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**Cultivating humanity? Education and capabilities for
a global 'great transition'**

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Abstract

Various studies suggest that major changes are required in predominant human values during the next two generations, to ensure politically and environmentally sustainable societies and a sustainable global order: away from consumerism to a focus on quality of life; away from a certain type of possessive individualism, towards more human solidarity; and away from an assumption of domination of nature, towards a greater ecological sensitivity. The paper reviews evidence on the scale of these challenges. Second, it analyses their implications and the possibilities of change at personal, societal and global levels, with special reference to education and the respective roles and mutual entanglement of personal change and system change. Thirdly, it discusses possible lessons and contributions of internationally oriented postgraduate education, drawing some suggestions from experience in the International Institute of Social Studies in The Hague.

Keywords

Global sustainability; 'The Great Transition'; value change; quality of life; cosmopolitanism; education for sustainability; international education

Cultivating humanity?

Education and capabilities for a global ‘great transition’

1 Introduction

What are the implications for education of the formidable emergent global challenges of sustainability and of the demands for corresponding human capabilities? Various studies, such as *The Earth Charter*, the *Great Transition* studies by the Stockholm Environment Institute (Raskin et al., 2002) and the New Economics Foundation (2009), and indeed the United Nations General Assembly’s Millennium Declaration of 2000, suggest that major changes are required in predominant human values during the next two generations, to ensure politically and environmentally sustainable societies and a sustainable global order. Three required moves presented in such projects are: away from the pursuit of human fulfilment predominantly through consumerism, to a focus on quality of life rather than quantity of commercial activity; away from the predominance of possessive individualism, towards more human solidarity; and away from a stance of human domination and exploitation of nature, towards an ecological sensitivity. This essay considers such a neo-Stoic project for ‘the cultivation of humanity’—Seneca’s phrase, revived by Martha Nussbaum in her book *Cultivating Humanity*—covering, broadly speaking, the cultivation of humanity’s flourishing as individuals, as collectivity, and in and towards our natural environment, each of them as desirable both in themselves and in order to ensure preservation of humankind.

We look first at the scale of the challenge and at some possible paths, components and theories of social change, using in particular the work of the *Great Transition* project and its picture of the evolution of human values required for sustainable societies and a sustainable global order. The project reviews evidence from global surveys of values, with reference both to what people say and what they do, in the above three dimensions: quality of life, human solidarity, and environmental sensitivity. Like other recent surveys (e.g., UNDP 2008; Jackson 2009; Stern 2010) this material underlines the extreme challenges that humankind faces, given the reality of current values and behaviour.

Second, we elaborate the questions around change at personal, societal and global levels, with reference to the respective roles and mutual entanglement of personal change and system change and to where education fits in. The *Great Transition* study (Raskin et al. 2002), for example, accords a vital role to national and global citizens’ movements driven by the energies of young people, and would imply potential major roles for progressive education and conversely too a negative role for anti-progressive education. We use Phillip Brown and Hugh Lauder’s study of *The Future of Society in a Global Economy*, to identify some of the barriers to change, and elements of the required rethinking of personhood, intelligence and consequently of education. We will see how the study’s preoccupation with ‘success’ in the global economy counteracts its other insights. Correspondingly we will turn to Nussbaum’s *Cultivating Humanity* for profounder discussion of the roles for liberal humanist education in our ‘one world’. In the final stage of the paper we

look then for possible contributions and lessons from experiences in multi-national postgraduate education in the field of international development studies.

So the essay begins with the threats facing humankind and with alternative possible transitions, both favourable and unfavourable; proceeds to discuss required value changes, and to consider whether and how education can contribute; and offers a case study of the potential of international education to contribute towards two of the value changes—greater global solidarity, and a rethinking of quality of life as rooted in richness of relationships more than in volume of possessions—as well as perhaps contribute towards the necessary energy, leadership and international co-operation.

2 The Great Transition that awaits us – but which one?

Long-range trajectories

Work in ‘The Great Transition Initiative’ (GTI), which began in the Stockholm Environment Institute’s North America office, identifies three areas of critical uncertainties for humanity’s future (Raskin 2006a): 1. environmental risks; 2. the economic instabilities of (to use Edward Luttwak’s term) ‘turbo-capitalism’, which have been again brought vividly to world attention since 2008; and 3. socio-political combustibility. The three areas are strongly interconnected, which brings the risk of destructive chain reactions. We face a resultant likelihood of crises. The probable triggering factors are: climate change; pandemics; financial collapse; mega-terrorism; and key resource shortages (Raskin 2006a, p.10). Institutional backwardness at global level means low ability to manage the crises. All the elements of high vulnerability are thus present: high exposure to shocks, due to turbo-capitalism’s economic, political, and environmental imbalances and low capacity so far to precisely anticipate and avert or mitigate; high sensitivity to shocks when they arrive, thanks partly to pervasive interconnectedness; and low coping capacity, including low capacity to adapt to the effects, as well as low capacity of political and social systems to learn about and act on the causes.

The GTI consequently sketches six indicative scenarios of global futures (Raskin et al. 2002). Two are Conventional Worlds scenarios: market-led adaptation, and the well-meaning Policy Reform scenario. The *Market Forces* scenario is guided by optimism about adaptation through the operation of markets, guided by both an in-built hidden hand and the occasional light-touch by market-friendly technocrats. The *Policy Reform* scenario is the ‘sustainable development’ perspective articulated by the 1987 Brundtland Commission and eventually adopted by many international organizations, claiming that unending economic growth, environmental sustainability and equity can be combined, through better technology and active policy intervention. The GTI studies consider that these two visions for the future are flawed by internal contradictions and extreme risks.

The Barbarization scenarios present the working out of these contradictions, in futures where the risks become fulfilled. The *Breakdown* scenario shows a Malthusian future, in which human expansion triggers off

cataclysmic chain reactions of pestilence, war, famine and eco-system decline. In *Fortress World* some groups, nationally and internationally, manage to barricade themselves off from the zones of breakdown, and to retain an order convenient for themselves through the exercise of force and authority.

The two remaining scenarios concern futures of sustainability through radical change. The *Eco-communalism* scenario is a traditional Green utopia of ‘small is beautiful’, in which humankind turns away from large-scale industrialism and attempted environmental engineering. The GTI studies see this variant as implausible. Their hopes rest instead on the final scenario, the *New Sustainability Paradigm*, marked by an ‘alternative globalization’ guided by new values of human solidarity and a rethinking of the nature of human being and well-being.

The scenarios are summarised more fully in the following extract (Raskin 2006a; p.3).

Conventional Worlds are evolutionary scenarios that arise gradually from the dominant forces of globalization—economic interdependence grows, dominant values spread, and developing regions converge toward rich-country patterns of production and consumption. In the *Market Forces* variation, powerful global actors advance the priority of economic growth through such neo-liberal policies as free trade, privatization, deregulation, and the modernization and integration of developing regions into the market nexus. The *Policy Reform* scenario adds comprehensive governmental initiatives to harmonize economic growth with a broad set of social and environmental goals. The strategic blueprint for *Policy Reform* was adopted at the 1992 Earth Summit... and given concrete expression through international initiatives, such as those to cut poverty by half [part of the Millennium Development Goals] and to stabilize the global climate at safe levels [the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, 1992].

