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## **Perspectives on human and social capital theories and the role of education: An approach from Mediterranean thought**

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### **Abstract**

Current discussions about education suggest that a transformative pedagogy that goes beyond the acquisition of knowledge and skills is needed. However, there is no agreement as to the inputs needed for a correct development of the educational model. In this sense, we can identify the presence of two different approaches to human and social capital which embody distinct educational worldviews. On the one hand, the 'Marketable Human Capital' or 'Personal Culture' approach, and on the other hand, the 'Non-Marketable Human Capital' or 'Civic Culture' approach. The first, which is linked to mainstream economic theory, sees education as any stock of knowledge that contributes to an improvement in the productivity of the worker and individual well-being. The second, which is rooted in the Mediterranean tradition of political thought, highlights the role of civic virtues, reciprocity, and public action within the educational process and its influence on public happiness. In this article, we analyse these connections in order to introduce the eighteenth-century Mediterranean tradition of economic thought into discussions about human and social capital theories and the role of education in them. Focusing on education through these prisms, national and international agendas must be reoriented towards the integral development of people to include broader global debates

### **KEYWORDS**

Human capital; social capital; education; interdisciplinary research; public happiness

# 1. Introduction

According to those that see education as an engine of social change and as the main tool for development (OECD, 2016), an educational approach that furthers knowledge and skills acquisition could potentially foster the solution to problems affecting humankind (UNESCO, 2016). Such approaches aim towards a transformative pedagogy, which is based on social change for the improvement of each context and promotes an education that helps to construct personal values.<sup>1</sup> This vision requires a process of reorientation of the 'actions' of educational models towards the integral development of people.

Nussbaum warns of the dangers of the loss of the humanistic spirit in the current educational model, which seeks profitability and 'marketable' results that can be quantified. The author identifies this model with the economic growth approach, which she believes creates 'utilitarian machines'. Consequently, Nussbaum (2010) advocates another concept of education related to the human development and capabilities approaches. For Nussbaum, education is a key factor of development because it not only improves human productivity and increases personal income, but also contributes to the quality of the political debate and promotes 'good citizens' by cultivating reflectivity, active thought, and critical views. In his study about sources of growth, Olson (2007) developed Weber's thesis on Protestant ethics, expanding on 'cultural' characteristics as a determining factor in the differences in countries' economic performance. To this end, he divided culture into two distinct types of 'human capital' (see Figure 1). On the one hand, Olson described 'Marketable Human Capital' (MHC) or 'Personal culture' as consisting of the stock of knowledge, skills, or cultural features which affect the quality or quantity of productive inputs that an individual can offer in the market. This is a 'private good' that directly influences incomes, and equates to the concept proposed by Weber (1991). These policies are premised largely on human capital theory assumptions about skills and education with a strong emphasis on 'work relevant' skills for development (Ngcwangu, 2015). This discourse, whose roots date back to the neoclassical economic theory devoted to market functionality, is clearly found in some official international organisations such as the World Bank (1991, 2011).

On the other hand, he identifies 'Non-Marketable Human Capital' (NMHC) or 'Civic Culture' as knowledge of public policy. NMHC is a public good, which does not affect individual income, yet does affect society's income by bettering public policies and institutions. This acceptance of human capital, understood as 'civic culture' and conceived of as a public good, is based on the notion of 'social capital' proposed by Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (1994) in his study of institutional performance by the 'civic community'. However, beyond this, he refers to Tocqueville and Machiavelli, who saw the key element in institutions' healthy functioning as the 'vivere civile', and in the last instance, Putnam (2000) refers to the 'civil economy' that emerged in the frequently ignored Italian Renaissance of the eighteenth century. The 'civil economy' highlights the role of civic virtues, reciprocity, mutual trust, and public faith in the

