete to survive, while the weak go under. Given the still raw legacy of colonialism, imperialism and violent conflict across Asia, the prevalence of

this nationalist orientation should come as no surprise, but it constitutes a considerable barrier to the realisation of SDG 4.7.

An enduring emphasis on national self-strengthening also implies a strongly instrumentalistvision of education, with maximisation of national competitiveness seen as the ultimate end of schooling. This instrumentalism is strongly evident across most of Asia, and is related to a vision that implicitly values citizens primarily as 'human resources' or 'human capital' for the pursuit of economic growth. Consequently, the range of skills and competencies that schooling systems seek to impart tends to be heavily skewed towards mathematics and the sciences, with humanities and social sciences correspondingly neglected.

Until quite recently, this sort of economism and scientism was associated, across much of Asia, with command economies and state manpower planning. But

The result is an approach to schooling that typically combines high levels of regimentation with intense competitiveness, increasingly spilling over into the private sector as families invest in cram schooling and other forms of supplementary or alternative provision now schooling in most Asian societies prepares students for the rigours of a highly competitive labour market, in which opportunities are determined by the competitive acquisition of credentials, there are typically few second chances, and state provision of key public goods other than schooling (and often of that too) is minimal or inadequate. The result is an approach to schooling that typically combines high levels of regimentation with intense competitiveness, increasingly spilling over into the private sector as families invest in cram schooling and other forms of supplementary or alternative provision. Though not captured in our coding exercise, this context is crucial to assessing the prospects for realising SDG 4.7 across Asia.



SDG 4.7 challenges us to reaffirm a humanistic vision of education, countering the widely prevalent view of human beings as resources, and 'nature' as an object for human consumption and exploitation. While appreciating the crucial importance of education for promoting collective prosperity and individual opportunity, we need to conceive the purposes of schooling in terms that go beyond building 'human capital' and enhancing 'employability'. This means confronting the pervasive instrumentalism that currently informs official thinking on education across Asia.

Even where official discourse features endorsements of 'critical thinking' or 'problem solving', these are typically valued as economically useful 'skills' rather than as attributes intrinsic to the notion of an educated individual and autonomous, engaged citizen. Similarly, while 'autonomous learning' or 'independence' are widely espoused as objectives of schooling, this is typically in the context of frameworks that provide little room for questioning larger social and geo-political realities. The dominance of the national lens affords little scope for students to gain a sensitive and nuanced appreciation of the tensions – often relating to environmental or economic factors – that underlie conflict within and between nations. Curricular documents typically convey general concern for the environment without linking it to the dynamics of a global economic and financial system organised around the competitive pursuit of narrowly-conceived individual and national self-interest.

Policymakers across Asia and beyond therefore urgently need to place the promotion of peace, sustainability and a consciousness of shared humanity at the centre of their vision for educational development. In UNESCO parlance, SDG 4.7 should be seen not just as one of a menu of educational 'goals', but as

Policymakers across Asia and beyond therefore urgently need to place the promotion of peace, sustainability and a consciousness of shared humanity at the centre of their vision for educational development the central goal around which all others revolve. UNESCO itself has consistently emphasised the intrinsic, rather than merely instrumental, value of education. Its metaphor of four pillars of learning – learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, learning to be – represents knowledge, skill, togetherness and the self. The latest endorsement of this holistic vision comes in *Rethinking Education: towards a global common good*? (UNESCO, 2015b), which declares that a humanistic agenda in education 'means going beyond narrow utilitarianism and economism to integrate the multiple dimensions

of human existence' (emphasis added; p. 10). UNESCO has also resisted the managerial discourse on educational 'quality', upholding a view of quality as indicative of the capacity of an educational system to improve itself (UNESCO, 2005).

UNESCO's current concern for promoting sustainable development through education, based on a broad vision of peace, equity and global citizenship, can be traced back at least as far as the 1972 report, *Learning to Be: The world of education today and tomorrow.* Attempts to challenge the instrumentalist assumptions underlying dominant approaches to curriculum development have long been associated with a parallel debate on the nature of learning and its relationship to schooling for the young (Bruner, 1986). Research on learning in the behaviourist paradigm helped this debate to move beyond arguments over the significance of nature versus nurture, but also contributed to privileging the predictable and measurable aspects of learning over its creative aspects.

The discourse of 'competencies' represents the latest attempt at formulating objectives so as to make education more purposive and efficient. As defined by the OECD (2005, 2016a), the notion of 'competency' encompasses knowledge, skills, attitudes and values. The OECD groups the competencies it regards as essential for life in our 'globalized' world into three broad categories: technological, social and individual. These are intended to provide a framework for clarifying the goals of learning, thereby rendering the work of the teacher more transparent and predictable. But despite the apparent novelty of this approach, we have been here before. Stenhouse (1975) pointed out that the creative element in education, and in the act of teaching, inevitably introduces an element of unpredictability into its outcomes. Instrumentalist views of education, however, tend to insist that curriculum and teaching should be organised around fully measurable outcomes; as McKinsey's in-house motto has it, 'everything can be measured, and what gets measured gets managed' (cited in Morris, 2016, p. 9). Our study demonstrates the dominance of this view across Asia.