Conventional Worlds visions face an immense challenge. They must reverse destabilizing global trends—social polarization, environmental degradation, and economic instability—even as they advance the consumerist values, economic growth, and cultural homogenization that drive such trends. How will the imperative of sustainability be reconciled with the conventional development paradigm? Relying on market adaptations is a risky gamble, while building effective mechanisms for global governance is difficult in a conventional world context.

If unattended crises should deepen, global development could veer toward a *Barbarization* scenario. Such a tragic retreat from civilized norms might take the form of an authoritarian *Fortress World*, with elites in protected enclaves and an impoverished majority outside, or *Breakdown*, in which conflict spirals out of control, waves of disorder spread, and institutions collapse.

By contrast, *Great Transitions* are transformative scenarios in which a new suite of values ascend—human solidarity, quality-of-life, and respect for nature—that revise the very meaning of development and the goal of the “good life”. In this vision, solidarity is the foundation for a more egalitarian social contract, poverty eradication, and democratic political engagement at all levels. Human fulfilment in all its dimensions is the measure of development, displacing consumerism and the false metric of GDP. An ecological sensibility that understands humanity as

part of a wider community of life is the basis for true sustainability and the healing of the Earth.

One *Great Transition* variation is Eco-communalism, a highly localist vision favored by some environmental subcultures. But the plausibility and stability of radically detached communities in the planetary phase are problematic. Rather, the *Great Transition* vision is identified here with the *New Sustainability Paradigm*, which sees in globalization, not only a threat, but also an opportunity for forging new categories of consciousness—global citizenship, humanity-as-whole, the wider web of life, and sustainability and the well-being of future generations. The new paradigm would change the character of global civilization rather than retreat into localism. It validates global solidarity, cultural cross-fertilization and economic connectedness, while seeking a humanistic and ecological transition. Finally, the *Great Transition* is a pluralistic vision that, within a shared commitment to global citizenship, celebrates diverse regional forms of development and multiple pathways to modernity. (Raskin, 2006b)

The last scenario thus presents three main region types envisaged as possibilities for '2084': 1. Agoria ('Sweden Supreme'; social market economy), 2. Arcadia (anarchist localism), and 3. Ecodemia (worker control; with a goal of 'time affluence'). It perhaps incorporates eco-communalism as the second variant within the more encompassing 'new sustainability paradigm'.¹

All of these scenarios could in fact be called a great transition of one sort or another, in face of the crises that likely await humankind in the 21st century: whether a miraculous technological passage that rescues humanity despite its risky life-style, or a slide or even collapse into disaster, or a transition to a society better guided by humane values. Which of the scenarios will be more likely depends on what combination emerges of intensity of crisis and degree of coping capacity. Given a low intensity of crises and high coping capacity we can proceed on a 'Conventional World' path. That pair of scenarios appear implausible, on the basis of much current evidence. Given high intensity of crises and low coping capacity we will move along a 'Barbarization' pathway. This second pair of scenarios would be intolerable. Given high intensity crises yet high coping capacity we may be both driven towards and able to make a 'Great Transition' of a profound yet favourable kind. Our need is to build coping capacity, including through value change.

The GTI judges that global coping capacity can only greatly increase if a powerful global citizens movement emerges. (More precisely, and as more probable, we may think of a 'movement of movements'; Hintjens 2006.) The project's more detailed analyses show contingent pathways, marking different possible directions beyond each phase of crisis, according to the presence in those phases of either a weak or a strong global citizens movement (Raskin 2006a, Figs. 9 and 10). But the presence and strength of a movement are not sufficient. The key question is: what type of movement? Required for a favourable transition in face of the likely crises are elements of shared vision, a shared identity of global citizen, and a realistic change strategy. Only with a

¹ For more detail on all the scenarios, see Raskin et al. 2002 and a series of follow-up studies and other materials at: <http://www.gtinitiative.org/>, including a slideshow, a powerpoint version, and a video lecture.

powerful *and* well-oriented global citizens movement can even the modest Policy Reform scenario become plausible, as opposed to the observed reality during the last generation of recurrent fine-sounding global commitments which then remain hardly implemented.

The premise of a scenarios exercise, such as the GTI, is that people and societies have choices and that their decisions can be influenced by reflection and debate. History shows that people's and sometimes even societies's choices can be influenced through envisioning alternative stories about the future and responding to the perceived threats and opportunities. Using a conceptual frame of co-evolving human-environmental systems, we can see human values and the resulting social movements as key sets of variables that have influence and that are themselves influenced and influenceable (Raskin 2006a: 21). Scenarios themselves can influence human attitudes: when we see a storyline that offers an encouraging and plausible way forward we are more likely to respond, and if we see none, to despond. Exercises such as the Great Transition project aim to contribute to processes of building helpful and widely accepted storylines.

Value change?

For major societal reform people must perceive that they face real choices and must feel deeply motivated to take the reform choice. Processes of societal reform thus require values as drivers that help to motivate and reconfigure patterns of action. Humankind, especially its high-impact consumers clustered mostly in high-income countries, must be motivated towards choices which are compatible with global sustainability.

The Great Transition work posits three major required types of value change, in order to respond to the emerging and foreseeable crises and to move to a path of a sustainable global society:

- A From consumerism, and an ideology of life-fulfilment through buying, to a focus instead on quality of living;
- B From individualism to human solidarity; including concern for the 'external effects' one imposes on others;
- C From domination of nature to ecological sensitivity.

This formulation is inspired by the work that led to the Earth Charter (Raskin 2006a:3). The three value changes are presented as the inner drivers, the required core content, of 'The Great Transition'.

A subsequent study within the project, by Robert Kates et al. (2006), takes a hard look at the scale of the required value change.² It reviews studies of values today in the three key areas, and also identifies aspects of consistency or inconsistency in declared values and between what people say and what they do. Kates et al. summarise eight multi-national surveys of stated values, such as the World Values Survey which has been run since 1981 by Ronald Inglehart and others (with reference here to the 2002 Survey, conducted in 79 countries). Here are the surveys' main findings in the three key areas.

² See also: Kates et al. 2005; Leiserowitz, Kates, and Parris, 2005a, 2005b, 2006.

A) *On Quality of Life* –

Strong orientation to pleasure through purchases predominates around the world (Kates et al., 2006: 5). In terms of relative priority, while people prefer democracy to other forms of government, half would give priority to ‘a strong economy’ (ibid., p.5). We seem, in the majority, presently to embrace an ongoing, never-ending quest for fulfilment through purchase of ever-growing volumes of commodities.

B) *On Human Solidarity*

Large majorities are concerned about the weak (children, elderly, sick, disabled). But views are divided about poverty; e.g., large majorities in Pacific Rim countries, including in China and USA, blame poverty on laziness and lack of willpower, while majorities elsewhere stress instead lack of fair opportunities as the main cause. Despite this division, large majorities everywhere were reportedly willing to pay 1% more of their income as taxes to help the world’s poor; vastly more than nearly all governments actually give. Next, tolerance of other groups is supported in the abstract, but a third of the respondents wanted to not live next to specified other groups. Increased global interconnection is seen as having been good overall so far, but at the same time majorities are worried at the prospect of having any more of it.