But this managerialist conception of schooling implies a negation of teachers' agency and autonomy, while narrowing the definition of learning to the acquisition of isolated competencies and skills. The findings of this study suggest that outcomes-driven policies are fueling a growing tendency to hand prescripted curricula to teachers, thereby diminishing their agency in the classroom. The concomitant of this denial of teacher autonomy is a robotic view of the child. The core competency model envisages training the young to successfully negotiate the world as it exists, rather than empowering them to imagine and shape a better world. So dominant has the terminology of 'competencies' become in international discourse on education policy, that UNESCO itself has adopted it in its attempts to promote ESD and GCED.

For the potential of schooling to promote peace, sustainable development and global citizenship to be fully realised, curriculum policies, textbooks and pedagogic practice must be grounded in an understanding of the importance of the teacher's freedom and capacity to contextualise knowledge in a manner appropriate to the child's milieu

However, the approach of listing discrete competencies – without sufficient reflection on what is required for operationalising them – is not compatible with the ambition of deploying education to transform established conceptions of development, equity and justice. For the potential of schooling to promote peace, sustainable development and global citizenship to be fully realised, curriculum policies, textbooks and pedagogic practice must be grounded in an understanding of the importance of the teacher's freedom and capacity to contextualise knowledge in a manner appropriate to the child's milieu. This implies investment in robust academic preparation of teachers, enabling them to grasp the nature and scale of the challenges involved in ESD and GCED. And ultimately, it implies reconceptualising teaching as a craft and an autonomous profession, rather than a technical exercise in the efficient delivery of prepackaged 'competencies'.

1. Towards Education for Sustainability

The child who has felt a strong love for his [sic] surroundings and for all living creatures, who has discovered joy and enthusiasm in work, gives us reason to hope that humanity can develop in a new direction. Our hope for peace in the future lies not in the formal knowledge that adult can pass on to the child, but in the normal development of the new man [sic].

Maria Montessori (1948/1972, p. 69)

This report underlines the fact that if ESD/GCED is to be effectively integrated into primary and junior secondary schooling, then both the process of curriculum design, and the reconfiguring of the education system more broadly, will require substantial and sustained input from educational experts and practitioners. Teachers need to be not just trained, but persuaded of the importance of this agenda and engaged in shaping and adapting it, so that they in turn can engage their students in a similarly interactive manner. Curricular coherence and effectiveness requires the articulation of issues related to the sustainability agenda, and of their pedagogical implications, in a manner that is readily comprehensible to most teachers. Curriculum design must also acknowledge the need to stimulate students' curiosity and foster a critical awareness of the difficulty and complexity of achieving environmental sustainability, peace and global citizenship – even while reinforcing commitment to these goals.

A good way to start, with younger children, is to afford them opportunities to learn about the natural environment through direct experience. Many Asian countries now teach environmental studies at the primary level, and in several countries, including Mongolia, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, a course which mentions 'environment' in title is timetabled in basic education (see **Appendix III**). With important exceptions, however, pedagogical approaches

Pedagogical approaches are often largely devoid of any hands-on experience of nature

are often largely devoid of any hands-on experience of nature. With growing urbanisation, many schools lack any space for a garden, but in many societies it is rare even for rural schools to include gardening-related activities in their curriculum. Indeed, study of the environment (experiential or not), where it is timetabled at all, is customarily treated as a marginal or extra-curricular activity, peripheral to the core curricular areas of mathematics and science. These trends have been exacerbated by the intensely competitive ethos that has come to permeate schooling. But learning for sustainable development demands that every child is given the chance to experience life in nature, including that of plants, birds, animals and insects.

If taken beyond the level of rhetoric, the sustainability agenda can constitute an inspiring resource for critical thinking. Schooling needs to confront the inconsistencies between curricular messages regarding sustainability on the one hand, and the frequently unsustainable nature of development strategies

and everyday practices on the other. Failing to address the typically yawning gap between some of the ideals that subject syllabi and textbooks profess – and the not-so-hidden curriculum of discourse and conduct beyond the school gates – is a recipe for fostering cynicism and disengagement. At the same time, striking an appropriate balance between hope and realism is both especially important and particularly difficult when presenting young children with the magnitude of our environmental crisis and threats to peace.

Schooling needs to confront the inconsistencies between curricular messages regarding sustainability on the one hand, and the frequently unsustainable nature of development strategies and everyday practices on the other

Promoting meaningful debate requires breaking down the concepts encompassed by SDG 4.7 into readily comprehensible and carefully contextualised issues, to which children can begin to relate on the basis of their own experience. At the very least, schooling needs to foster in students an awareness of the tensions and contradictions inherent in our aspirations for a sustainable and peaceful future on the one hand, and an institutionalised commitment to unlimited economic growth and consumption on the other. As already noted, the demands this places on curriculum developers and teachers are considerable – and, if they are to be met, curriculum design cannot be left simply to technocrats in the central ministry, but must involve a wide range of experts and stakeholders, including classroom teachers themselves.