C) *Ecological Sustainability*

Large majorities rejected an ethic of human domination of nature, when they considered that issue directly.³ But there also appear to be strong tensions between different values that people espouse. Notably, while most people ‘think that less emphasis on material possessions would be a good thing’ (Kates et al., 2006: 8), at the same time meaning and fulfilment are pursued to a large extent through acquisition of commodities.

Kates et al. conclude as follows: there is already much stated support for values of solidarity and ecological sustainability, but our behaviour do not yet match this well. The challenge in these areas is how to bridge the attitude-behaviour gap. But ‘Regarding quality of life values...much more fundamental value change is required’, to move away from a preoccupation with unending and ever-growing commodity acquisition (ibid., p.11) and to better orient and balance material consumption with other values.

Major value changes can occur and are sometimes surprising and with enormous consequences. The eventual abandonment of Communism in the Soviet Union, based on preceding gradual value changes, seems a case in point. Kates et al. contrast the world of 2006 with the world of the late 1920s, which lay as far back from their time of writing as 2084, the end date in GTI scenarios, lay in the future. Compared to the early 21st century, in value terms the 1920s represent in many respects another mental universe, thanks in particular to the unexpected extent of growth from the 1940s onwards of values of universal human rights, including of women’s rights and racial equality.

³ There is greater environmental concern in developing countries in many cases than in rich countries.

How can fundamental changes in values and practices arise? Kates et al. look at the possible impacts on values from various major driving forces. They ask: How will population growth and technological change affect values? Under what circumstances for example does reduction in the size of families bring on average more individualism, and when not? Will climate change bring moves in the direction of prudence and cooperation, or increased conflict and reduced solidarity? Does globalization bring a counteracting growth of local loyalties (to cities and regions), a relative decline of national loyalties, and any growth of feeling of global membership? How? In what ways does the absorption of young people in computer-mediated communication affect their personalities and commitments?

For this paper the central question is: what roles do or can education play? Or is education just a dependent variable within society, with no fundamental system-altering impacts? Given the close connection between consumerism and ecological (non-) sustainability, we will focus on value change in the first area that the GTI highlights, concerning attitudes towards consumption and ideas about sources of well-being, which Kates et al. identified as the harder challenge ahead of us. Declarations of concern for nature are easy to make and easy to be blown aside by the whirlwinds of consumerism within turbo-capitalism: for example in the promotion of global air-travel as part of what is supposedly 'eco-tourism'. Even Nicholas Stern, the former Chief Economist of the World Bank who was commissioned by the UK Government to produce a mainstream economics assessment of climate change (Stern 2007), has come to see that basic value changes will be needed to motivate the types of life-style reorientation, long term oriented investments and international cooperation that are essential for preventing dangerous global warming (Stern 2010, Chs. 7, 9, 10). We will give attention also to value change for global solidarity, the second area highlighted by the GTI; for this involves a rethinking of personhood and identity—including perhaps an awareness that richness lies primarily in relationships rather than in possessions—which is intimately connected to the rejection of consumerism.

3 Values and change at the level of the person

Individualisation and the lack of subjective security

According to Brown and Lauder (2001), individualist consumerism is one of several forms of individualism which grew in mass industrial society as types of 'answer to the threat to personal identity posed by the factory model of Fordist and bureaucratic work' (p.54).

'In the absence of a democratic space in which people could participate because big business, big unions and big government had [already] articulated their interests for them, the ground had been well prepared for an ideology of individual consumer choice. It gave the illusion of power over one's life and the gratification to enrich it with domestic objects' (Brown and Lauder, p.128).

In mass fashion for example, individuals can experiment with personal 'statements' that yet use a given, society-wide or sub-group specific, visual 'language'; so that the individual remains safely a group-member.

Brown and Lauder note three other burgeoning forms of individualism in rich societies, that all involve a form of consumer choice. They constitute a set of existential projects of seeking to fulfil one's supposedly self-selected values. First, so successful has been the model of the individual consumer purchasing a 'product' that market models have widely been extended into social sectors. Interestingly, this has proved far less popular than use of such models in markets for material goods. In contrast, another form of individualisation in mass industrial society has become enormously popular: chosen personal affiliations to selected media-figures who are revered for their life-orientation more than for their artistic capacities or societal contribution. And lastly, we see increasing negotiation of roles in various life-spaces, 'so that [the roles] conform, as much as possible, to individuals' life-projects' (Brown and Lauder, p.170); including through divorce, the renegotiation of marriage-roles and roles of parent and son/daughter, and so on. Overall these forms of individualism seem to reinforce the preoccupation with purchasing.

In Brown and Lauder's judgement, the society of self-concern 'is ultimately self-defeating as many are finding to their material and psychological cost' (2001: 281). Well-being research confirms this argument, for at least a large proportion of people in high-income countries (see e.g., Barber, 2007; Bruni and Porta, 2007; Easterlin, 2002; Schwartz, 2005; Seligman, 2002). The argument remains though in terms of how to promote self-interest alone; it criticises consumerism, without as yet an evolved critique of non-solidarity, the second main value in our discussion. It may not move that proportion of people who have the 'luck' to achieve fulfilment through self-concern and consumerism, perhaps in part thanks to an ability to exploit others. To deepen the critique of consumerism as well as to open out to solidarity, we require some rethinking of 'self'. There Brown and Lauder have something to add, as we will see later.

Consumerism can be interpreted in many ways besides the scope it provides for a form of identity in mass society. Since it must satisfy people's requirements in various respects and therefore has many aspects, it is open to many relevant lines of interpretation. One of these lines concerns subjective insecurity. Identity itself can be seen as a provider of subjective security. Seeking that security through consumption requires constant reinforcement through regular new expenditures. Objective security in terms of health, physical and economic security does not guarantee subjective security. Indeed, the more that people have, sometimes the more fearful they become that they will lose it. In the absence of subjective security, wants are insatiable. Modern capitalism deliberately fuels subjective insecurities, as a basis of new demand.

Historically, religion has figured as a major source of subjective security, though not a very reliable one. It can also become a source of fear and discontent—for example when other people are considered to be not following the good road, not doing the same as I do—and a justification for seeking domination. External sources for internal subjective security, whether religious guarantees or consumer expenditures, are in general at risk of failure. Kant remarked that the notion of good was logically prior to that of God, and somewhat similarly a subjective security that does not rest on a reasoned basis and on some profounder accommodation with life than merely authority or

constant material reassurance is liable to recurrent destabilization or decay (Gasper 2007a).

Change: personal change or system change?

Consumerism provides short-term gratifications, and offers an apparent answer for assuaging the long-term dissatisfactions that it cannot in reality address. So while it may not profoundly or sustainedly satisfy, can it be changed? Many social scientists are sceptical regarding what to expect from change by individuals, even if financially motivated by new incentives or full-cost accounting, if the required change runs against predominant meaning-systems. Tim Jackson, director of the ESRC Research Group on Lifestyles, Values and Environment at the University of Surrey and also the economics commissioner of the UK's Sustainable Development Commission, concluded as follows from an earlier multi-year research group programme on personal motivation and systems of consumption.

- People's major motivations include a need for meaning and identity. 'Material artefacts embody symbolic meanings' (Jackson 2006: 378). The consumption of the already well-off is mainly a pursuit of symbolic meanings and identity through the acquisition and possession of material goods imbued with such meanings.
- The relative emptiness of the consumption itself allows its endless repetition. Meaning-giving comes more through the process than the product: meanings arise within social living. The individual is not simply bound into a social fabric, but created therein: 'Self is a social construct' (ibid: p. 374).
- In particular, 'Consumer society is a cultural defence against *anomie*' (p. 384), and one or other such defence is required now that people live long and, in most countries, face fewer direct threats, yet still face the certainty of death.
- Attempts to change consumer behaviour towards sustainability, through addressing individuals via information and via financial incentives and disincentives (such as laid out by Stern 2007, 2010), will typically have little impact, given people's other motivations, their social lock-in to a set of roles, institutions and infrastructures, and the massive resources of business that largely pull in the other direction. Instead, to a large extent, change must come through changing the perceptions and norms in their peer groups and communities.

Can education contribute to such change? Brown and Lauder note Basil Bernstein's sceptical perspective from the 1970s. He held that 'schools cannot compensate for society. The research since then has simply confirmed his original prognosis' (Brown and Lauder, 2001: 191). They add a similarly pessimistic quotation from Karl Mannheim: the alternative of trying to change capitalist society by modifying the rules of capitalism is 'like trying to change a wheel on a train in motion' (ibid: p. 226, citing Mannheim).

Fortunately, the conundrum that 'we can't change persons unless we change systems' and 'we can't change systems unless we change persons' partly

arises out of the crudity of our concepts, as a sort of Zeno's paradox of social movement. *Eppur si muove* (And yet nevertheless it moves) – the arrow does still reach its destination, and social change does happen and it happens through actions of persons. This is the premise of scenario analyses, such as in the Great Transition Initiative. Jackson was talking about moves towards sustainable consumption, a field where little progress has been made so far in rich countries, despite forty years of knowledge of what is required. But in terms of value systems more widely we do see changes, such as the growth of belief in and commitment to human rights and racial equality, and the gradual change of norms about gender relations. Such value change should be a key focus in education. The danger in contemporary capitalist society is that reduced and distorted versions of all such values become re-engineered instead into one or other 'lifestyle' programme of consumption, such as eco-tourism. But important historic examples of value change that have contributed to eventual social change are available that can inform and inspire us: such as the removal of slavery and the decline of colonialism (Crawford, 2002), or the largely peaceful displacement of the British Raj in India, the colour-bar in the USA, and apartheid in South Africa.

4 Values and change at the level of society

Can we re-engineer some of capitalism's categories, the machinery that drives the train's wheels that Karl Mannheim warned of? In the 1930s 'Alfred Sloan of General Motors...devised the notion of built-in obsolescence' (Brown and Lauder, 2001: 33), perhaps the clearest expression of the type of selfish cleverness that gives priority to private interest over public good. Can we change the system of incentives that generates such lunacy? Perhaps, in this case, if the producers of a product get a stream of income for as long as the product remains functional then they will not be motivated to deliberately build-in its failure and/or inability to be maintained after a few years. The arrangement would be equivalent to consumers leasing the product from the producer.

Similarly, say Brown and Lauder, can we change the framing whereby only participation in waged work is seen as participation in society with the result that single mothers cannot be supported in caring for their children but are driven to take on paid work looking after the children of others? In addition, there is plenty of useful work that remains undone, yet plenty of unemployed people, and no way of connecting these two if the waged work model is seen as the only modality of social allocation (Standing, 2009). The resulting insecurity 'about their jobs, status, income and opportunities' leads people to behave in selfish and excessively acquisitive ways (Brown and Lauder, 2001: 199). In contrast, the ideas of a guaranteed basic income for everyone and of lifetime individual learning accounts could reduce insecurity and the associated selfishness, and reduce social exclusion (see also: Jordan, 2004; Standing, 2009). This 'citizen's wage' could be conditional on making some contribution in the local community, or on participation in labour, education or training.

Education can contribute better to such rethinking in and of society, suggest Brown and Lauder, if it itself exemplifies an inspiring social alternative.

Their suggested alternative is a stress on collective intelligence, as a counterbalance to the language of individualism. Robert Bellah's famous study *Habits of the Heart*, for example, while it did not find a purely 'me'-generation in USA, found 'that the language of individualism, as the primary language of self-understanding, limited the ways in which people think' (Brown and Lauder, 2001: 209). This applies very importantly to the perceptions of types of intelligence and the related expectations about education.

Brown and Lauder propose that we approach education in the following terms. First, consistent with Jackson's observations earlier, we should understand people as social beings, marked by mutual dependence and sociability, between whom informal learning and trust are vital for much complex cooperation. Second, individual intelligence is thus for nearly everyone not fixed but capable of increase, given intelligence's strong cultural and social determination.⁴ Third, intelligence must also be recognised as a property at the group level. We must correspondingly recognise the central importance of maintaining a social fabric, both for allowing good quality of life and for good socio-economic performance. So the idea of what is work must expand to cover also care activities and periodic re-training. Fourth, intelligences are plural (Gardner, 1983). In particular, emotional intelligence, which covers knowledge and skills in self-management and in managing one's relations with others, is very important for well-being and in complex cooperative flexible work and living. Flexible cooperation calls for skills in communication, understanding others, and negotiating roles and relationships. One ingredient in Brown and Lauder's position here is an admiration for Japanese management in the post-World War Two era that trusted intensively socialised employees and opened space for use of the intelligence of all by allowing considerable flexibility within work teams. They propose an extension of this perspective, Dewey-like, to much more of life.

In post-industrial societies the range of human abilities demanded of us at home, work and in our leisure time is increasing. ... People who cannot function cognitively and emotionally to the sophisticated levels necessary today will be severely handicapped. The increased demands on the individuals' capabilities open up the possibility for a greatly enriched individual and collective social life. Yet many of the trends [in the past generation] have served to stunt these abilities (Brown and Lauder, 2001: 174).

They outline how isolation in social life brings a lack of feelings of commonality, which contributes to increased self-interested behaviour and to lack of the interactions that can generate both informal learning and a picture of well-being that is different from 'the struggle for money, power and status' (ibid: 223).

This rethinking, of intelligence and of persons as social beings, leads into a rethinking of education, around a wider set of capabilities. '[A] Collective Intelligence [perspective] involves a transformation in the way we think about

⁴ Brown and Lauder cite findings (Steinberg, 1996) that first generation Asian Americans far outperform other Americans but the second generation does not (2001: 217; though one should consider carefully how the comparison categories are formed).

human capability. It suggests that all are capable rather than a few; that intelligence is multiple rather than [exclusively] a matter of solving puzzles with only one right answer; and that our human qualities for imagination and emotional engagement are as important as our ability to become technical experts' (Brown and Lauder, 2001: 8). Or, put in UNESCO's terms, education must cover four types of learning – to know, to do, to be, and to live together.