2. Towards Education for Global Citizenship

To imbue the minds of the whole people with an abnormal vanity of its own superiority, to teach it to take pride in its moral callousness and illbegotten wealth, to perpetuate the humiliation of defeated nations by exhibiting trophies won from war, and using these in schools in order to breed in children's minds contempt for others, is imitating the West where she has a festering sore, whose swelling is a swelling of disease eating into its vitality.

Rabindranath Tagore (1917/2010, p. 23)

Global citizenship education essentially involves fostering a consciousness of identity as multi-layered and multi-dimensional, rather than as a homogenous quality with a singular focus: the nation. In this respect, the present study shows how far most Asian systems of schooling are from transcending nationally-bounded visions of collective identity. It is important to stress once again that

It is important to stress that emphasising the importance of going beyond national identity does not mean denying the importance of nationstates as institutions, nor of the sense of belonging and mutual regard that they promote and embody emphasising the importance of going beyond national identity does not mean denying the importance of nation-states as institutions, nor of the sense of belonging and mutual regard that they promote and embody. But to the extent that mutual regard stops at national boundaries (or those of faith-based or ethno-linguistic groupings), threats to peace will remain acute, and building transnational consensus around strategies to tackle our shared environmental crisis will remain an uphill struggle.

Reforming approaches to political socialisation to encourage identification with those of different national, religious or ethnic backgrounds is a

complex task, and a real transformation of mass consciousness is likely to take more than one generation. Both that complexity and the pedagogical factors rehearsed above mean that efforts to foster greater transnationalism and tolerance of diversity should begin close to home. 'Global citizenship' can seem a vague and airy concept; but regionally-rooted identities, based on bonds of culture, faith and language are latent in Asia's shared history. Societies across the continent bear the imprint not just of centuries of invasion, conquest and colonisation, but also of commercial and cultural interaction spanning many generations, with profound and lasting consequences. To outside observers, it can seem puzzling, not to say tragic, that Pakistanis and Indians, or Japanese and Chinese, share many elements of a common literary legacy, enjoy much the same popular culture, and share a host of tastes, beliefs and traditions – yet largely choose to regard each other as enemy aliens. In these cases, the resources for constructing a sense of shared identity do not have to be uncovered or invented – they are there in plain sight.

But across Asia, one of the similarities that many states share is a persistence in using education primarily to instill a sense of national difference or uniqueness – not least vis-à-vis their closest neighbours. Even where history and civics curricula refrain from glorifying war – in the manner lamented by Tagore a century ago – they often take the alternative path of wallowing in victimhood. The competitive assertion of national victimhood is potentially just as corrosive of international understanding as war-related triumphalism. It can encourage both an arrogant sense of national moral superiority, and an aggrieved consciousness of innocence violated, which can all too easily transmogrify into violent antipathy for the nations or groups held responsible for past violations.

If this is true of curricula designed for use in publicly run schools, what of the fee-paying 'international schools' whose number is proliferating across Asia? If global citizenship education were to be found anywhere, surely it would be here? However, global citizenship as manifested in these schools, and expressed in the use of English as a medium of instruction, is essentially the identity of a privileged globalized elite. This is not the vision of inclusive, democratic transnationalism propounded by UNESCO. Taken as individual institutions, such schools may be excellent in themselves, and may do their best to promote worthy ideals amongst their students. But as both a symptom of and a factor in the exacerbation of the massive gulf in knowledge, experience and sensibilities between elites and everybody else, their spread if anything contributes to undermining a consciousness of shared humanity and common citizenship not only across national boundaries, but also – and especially – within them.

Of course, in many Asian societies, access to opportunities to learn English, the global lingua franca, today extends well beyond the precincts of a few elite private schools – a fact that may be taken as a harbinger of a more global sensibility. But even where it is taught in public schools, high-quality instruction in English, and the attainment of real proficiency, largely remain the province of those wealthy or privileged enough to supplement public provision. Meanwhile, the teaching of English is primarily – and understandably – motivated by instrumentalist, economic considerations: policymakers seek a ready

The teaching of English is primarily — and understandably — motivated by instrumentalist, economic considerations: policymakers seek a ready supply of 'global human resources', while individuals and families see English as a means of acquiring, or retaining, elite status

supply of 'global human resources', while individuals and families see English as a means of acquiring, or retaining, elite status. But the overwhelming focus on English in foreign language teaching, combined with the curricular bias towards mathematics and science across much of Asia, typically squeezes space for the learning of other Asian languages out of school timetables. Japanese students, for example, study classical Chinese (in their *Japanese* language lessons), but almost never any modern Chinese at all (see **Chapter 3**). This is not conducive to promoting the kind of transnational consciousness that Asia needs to foster in the interests of peace.

In the context of citizenship education, the discourse of 'jobs' and 'employable skills' poses yet another key challenge. Much of the world, including parts of Asia, is witnessing largely jobless growth, widespread youth unemployment or under-employment, or increasingly irregular, insecure employment, in ways that are putting immense strains on social cohesion. Nonetheless, educational policies generally continue to treat skills-training and employability in isolation from the broader humanistic and civic goals of schooling. Education continues to fuel the aspiration for a steady career and the life-style associated with it. But in many countries, stable jobs have greatly dwindled, while employers attempt to maintain motivation and productivity by manipulating the ambitions and fears of their increasingly transient and insecure workforces. Vocational education is widely touted as a means of job-creation, but it tends to focus on narrowly

defined skills packages. Rather than fostering opportunities for fulfilling careers, vocational high-schooling often performs the social function of managing expectations amongst students whom society has deemed 'failures', condemning them to insecure and unremunerative employment (Woronov, 2016).

An excessive or unbalanced focus on the role of education in enhancing 'employability' and boosting growth intensifies pressures on learners and undermines the impact of curricular exhortations to pursue sustainability. Such a Such a focus encourages young people to see schooling primarily as an exercise in the competitive acquisition of 'human capital', and to value themselves and others primarily as units of productive capacity



focus encourages young people to see schooling primarily as an exercise in the competitive acquisition of 'human capital', and to value themselves and others primarily as units of productive capacity (and consequent earning and consumerist display). A fundamentalist brand of meritocracy, deeply entrenched in East Asia but prevalent elsewhere too, helps legitimise existing patterns of privilege while contributing to new forms of discrimination or social fragmentation. Tweaking curricular messages in the areas of citizenship education, gender, diversity or human rights can only go so far in addressing such issues. To restore public awareness of the intrinsic value of learning, and

What is needed is a fundamental reassessment of a social contract marred by pervasive insecurity moderate the extreme forms of credentialism that permeate many Asian schooling systems, what is needed is a fundamental reassessment of a social contract marred by pervasive insecurity. If we seek to persuade young people to care about our common future, it would help to give them a tangible stake in it.

 Reclaiming the Central Importance of Education for Peace

In the ongoing atomization of society, citizens and classes have both vanished as forces for change and given way to a world of individuals, who come together as consumers of goods or information, and who trust the Internet more than they do their political representatives or the experts they watch on television. ... Our representatives continue to hand over power to experts and self-interested self-regulators in the name of efficient global governance while a skeptical and alienated public looks on. The idea of governing the world is becoming yesterday's dream.

Mark Mazower (2012, pp. 426-7)

Promotion of peace has been widely adopted as a formal aim of schooling, but integrating it into curricula framed within a 'national development' perspective has proved difficult. Although the discourse of globalization has proven popular with many policy makers and curriculum developers, focus has tended to fall primarily on its commercial implications, rather than on global cooperation for the sake of peace. In the curricular documents of many Asian countries, including some that have recently faced or are currently experiencing violent conflict, discussion of peace appears to be relatively absent. The 'culture of peace' to which SDG 4.7 refers remains weakly acknowledged, if at all, across much of this continent.

Moreover, even where peace is highlighted in curricula and textbooks, it tends to be associated with implicitly nationalist assertions of unique victimhood, lending 'us' special insight into the horrors of war, and thus a right and duty to preach pacificism to our neighbours and the world at large. This pacifism can be sincere and deeply felt. But when the neighbours in question see themselves as possessing even stronger claims to victimhood at the hands of today's selfappointed peacemongers (or their grandparents), this approach can become self-defeating. Rather than promoting international brotherhood and harmony, it can exacerbate and ossify mutual alienation and incomprehension – as illustrated in **Chapter 3** on East Asia. A thoroughgoing pacifism means removing the nationalist blinkers, and acknowledging the capacity for aggression and atrocity that lurks within every culture, society and individual.

As a concept, peace is wedged between sustainability and global citizenship. The successful pursuit of these objectives depends on the presence of peace, making the role of schooling in securing peace absolutely pivotal. Several meanings and approaches can be recognised in the emergent discourse of peace education (Bajaj and Hantzopoulos, 2016), but in its fullest sense it is about more than preventing antagonism from spilling over into conflict by reminding us of the dangers of war – important though this is. Securing 'sustainable' peace requires tackling head-on the chauvinist attitudes that fuel antagonism, dehumanising the 'other'. Here the potential of schooling, for better and for worse, is enormous.