One might expect this theory of collective intelligence to lead Brown and Lauder towards John Dewey's vision of the common/comprehensive school. Strangely, they move instead towards the 'city academy' model, the ethnic/subcultural community school. Like many Northern social science research programmes that seek large public or private funding, the book is schizophrenic: periodically recognizing the limits of a Market-Forces Conventional World (to use the terms of the Great Transition Initiative) and yet immersed in, and accommodating to, a ruling perspective of how to boost national competitiveness and economic growth in that given conventional world. Brown and Lauder's book thus remains parochial in its national-level focus, even with respect to Europe, and far from facing all the needs for change implied by *The Great Transition's* analysis of global challenges.

Brown and Lauder's parochialism reflects an economic mainstream in not only Britain and America but also the European Union and the rest of the rich capitalist world (cf. Wolff and Haubrich 2006). An *Economist* editorial (March 17, 2007) on 'Europe's mid-life crisis' talked of 'An EU that helps to restore prosperity to its members', as if economic product per head were not in reality then at the highest level ever. The remark implicitly confirms that subjective prosperity cannot be achieved through money, or perhaps that 'prosperity' is used as a euphemism for profit levels or elite bonuses. Yet *The Economist* and rich country governments continue to take economic growth rates as their lead performance criterion. This perspective has become archaic in a 21st century of stagnant rich country levels of subjective satisfaction, melting Polar ice-caps, and growing pockets of desperation in the South. Even in terms of self interest, there can be no human security without a global vision.

Overall, Brown and Lauder's book takes some steps that are useful for the moves required, first, beyond consumerism and, second, towards greater human solidarity, by their acknowledgement of persons as social beings and corresponding recognition both of multiple dimensions in individual intelligence and of collective intelligence. But they remain entrenched in a mindset fixated on economic product and national growthmanship, a mindset that largely prevents both those essential moves. They illustrate a type of discussion of education that has little feel for the types of radical imagination and inspiration that Tim Jackson, and even Nicholas Stern, indicate that we need for making the required sorts of shift within and even beyond consumerism.

We saw that some authors think that to change society we must change individuals. Others think that we cannot change individuals unless we change society, including the driving forces in polity, culture, and economy. But, who are the 'we' who would make any such change? Some discussions of social change assume that elite-determined strategies can be directly implemented by

pulling the switches in a societal control-room, including on its education control-panels. What can we really achieve via education, if education is merely talk delivered in isolated, socially marginal situations? Does elevated education about global solidarity do more than create enclaves of private mental escape? How far can capabilities be taught, or must they instead emerge in the process of trying to exercise them? Asking these sorts of questions makes us become more explicit about our hypotheses concerning social change, education's roles in it, and the capabilities required in processes of change (see, e.g., Krznaric 2007; Bornstein, 2007).

In one family of hypotheses, education can lead to value-change that can generate pressures on power holders that can lead to reform. In a more specific subset of the hypotheses, such processes require incubators and carriers within suitable civil society organizations. More specifically still, in the Great Transformation Initiative, the most dynamic group in civil society is posited as young people, who in the optimistic scenarios eventually join and lead successful movements of value-reorientation (Raskin et al. 2002).

To bank on youth as the key force of energy, impatience and potential, is indeed perhaps what many educators or educationists typically do. But even if such an analysis were sufficient for progress on the rethinking of quality of life and of human relationships to nature—which it is not: young people are no automatic source of reform and every age group has to play a part—it does not address the other required value change: global solidarity.

5 The global level - cultivating humanity

The liberalism of the current world order contains diverse forms and potentials. Many authors in Europe, a major cradle of human rights notions, believe that European ideals have potentials greater than for consumerism and self-absorption; but doubts exist over how far an individual-centred human rights perspective alone can motivate a solidaristic global ethics. The very notion 'Europe' seen from outside that 'continent' can seem artificial and Euro-centric, seeking to privilege one subcontinental space of the Eurasian landmass, as well as to magnify the significance of the 'inland sea' of the Mediterranean. No clear answer can be given to 'where does Europe end?'. Rigorous Kantians conclude that it has no end, and that the European Union should aspire to be one basis of a future cosmopolitan world order.

We see a similar tension, between consumerist and humanist versions of liberalism, in some of the possible elaborations of the capability approach of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum. There is a contradiction in some current versions between a language of *human* development and yet a neglect of humans in other countries. In some interpretations the prime focus is on the space for achievement of more of what individuals want; whereas in some others it is on ensuring fulfilment of fundamental human needs including needs for human connectedness, that provide all people with the opportunities for a rich human existence (Gasper 2007b). The danger may exist that the capability approach in a form which lacks notions of caring, and which lacks an emphasis on the paradoxes of choice whereby in many cases having more options can bring less satisfaction (Schwartz 2005), can become an instrument

of consumerism rather than a tool in its critique and reconstruction. Gasper and Truong have suggested (2005, 2010) that in these respects Nussbaum's treatment of capabilities theory has advantages, though Sen's extension towards a notion of human security has also valuably enlarged his previous treatment of human development.⁵ A capabilities approach needs to be linked to an ethics of care, and both need to be incorporated into institutions and not only face-to-face interactions.

How far can Nussbaum's humanistic liberalism be institutionalised in education, notably in higher education? Liberal education, in the view of Seneca (c. 4 BC – 65 AD), is such education as 'makes its pupils free, able to take charge of their own thought and to conduct a critical examination of their society's norms and traditions' (Nussbaum 1997: 30). In other words, it promotes what some modern authors call critical autonomy. The Stoic ideal of education went further, says Nussbaum. It aimed to produce 'people who can function with sensitivity and alertness as citizens of the whole world. This is what Seneca means by the cultivation of humanity' (ibid., p.8). It matches the Earth Charter and Great Transition Initiative's calls for the extension of human solidarity.

Three capacities, says Nussbaum, are required for this. First is: 'the narrative imagination. This means the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself' (Nussbaum 1997: 10-11); or, more fully, 'a capacity for sympathetic imagination that will enable us to comprehend the motives and choices of people different from ourselves, seeing them not as forbiddingly alien and other, but as sharing many problems and possibilities with us' (ibid., p.85). One could also call this empathy. We require empathetic imagination concerning both those with whom we are in direct contact and others anywhere else, in our socio-political community and in the world. We thereby '[recognize] in people what is especially fundamental about them, most worthy of reverence and acknowledgement, namely their aspirations to justice and goodness and their capacities for reasoning in this connection' (ibid., p.60). The Stoics saw this recognition as the basis for a stance of world citizenship. This stance is not the same as an assertion of insignificance of the local and of local ties and commitments; there remain many good reasons for such ties.