Many regions of Asia, as well as the Middle East and parts of Europe, have experienced heightened levels of insecurity, uncertainty and violence since the end of the Cold War, manifested not least in an upsurge in terrorism (Franklin, 2006). The search for peace through education conducted by eminent philosophers and educationalists during the inter-war years of the last century – including Bertrand Russell, Maria Montessori and Rabindranath Tagore – is thus no less urgent today (Brehony, 2004). These thinkers argued for a radical transformation of schooling as a means of mitigating fear of war and its consequences. They proposed ideas of 'world citizenship' which prefigure the 'global citizenship' championed today by UNESCO.

The globally respected expert on early childhood education, Maria Montessori, was particularly eloquent and inspiring on this score. Her analysis of peace addressed the psychological terrain of adult-child relations, focusing especially on the implications for pedagogy. In her lecture 'Education and Peace' (Montessori, 1948/1972), she demonstrated how curricula and pedagogy that ignore the child's own nature tend to breed servitude of the mind. She argued that this ultimately serves to perpetuate violence and war, and to maintain the illusion that war in itself offers the ultimate resolution of conflict. Her analysis underlines the importance of child-centred education to fostering attitudes and capabilities that are crucial to the maintenance of peace and the achievement of sustainability.

Just as in Montessori's day, clarity as to precisely what constitutes 'childcentredness' in schooling remains somewhat elusive. Calls for greater 'childcentredness' risk being seen as naïve, fundamentalist pleas for pedagogic progressivism. However, as our data show, this has not prevented governments across Asia from selectively appropriating the rhetoric of 'autonomy' and 'creativity' – concepts that imply an ideal of self-directed learning. As noted above, these concepts have typically come to be viewed almost entirely through the prism of economism, as if the political and social implications of independent, critical thinking could (and should) somehow be separated from its role in enhancing productivity. The widespread combination of

One pedagogical ethos for the technocratic elites destined to rule, and another for the masses who obediently do their bidding

exhortations to promote creative, autonomous learning on the one hand, and uncritical state-centred patriotism on the other, reminds us of Bertrand Russell's sarcastic suggestion that students 'showing a certain degree of aptitude for science shall be exempted from the usual training in citizenship, and given a license to think' (1932/2010, p. 11). In other words, one pedagogical ethos for the technocratic elites destined to rule, and another for the masses who obediently do their bidding.

To point this out is not to advocate a simplistic dichotomy between ordered, rules-bound teaching and a pedagogical free-for-all. As Russell acknowledged, 'complete freedom throughout childhood' does not teach a child 'to resist the solicitations of a momentary impulse,' and prevents him/her from developing 'the capacity of concentrating upon one matter when he[/she] is interested in another, or of resisting pleasures because they will cause fatigue that will interfere with subsequent work.' However, at the other extreme, 'very rigid discipline, such as that of soldiers in wartime, makes a man[/woman] incapable of acting without the goad of external command'; and it is this pattern that is prevalent across much of Asia. 'The strengthening of the will,' Russell concluded, 'demands... a somewhat subtle mixture of freedom and discipline, and is destroyed by an excess of either' (p. 23). This brings us back again to the centrality of pedagogy and of the teacher's role and status.

The concept of peace sits at the confluence of three major pursuits of schooling: the instilling of certain ethical norms (including an appropriate measure of discipline); the fostering of a consciousness of citizenship; and preparation for the world of work. All three pursuits are today subject to novel and related forms of turmoil. Multiple factors are associated with the apparent erosion of longstanding ethical norms in many societies, but alienation from the state and insecurity in the workplace are key among these. The relationship between the citizen and the state was famously seen by Rousseau as a 'social contract' whereby individuals in a hypothetical (or rather mythical) 'state of nature' surrender freedom in return for security and the consolation it brings (Rousseau,1762/2003). But today the willingness or capacity of many states around the world to afford security to the young appears to have worn thin, making them prone to fear and despair. The sense of insecurity is heightened by the failure of national economies to generate a sufficient amount or quality

of employment, in many cases despite continued or accelerated growth. This is particularly so across Asia, where even wealthier economies adopt a minimalist approach to public welfare, tying livelihoods and entitlements overwhelmingly to employment, and employment to success in an intense one-off competition for educational credentials.

The greatest damage done by jobless growth, or growth that yields only insecure and lowstatus employment, is to the sense of self-worth that work imparts The greatest damage done by jobless growth, or growth that yields only insecure and low-status employment, is to the sense of self-worth that work imparts. Continuity of work also imparts selfidentity, the feeling that 'this is what I do best; this is who I am.' When it is reduced to a series of short-lived jobs or tasks, work ceases to play this identity-giving role. Individuals may then feel impelled to seek meaning elsewhere – potentially in ultra-nationalism or other ideologies that blame their predicament on a dehumanised outgroup:

foreigners, minorities, migrant workers, 'modern' working women, etc. These and similar struggles often find in violence a visceral affirmation of their 'truth'. They attract youth, offering them a cause to identify with, and an opportunity to overcome isolation and alienation.

Peace education therefore involves far more than preaching the evils of violence and the virtues of brotherly love; it challenges us to ensure that schooling acknowledges and engages the related moral, civic and economic crises that we face. SDG 4.7 offers us a perspective to redesign curriculum as an exercise in what Schwab (1969), responding to perceptions of widespread youth alienation and pedagogical dysfunction in 1960s America, called the art of the 'practical'. It rests on the insight that strictly regimented minds tend to respond poorly to crises, grasping at the kind of simplistic, black-and-white visions that lead to conflict and its all-too-familiar refrains: death to the enemy! unmask the saboteurs! Only when citizens are possessed of minds that are open and trained in the exercise of their critical faculties, and of the freedom and confidence to use them, can we hope that the public will truly register the depth and complexity of the crisis posed by ecological destruction and violent conflict. This is why critical inquiry and imagination are crucial in equipping future generations with the intellectual and emotional capacity for dealing with the challenges that face us.

At the same time, as emphasised throughout this report, critical inquiry, curiosity and imagination are more than useful 'skills' or 'competencies' useful for particular purposes – even worthy ones like tackling climate change or preserving peace. They are qualities intrinsic to education in its fullest sense. Without them, schooling degenerates into a profoundly alienating, dehumanising exercise. SDG 4.7 is typically treated as addressing specifically 'the social, humanistic and moral purposes of education' (UNESCO, 2016e, p. 288), implicitly regarded as peripheral to the main business of SDG 4: education's role in developing human resources for economic development. SDG 4.7 seems to be regarded as a basket of luxuries to be retrofitted to a model of schooling primarily designed for narrowly conceived economic purposes. However, SDG 4.7 actually challenges us fundamentally to rethink dominant assumptions about the purposes of schooling. That today we are at least thinking about the environment shows that progress is possible. In the 1960s, dubbed the 'development decade', concern for the environment was minimal. The fact that it is much more common now owes much to the capacity of education to establish new horizons in

This is why critical inquiry and imagination are crucial in equipping future generations with the intellectual and emotional capacity for dealing with the challenges that face us

public debate. But the further challenge for education today is to move beyond refinements to curricula and textbooks, and confront the regimenting agenda of mass schooling and its role in accentuating inveterate competition at the interpersonal and international levels.

This requires that we rethink not just the content and orientation of school curricula - on which the analysis for this report primarily focused - but the place of schooling in our broader social and political systems. National discussions of how education can be used to promote sustainability, peace and global citizenship have typically treated the problem essentially as one of 'thought reform', to be effected through the top-down tweaking of curricular messages. But approaching the challenge of transforming attitudes as if it were a task of technocratic adjustment is both incompatible with a humanistic understanding of education, and likely to prove ineffective even in terms of a narrow 'competencies'-based agenda. Such an approach also – not coincidentally – serves to distract from the profound inconsistencies between humanistic understandings of education, and instrumentalist understandings of citizen-state relations that view people as 'human capital': as 'means' in the service of state-determined developmentalist 'ends'. If we want schooling to create the foundations for a sustainable, peaceful future grounded in consciousness of our shared humanity, we need to rethink not just how schools teach students, but also how states relate to their citizens - through institutional arrangements, and through the provision of key public goods (including education). Issues of pedagogical practice within the school, and civic practice outside it, cannot be disentangled.

Ways Forward



ENHANCING SYSTEMIC CAPACITY

Both sustainable development and global citizenship are epistemologically incompatible with an outcomes-oriented approach to education. Neither can be pursued in a manner that allows the success of a curriculum to be measured within any short-term planning horizon. These are necessarily long-term goals (Mochizuki with Hatakeyama, 2016; Bower, 2004), requiring planning over a long-term cycle (e.g. 15 years rather than the typical 5) in the following areas:

- Enhancing systemic strength in order to gather and deploy the best available academic resources for designing the curricula, syllabi and textbooks that engage with sustainable development and global citizenship.
- Rebuilding teacher confidence through systemic reforms that bolster teachers' intellectual autonomy, responsibility and capacity for absorbing

sustainable development and global citizenship, and adapting their pedagogical practice appropriately.

 Equipping primary and lower secondary schools with the resources teachers will require to fulfill their pedagogic responsibilities in relation to sustainable development and global citizenship.

Our report demonstrates that juggling new ideas and creating artificially circumscribed space for them within school curricula are strong tendencies in many countries. This may result in the transmission of information, but the impact on learning is likely to be limited. At the same time, acquiring the systemic capacity to develop appropriate curricula and, especially, teaching materials, and to engage teachers in this process, represents an immense challenge for many societies. Many countries across Asia lack sufficient systemic capacity to adapt their curricula and provide appropriate professional development for their teachers; while those that possess a more robust and sophisticated curriculum development and teacher training infrastructure typically organise this in a highly centralised, bureaucratic and conformist fashion. Assistance with the development of systemic capacity in the areas of curriculum development and teacher training is one area in which UNESCO can provide significant help, but this cannot ignore or downplay the significance of the political and social context for educational reform.