Required secondly is 'the capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's traditions' (Nussbaum 1997: 9). Socrates felt that all of us have 'the capacities to be a good reflective citizen' (ibid., p.26), which we can understand as including these first two capacities mentioned by Nussbaum: narrative imagination and critical self-examination. For promoting inner security without inner withdrawal, without autism, she invites us to evaluate texts 'by making

⁵ The policy agenda enunciated by the UN's Commission for Human Security (chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen) in its report *Human Security Now* (2003) includes cosmopolitan education that can 'teach students to reason, to consider ethical claims, to understand and work with such fundamental ideas as human rights, human diversity and interdependence ...' (CHS, 2003: 122). It covers 'opening up of perceptions of identity, to see oneself as having multiple identities (p.123), and 'Clarifying the need for a global human identity' (pp. 141-2), in addition to awareness of and respect for profound diversity.

moral and social assessments of the kind of communities [that] texts create' (1997: 102).

Third, Nussbaum's picture of requirements for global citizens goes further: 'an ability to see [one selves] not simply as citizens of some local region or group, but above all, as human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern' (1997: 10). The three features are interconnected: empathy or the narrative imagination supports both the capacities to be self-critical and for solidarity.

Let us similarly then distinguish three aspects in Nussbaum's formulation of the Stoic ideal of the formation of 'people who can function with sensitivity and alertness as citizens of the whole world': first, sensitivity - cultivating compassion and care;⁶ second, citizenship – including cultivating other citizenship qualities; and third, a global perspective - cultivating cosmopolitan virtues. And so let us consider requirements and capacities at three levels: personal and interpersonal or face-to-face; the level of the citizen within a wider society; and the level of global citizen, citizen of the world.

Requirements at the first level, of face-to-face interactions and interaction with oneself, include the cultivation of self-control. This probably requires in turn support from appealing narratives of well-being that provide alternatives to the narratives of consumerism, and corresponding alternative channels for improving well-being. Two generations of experiments with 'alternatives' force us though to think hard about how far and when such shifts are feasible on a large scale, given that, as Jackson noted, we are social beings, largely confined and driven within a culture. Encouraging examples of innovation exist but system change requires more than only efforts directed at better quality in immediate individual life-worlds.

Beyond the face-to-face level, other citizenship qualities are required, including deliberative capacities and respect for others. Respect, Nussbaum argues, depends on the images that we use to characterise ourselves and others (Nussbaum 1997: 65). Here again, besides change at individual level we need changes in the categories and power-systems which structure our societies.

At the third level, objectives for creating, strengthening and nurturing a global community vary, from high cosmopolitan ambitions to make obligations to all people both considerable and identical, to more modest variants that simply ensure that all people are considered and are given weight (*ibid.*, p.9). Cosmopolitanism in the sense of treating people everywhere the same is not itself enough, and includes variants that differ utterly from global solidarity (Gasper 2005). Market cosmopolitanism in particular is not encumbered by what it considers parochial local solidarities: it treats people worldwide according to a universal principle that their wishes are weighted according to their purchasing power; and those without purchasing power are ignored. A cosmopolitanism that incorporates global solidarity is utterly different, and requires incorporation in an education guided by the Stoic ideals that

⁶ 'Compassion involves the recognition that another person, in some ways similar to oneself, has suffered some significant pain or misfortune in a way for which that person is not, or not fully, to blame' (Nussbaum 1997: 90-1); and thus includes 'the thought that this suffering person might [in some sense] be me' (p. 91).

Nussbaum enunciates, to try to both counter and re-direct market forces (see e.g. Bornstein 2005).

Cultivating Humanity reviewed the experience of a range of relevant initiatives in university education in the USA in the 1990s. It recounts eloquently their rationales and islands of success. Similar studies are required in every country, to identify and share possibilities of advance. The final part of our paper presents a case study from the Netherlands. We look at experience with a type of international education that can contribute positively. We will also see that international education per se can sometimes be a handmaiden of economic and often egoistic ‘Conventional Worlds’, that carry the risk of leading into ‘Barbarization Scenarios’.

6 The example of international education in development studies

Where can education contribute in societal and global change? Part of the answer lies, we have suggested, in building a shared vision of global challenges and a shared identity of global citizenship. We argue for a nuanced position that concurs neither with the view that we can expect education to right all society’s wrongs nor with the other extreme position that education serves only to reinforce existing societal and inter-societal inequalities. Education can contribute to rethinking in society and of society, including even global society; especially if, as explored by Nussbaum, it promotes qualities connected to citizenship, and especially sensitivity and compassion within a global perspective.

The arguments are illustrated here through a case study of ‘international education’ at a graduate school of international development studies in Europe. We draw on detailed interviews with more than a hundred men and women from almost twenty countries in Africa, Asia, the Americas and Europe, who passed through this school in the course of the second half of the twentieth century.

Schools or centres of international development studies are typically situated within universities or affiliated to them, but offer education with a somewhat different orientation. For example, the International Institute of Social Studies located in The Hague, The Netherlands – the school under discussion here – describes itself as providing interdisciplinary problem-oriented and policy-focused studies at the graduate level, through master’s and diploma programmes as well as doctoral work. Those who attend its programmes are often professionals in mid-career and largely come from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe, usually supported by fellowships from various sources (including nowadays a third with Dutch government fellowships). Small numbers from Western Europe and North America also attend programmes at the Institute.

The Institute emerged in 1952 through a collaboration between the Netherlands government and Dutch academe, in response to the restructuring of global relationships within a postcolonial world. It is now a graduate school within Erasmus University Rotterdam. English was adopted as the working

language and not Dutch, since the Institute has always recruited overwhelmingly from the ‘developing world’. The master’s programme nowadays lasts 15-16 months, so that each annual intake of around 200 students also interacts with two other batches and thus trebles its potential exposure. The specialisations have mutated over a half century, but with persistent tracks in economics, public policy and management, urban and regional development, rural development, and later in gender studies and ‘alternative development’. More recent tracks include international political economy, governance, human rights, conflict studies, environment, children and youth, and other current subjects of debate. Activists and employees of civil society organisations have long been prominent in the student body, in addition to civil servants, university teachers and researchers.

This type of international education has been explored in a set of publications, in which through students’ personal narratives the theme of ‘global conversations’ emerged as central (George, 1997). The research used in-depth interviews with a wide selection of graduates of the Institute, totalling 124 people from nineteen countries in all continents except Australia, who had studied at the Institute at various times between 1952 and 1999 (George 1997, 2000, 2001 and 2002).

Narratives of professional development and personal change were extremely varied for these ‘children of the twentieth century’ whose dates of birth varied from 1928 to 1970, but with striking commonalities across the regional differences. Life journeys were described that commenced in diverse homes and continued through state or private schools, until the experience of university dramatically expanded horizons; choices were made between disciplines of study, and career decisions were taken and often then reconsidered.

Many of the students’ direct life environments included numerous fellow humans living in dire poverty. Exposure to these realities was often inevitable despite the efforts of relatively fortunate families to cocoon their children. ‘If you live in Colombia and have any social sensitivity, you can’t ignore the disparities around you’ (George 1997: 92; all quotations in this section are from former ISS students). ‘During one school vacation, when I was ten years old, I accompanied my elder brother on a business trip to the provincial town. On my way home, we were accosted by some beggars. I asked my brother, and later my father, why some people were poor and others rich. They couldn’t give me an answer. I kept thinking about this, and later decided that I should do something about it’ (*loc. cit.*). The Thai man who narrated this later rose to a senior position within the country’s administration. Such positions often gave individuals a wider view of injustice. In the words of another person interviewed, ‘After I joined the Indian Administrative Service, one of my early postings was in an area characterised by much agricultural development but also by much social disparity. Occasionally I lost control of myself when I saw the injustices the rural rich perpetuated on poor, powerless people’ (*loc. cit.*).

Human solidarity and sensitivity could thus emerge against the odds, although the odds continued to hold strong against efforts to strengthen social justice. Contrasts between metropolis, province and periphery within a country, or between urban and rural situations, further sharpened a burgeoning

sense of an unfair world. Some of the alumni's personal narratives conveyed a feeling of relative deprivation that might well be combined with an awareness of relative privilege in other respects. Experiences of inequalities and contradictions in terms of power, class, gender, race, culture and religion – within the family as well as the world outside – were often recounted. The Europeans and North Americans who were interviewed for this study described the additional leap of consciousness required to grasp the structural inequality between themselves and the rest of the world. A Dutchwoman reported, 'I'll never forget going to listen to a Namibian freedom fighter who had been tortured to the point of mutilation. I found myself in tears, moved and grieved not only by his condition but by my own country's imperialist record' (George 1997: 43).

Cosmopolitanism also permeated the personal narratives. Deep as each individual's roots lay in a particular locality, the broader view had been sought from early on. An African man said, 'I chose to go to high school in a district far away from my home. I wanted to see the coast and steamers, to experience life outside my home town' (*op. cit.*: 303). Where physical relocation was not possible, the mind could still travel. Another African reported, 'My father was active in local politics and interested in wider politics. Although he was just a farmer, he bought the *Daily Graphic* every morning and I read it after he'd finished with it. From the sixth standard onwards, I read the *Reader's Digest* regularly' (*op. cit.*: 306). A Latin American man reminisced: 'I attended a private non-religious school in Mexico City. It was the product of American-Mexican co-investment. It was somewhat socially isolated, but there I gained fluency in English and learned to think freely despite growing up in a Catholic society' (*op. cit.*: 306-307). Several of those interviewed echoed the following interests: 'I liked geography, history and literature. I was always curious about other places, other ways of life' (*op. cit.*: 308).

At least in the cases of reflective individuals like these, the school of real life -- especially in 'developing' countries -- provided enough exposure (both positive and negative) to encourage sensitivity to the suffering of fellow human beings as well as openness to the lives and ideas of other people at varying radius of distance. A formal school of development studies then provided an environment within which these qualities and perspectives could be further stimulated. Below we highlight two key aspects.

Wider systematic analysis of poverty, marginalisation and exclusion.

The global curriculum of development studies presented in classrooms and seminar halls provided digests of current understandings about privation and deprivation from various disciplinary viewpoints. In a setting where the major regions of the world were directly represented by people who possessed first hand familiarity with various local realities, the formal curriculum could be affirmed, refined, modified or challenged. 'The other day in class,' a Caribbean man reported, 'we were looking at the literature on famines. An Ethiopian classmate was able to speak from first-hand experience and could present empirical evidence that challenged the literature' (George 2001: 13).

Conversely, such study could provide a prelude to actual exposure to realities on the ground for those who had grown up in Europe or North America. A

young Dutchman recounted, 'Nine months after I graduated from the Institute, I found myself in a developing country for the first time. At first I almost laughed, at the small houses and twisting roads and the people everywhere. Then I became more affected. How could I write about major issues in another country for my research paper without ever having been there, and just from documents? And how could I have criticised a government's policy on that basis? At the same time, I felt that although I didn't come from a developing country, I had the right to study development issues' (George 1997: 242). Self-education constituted a major component of such trajectories of study, and faculty members proved most effective where they acted as co-learners and coaches rather than 'transmitters' of knowledge (George 2001).

This environment stripped away many of the privileges that students from North America and Europe tended to take for granted. They were not eligible for fellowships held by classmates from the 'developing world' and were sometimes very short of money during their period of study. They were usually far less able to contribute first hand insights and experiences of development on the ground than their peers from other continents, and were therefore often at a disadvantage in discussions. Their affiliation to countries in globally dominant positions proved something of an embarrassment in a discursive environment that laid bare the structural features of an unfair and grossly unequal world. The colour of their skins – in a minority in the Institute's classrooms – might feel an uncomfortable reminder of all the foregoing points.

Cosmopolitanism at all levels from the local through the national and regional to the global.

The cosmopolitan value of international education at a school of development studies could be as great for a Dutch person who came to feel like a foreigner in the home country as for someone leaving an Asian or African or Latin American country for the first time in order to study at the Institute. As graduates of the Institute themselves put it: 'During discussions... this year and among ourselves, we found that the most remarkable element of our experience here, outside of the lectures and academic reading, was the sharing of ideas, identities, cultures, ambitions, concerns and experiences with our fellow students. Where and when would we be in a position like this again, able to speak so fluidly, freely, candidly and without (as much) pretence with peers who represent more than 60 nations? Where else would we have this opportunity to see our own reflections in the actions, emotions, behaviours and eyes of others with whom we may not initially have believed we shared certain characteristics? Perhaps to an even greater extent, we began to value the characteristics we do not share and learned from them as well' (Alluri et al. in Institute of Social Studies 2006: iv).

Such interactions across a diverse and disparate global society could sometimes prove extremely stressful but also extremely rewarding (George 2000: 10-14). Often such a setting provided unprecedented opportunities for those from a region to become closely acquainted with each other and to explore joyously their similarities and differences. The 'downside' of this was often a perceived regionalism that grieved those who looked for similar

bonding across the Third World or even across the globe. That appeared to be often a dream too far; but in the later months of the 16 month master's programme webs of close friendship typically did emerge that wove together individuals from different regions.

A contrasting case of 'international education'

The sensitivity and cosmopolitanism stimulated by international development studies contrasts with what Rizvi (2005) has described from another type of 'international education' that is increasingly encouraged by a globalized economy. His sample consists of 79 young people from China and India who studied business, engineering, information technology and management at universities in Australia. One of them said, 'My parents and I have invested a large amount of money on the assumption that the returns will be considerable. They now want me to take advantage of the globalization in which they have invested' (*op. cit.*: 6). On return to India, one of the group is working on an Indian equivalent of Pepsi and another two are successfully selling Australian pastries to affluent urban people: '“We are selling something that is global...to young people who are citizens of the world”' (*op. cit.*: 7). Rizvi muses:

Note here the assumption that in India to consume Western goods is to be a “citizen of the world”... The underlying logic thus speaks of a space that is...located within the dominant cultural logic of global capitalism that it does not question (*ibid.*). If universities are to profit from international education in ways that are not merely commercial, then they have a major responsibility... If they are to be serious about preparing their students for the new world, then they need to teach them not only how to build effective professional careers within the global economy, but also how to lead productive moral lives... . . . global interdependence is...a way of helping students to expand their moral universe in cosmopolitan terms... To produce morally cosmopolitan identities, universities need to provide forms of education, through which students learn about themselves in relation to others, so that mobility and cultural exchange do not contribute to the economic exploitation of others but open up genuine possibilities of cosmopolitan solidarity. (*op. cit.*: 10).