Political instability (or the threat of it), conflict and disasters (natural or manmade) can severely erode the capacity of any schooling system to embark on reform, but it can also direct policymaking priorities towards ends that may be diametrically opposed to those with which we are concerned here. Such tensions are highly salient in a number of the societies examined in this report. As is illustrated vividly in the case of post-Soviet Central Asia, and to varying extents elsewhere, political instability tends to fuel the impetus for often militantly nationalistic approaches to education, the possible 'outcome' of which risks swamping all other outcomes. The monomaniacal preoccupation with measuring and accountability that animates many globetrotting educational experts and ministerial technocrats often involves willful blindness to these kinds of crucial but unmeasurable factors. This report seeks to highlight, and hopefully correct, that tendency.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION

Despite the global consensus on the importance of education for peace, sustainable development and global citizenship that SDG 4.7 represents, integration of these concepts in national curricula remains an under-researched and under-theorized area. The aim of this review was not to gather and showcase 'good practices' self-reported by countries or those agencies and organisations mandated to promote ESD, GCED and other related areas. The current study affirms that efforts to achieve the necessary educational changes need to

be considered in tandem with reforms to political and social structures, and reappraisal of the cultural or ideological assumptions that underpin them. Education needs to be seen as a process that leads learners to form their own pictures of the world, arousing curiosity and facilitating its transformation into critical inquiry.

- 1. Rethink the fundamental priorities of education policy. A narrow economism dominates much contemporary educational debate. The potential of education for promoting collective prosperity and individual opportunity is beyond doubt. But schooling is important not just for its capacity to confer job-ready 'skills' or build 'human capital'. It can both divide and unite, oppress and liberate, warp minds and enlighten them, and by promoting unsustainable socio-economic models ultimately impoverish rather than enrich us. Policymakers urgently need to place the promotion of peace, sustainability and a consciousness of shared humanity at the centre of their vision for educational development. In UNESCO parlance, therefore, SDG 4.7 should be seen not just as one of a menu of educational 'goals', but as the central goal around which all others revolve.
 - a. Put education for peace at centre stage in SDG 4.7 implementation. Despite the explicit reference to 'culture of peace and non-violence' in the wording of SDG 4.7, UNESCO is promoting ESD and GCED as discrete pillars of SDG 4.7. The articulation of these goals needs to be rendered more coherent and forceful, and this should be done through acknowledging the central importance of education for peace.
 - Rethink the priorities of subject curricula, particularly with respect b. to history, civics and language teaching. The role of history and civics education in political socialisation, and its potential for fostering peace or fueling conflict, has been much analysed and discussed. Less widely acknowledged is the role of language education in this respect despite the intimate relationship between language, identities and civil conflict in many societies, not least across post-colonial South Asia (Guha, 2007, pp. 186-200; pp. 593-95). Foreign and second language teaching has considerable potential for enhancing understanding across communities and nations. However, opportunities for learning languages other than one's 'mother tongue' (especially where this is the single national language) and English tend to be rare across most of Asia. This is related in part to the heavy curricular emphasis on maths and science. Rebalancing the curriculum to give greater space for the study of other Asian languages, and taking steps (at the level of tertiary education and teacher training) to build capacity for instruction in these languages, are measures that deserve serious consideration for the sake of promoting sustainable peace throughout Asia.
 - c. Emphasise nature study and arts as a component of basic education: In addition to freeing up curricular space for the study of other Asian languages, space also needs to be made in school timetables for

other areas of learning that are less susceptible to monitoring and measurement, but are nonetheless crucial to realising a humanistic vision of education. These include the kinds of opportunities to experience the natural environment mentioned above (e.g. through gardening activities at primary level). They also include the teaching of music, art, drama and dance – aesthetic activities with the potential to contribute significantly to fostering appreciation of cultural diversity and a culture of peace. This report has had little to say about such activities, since its focus has been primarily on 'core' school subjects. But precisely this fact speaks to the curricular marginalisation of learning in these areas. This is an issue which deserves more research and attention from policymakers and curriculum developers.

- d. Enhance the role of educational research in informing policy and curriculum development. Involvement in education policy making of academics from a wide range of social science disciplines is necessary to ground policy discourses and decisions in contemporary social realities. But relevant capacity, or a willingness to use it, is often lacking across Asia, given the highly centralised and bureaucratized nature of policymaking, and the tendency to treat expert advice largely as a source of post-hoc legitimation for official decisions. Especially in developing countries, rigorous academic research into educational issues conducted by local researchers is often scarce. Building capacity to conduct such research, as well as official willingness to respect its findings, is urgently needed to create a sound basis for curriculum reforms.
- 2. Create a platform to bring together experts in child-centred education and curriculum design for core subjects at primary and secondary levels. Sweeping calls for the integration of ESD, GCED and other related concepts across all types and levels of education (formal and non-formal, kindergarten to postgraduate) mean that a necessary focus on the particular challenge of designing curricula for basic schooling has largely been lost. Re-designing the curriculum of core school subjects to promote sustainable development and global citizenship calls for the highest levels of multi-disciplinary academic expertise and awareness. Academic expertise is required not only in the area of curriculum design, but also in the psychology and sociology of education (to investigate how youngsters think and learn in different circumstances), and in the pedagogic sciences.
- 3. Promote a participatory model of curriculum development. Teachers are often treated as functionaries whose job is to execute decisions taken by higher-level experts and officers. It is important to treat teachers as partners in curricular design and planning debates rather than simply as delivery technicians. Lack of professional excitement, interest and autonomy is causing ambitious teachers in many societies to leave the profession. It is crucial to involve teachers in shaping curriculum policy