What are some of the main differences between the two types of international education just described? The first case was about international development studies that attempt to address – within the limitations of the field – the inequalities and injustices that characterize today's world. In contrast, the case discussed by Rizvi involves fields of study (business management and engineering, for example) that generally lead to advancement in the world as it is and not the world as it might be. International development studies builds on sensitivities to the sufferings of others, and extends this through systematic and shared analysis of how suffering in various contexts might be redressed. This is not so in the fields of study described by Rizvi that are typically oriented towards individual advancement in a disparate and unfair world and require – if anything – the suppression of any awareness of negative outcomes for the many people excluded from the prosperity generated by private corporations.

The world views of those interviewed by Rizvi were permeated by competitive individualism, as epitomized by the statement: 'My parents and I have invested a large amount of money on the assumption that the returns will be considerable. They now want me to take advantage of the globalization in which they have invested.' Competitive individualism also characterized the relationships between peers in fields such as business management, despite the emphasis on teamwork and on 'client orientation.' In the case of international development studies, however, most people returned to governments or universities or civil society organizations in different countries, and there was usually no direct competition and instead a keenness to share as much as possible with each other in whatever time was available during a relatively brief period of study together.

Travel to Australia to study took place with reference to an international pecking order of educational institutions, wherein those located in rich Anglo-Saxon dominated countries enjoyed special prestige and charged high fees to foreign students for the privilege of study there. A school of development studies in a small Western European country encouraged a different view of the world and especially of the 'developed' world.

Towards change

The two contrasting cases suggest lessons that conventional educational institutions can learn from what are -- at the moment -- relatively small scale initiatives in non-conventional education provided at schools or centres of development studies. The purview of education should broaden the perspective on the world from Europe or North America to a more global picture to which those from other parts of the world can contribute their experiences and perceptions. The pedagogical processes recommended are not those where Europeans or honorary Europeans transmit knowledge to others who are ignorant, but instead involve mutually respectful co-learning (see e.g. George 2001). The relationships between peers encourage sharing rather than competition, in a cosmopolitan environment that values both differences and similarities. The moral orientation is not towards reproducing the world as it is but towards nurturing the world as it might become (George, 2000 and forthcoming).

International development education does not always attain these ideals, but its stated aspirations towards a changed world can generate dynamics, as described above, that pull against the status quo and against the relationships that sustain it.

7 Conclusion

We have asked what roles should and can education play in responding to the global challenges of sustainability and in contributing to required moves in values: from consumerism to a focus instead on quality of living, from ethical individualism to human solidarity, and from domination of nature to ecological sensitivity. We have looked in particular at the first two of these required moves, which are interconnected, and at the field of higher education. We

suggested that this civilizational project matches Seneca's notion of 'the cultivation of humanity', and involves promoting and using the following capacities: 'the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, including others in one's socio-political community and in the world with whom one is not in routine direct contact; 'the capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's traditions'; and 'an ability to see [one selves] not simply as citizens of some local region or group, but above all, as human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern' (Nussbaum 1997: 10-11, 9, 10).

A number of suggestions have arisen. They are broadly consistent with UNESCO's framework that education should cover four types of learning – learning to know, to do, to be, and to live together. In this concluding section we integrate those suggestions with themes from our case study from international postgraduate education, concerning its potentials to contribute to the first two of the required value changes—greater global solidarity, and a rethinking of quality of life as rooted in richness of relationships more than volume of expenditures and possessions—as well as contribute to the leadership and energy that will be needed in such processes of intentional social change.

- For knowledge-oriented learning, scenarios thinking is one powerful tool for focusing attention on fundamental issues about sustainable and unsustainable futures; provided that the groups who work on or consider the scenarios contain sufficient variety of experience. Scenarios work can also contribute, in favourable circumstances, to strengthening empathy and mutual concern, which are important bases both for realistic projections and subsequent cooperation. The required types of sustained mutual exposure and of serious shared exercises in imagining are feasible within suitably designed postgraduate international education. For this can involve substantial mixed groups, each of which lives and works together for a substantial period, and within which junior and mid-career professionals mature who will later assume influential positions within their societies around the world and in many sorts of international organization and national and international social movement.
- Change in consumerism will not come through merely distributing information and changing financial incentives; it must involve evolution of the perceptions and norms in consumers' peer groups and communities. One key insight from consumption studies is that contemporary consumerism is grounded in part in subjective insecurity, and reinforces it, and in needs for meaning and identity in the face of our now much longer but still foreseeably finite lives. Alternative, better, sources of security, meaning and identity must be advanced.
- Building solidarity may be one important way to reduce subjective insecurity, and to change perceptions of identity and norms of behaviour. There are probably limits to how far an individual-centred human rights perspective alone can motivate a solidaristic global ethics, and therefore complementary methods for promotion of solidarity are required. Fostering of empathy through modalities such as shared postgraduate

education for future senior professionals and leaders can, if designed accordingly, make a valuable contribution.

- Understanding of present day consumerism, education, and potential paths of societal change must involve seeing people as social beings, who are marked by mutual dependence and sociability and between whom informal learning and trust are vital for complex cooperation. This reasoning underpins the importance of residential education, which provides time and spaces for people to interact face-to-face over sustained periods, especially in informal fora.
- The emphasis on persons as social beings, and a corresponding recognition both of the multiple dimensions in individual intelligence and of collective intelligence, are relevant to making progress beyond consumerism and towards greater human solidarity. Amongst the multiple aspects of intelligence, emotional intelligence—which covers knowledge and skills in self-management and in managing one’s relations with others—is important for well-being and in flexible and complex cooperative work and living. For a group to show collective intelligence, it must contain sufficient variety in backgrounds and information sources, otherwise it will tend towards group-think or conflict when it is later forced by events to attempt to seriously interact (Hassan 2010; Kahane 2010). Co-residential education is again an important potential contributor in strengthening such awareness and skills, including awareness of the multiple valuable types of background, perspective and intelligence, and recognition of how different contributions are brought by different sorts of people.

The form of international development studies education that we discussed can be a particularly intensive and effective ‘pressure-cooker’ for these sorts of knowledge, skills and awareness, especially when it has good geographical balances both amongst students and amongst staff, with inclusion of a good number of students from rich countries but without their predominating numerically; and provided that it maintains the core emphases that we highlighted: a wide-ranging and systematic analysis of poverty, marginalisation and exclusion, and a cosmopolitanism that is interested in all levels from the local through the national and regional to the global. Most of the important principles that we have suggested as being well-embodied in such an educational format can be embodied also to a valuable degree in other, more conventional, formats. In responding sufficiently to growing worldwide pressures and likely crises, however, the world could be well served by creation of more such true ‘pressure-cookers’ of international education.

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