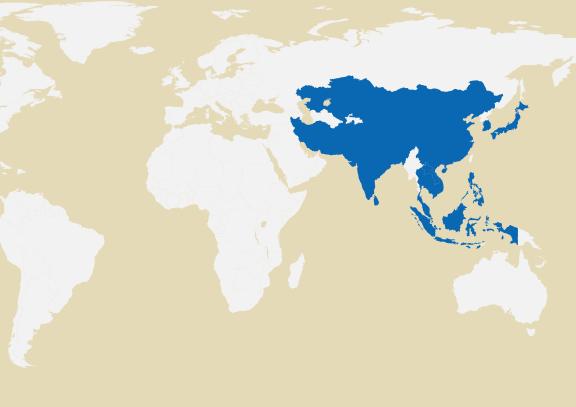
that affects classroom life. Teachers who lack autonomy and freedom to think themselves can hardly enhance these capacities in their students. We must therefore look to restore the confidence of teachers as autonomous professionals modeling the kind of active and engaged citizenship we seek to promote amongst students – rather than treating them as passive minions of controlling authorities. Efforts must also be made to engage with debates over teaching methods and the potential of technology to assist teachers at the level of basic schooling – without seeing technology as a panacea or substitute for critical reflection on the goals of education.

4. Reassess the international emphasis on monitoring and measuring educational 'outcomes'. Policymakers need to work from broader conceptions of the purposes of education, and focus much more on improving *inputs* – such as curriculum development, teacher training and teaching materials – rather than simply on monitoring *outputs*. Competitive mechanisms and testing procedures aimed at securing 'accountability' tend to lead to curricular narrowing and reduced teacher autonomy and confidence. In line with 2, 3 and 4 above, involvement in designing these 'inputs' also needs to be less centralised and more participatory.

In the case of a concept like sustainable development, learning will mean something worthwhile or life-long if the concept is incorporated into a child's lived 'reality' (Piaget, 1976). This kind of incorporation can hardly be demonstrated by testing at the conclusion of a module, no matter how carefully the test is designed. A long-term view of learning calls for radical review of prevailing ideas about evidence, outcomes and systemic accountability. What constitutes 'evidence' in the field of education requires thorough reconsideration if we wish to promote new forms of learning that are really transformative in their impact on lifestyles, behaviour, attitudes and values.

Finally, it must be stressed again that any suggestions for specific actions in the sphere of schooling must take into account the context beyond the school gates. While acknowledging the importance of reconciling curricular objectives and pedagogical approaches with children's 'lived reality', we must also recognise the need to transform that reality in ways that schooling alone cannot accomplish. Preaching the virtues of peace, harmony, tolerance, environmentalism and creative autonomy within the classroom means little if the reality confronting children outside it consists of savage competition for individual, familial or national advantage; denial of shared public responsibility for the less fortunate; impotence in the face of state authority; the branding of political critique as deviant and treacherous; and the habitual demonisation of 'enemies' abroad and at home. The young are liable to read the actions of their elders, not just their words. All of us, not just teachers, who wish to nurture in the next generation the qualities required for peace, sustainable development and global citizenship, are going to have to lead by example.





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Rethinking schooling for the 21st century

Calls to gear up schools for the 21st century are ubiquitous today. Dominant international educational discourse hails the potential of 'the youth dividend' and digital technology for enhancing growth. Some Asian education systems are held up as models for an innovation-led utopian future. But across much of Asia, neither the reality of schooling nor the patterns of development with which it is associated give cause for blithe optimism.

This study is informed by UNESCO's commitment to realising the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) through educational reform worldwide. Since its inception, UNESCO has championed a humanistic vision of education – a vision today encapsulated in SDG 4.7. These ideals need to be strongly restated and defended in an era when educational debate worldwide has come to be framed by a narrowly economistic and instrumentalist agenda.

Deriving urgent significance from this broader context, the present report analyses how far the ideals of SDG 4.7 - of 'education for peace, sustainable development and global citizenship' - are embodied in policies and curricula across 22 Asian societies. At one level, it seeks to develop benchmarks against which future progress can be assessed. It also argues forcefully that conceptions of the fundamental purposes of schooling need to be reconfigured, if the ideals to which the global community has subscribed are actually to be realised.







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