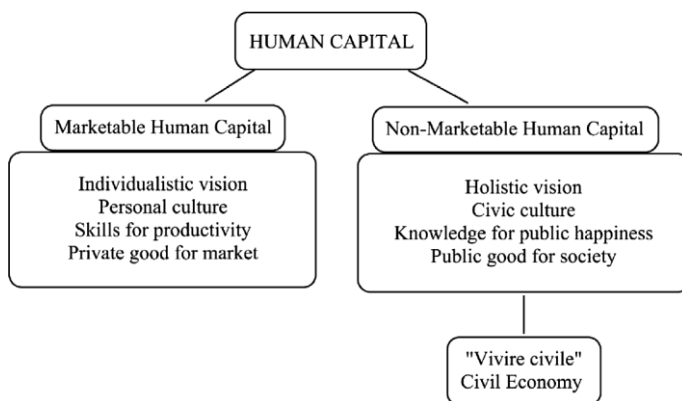


Figure 1. Two approaches to human capital. Source: Developed by the authors.

search for economic development. However, it underlines that such virtues were not the product of behaviour tending towards the pursuit of individual interests, but rather that they were to be cultivated and regarded as an intentional objective of public action.<sup>2</sup>

The objective of this article is to introduce the eighteenth-century Mediterranean tradition of economic thought into discussions about human and social capital discourses and the role of education in both of them. This aim will be carried out in five sections. In Section 2, we will establish in a general way the relations and the differences between human capital, social capital and civic culture. These analyses will be connected to Sections 3 and 4. Section 3 describes the ideas that emerged in Naples in the eighteenth century through the formation of a citizenry with a civic mentality and a capacity for acting politically. Section 4 shows the importance of the educational policy reform process of the enlightened Mediterranean tradition of political thought in order to achieve a virtuous, prosperous and happy society. Section 5 connects the MHC and NMHC arguments with educational policy, educational philosophy, and the latest discussion about transformative pedagogy with a spirit of inquiry that fosters, rather than mandates, recommendations and facilitates educational debate. Section 6 presents the main conclusions and emphasises the importance of education as a tool for societal transformation in the pursuit of a more pacific, tolerant, inclusive and equal society.

## **2. Understanding different perspectives of human and social capital discourses and their implications**

In modern theories of economic growth, investment in human capital is emphasised as a key element in long-term growth. In these theories, education and training are considered investments made by rational individuals with the goal of increasing their productive efficiency and their incomes. Such a vision extends to neo-institutionalists like North, who, in a study about economic change, attributed an important role to human capital, together with the demography and the institutional matrix that defines the structure of incentives that motivates society (North, 1990). Yet, the idea that bettering the quality of the population and advancing knowledge were decisive for well-being was suggested by Schultz in the 1960s. In his pioneering study, he treated education as an investment and its results as a form of capital in order to highlight education and its relation to job productivity (Schultz, 1960). Afterwards, Becker (1964) formalised the individual decision to invest in human capital and defined such investment as an action that increased the resources available to individuals and positively influenced their future monetary income.

This treatment of economic excess of human capital (MHC) has been revised by Sen (1997, 1999) through his theory of capabilities. The basic idea is that development is a process that implies an increase in people's quality of life. For this, one must give people the necessary capabilities to achieve said increase, which indicates a need to prioritise access to health services, to knowledge, and to an income that allows people to meet these basic needs. In this sense, education improves the efficiency in the production of goods, adds value to economic production and increases individual income. But the benefits of education go beyond their function regarding human capital in the production of goods. As Sen emphasises, education becomes a key factor in development due to its role in forming human capital and improving productive efficiency, as well as in accumulating social capital with its positive effects on the quality of political debate. In this regard, knowledge is a capital good that presents positive externalities; that is, knowledge benefits different agents who possess it or who are part of the institution that produces it.

Collective action implies finding a successful way of producing public goods, and that the state is the organisation that should provide them to the citizens (Olson, 1965). Collective action demands politics interventions directed towards accumulating human capital. Human capital acquires a civic dimension that is not only based on individual properties. Therefore, this civic dimension connects with Putnam's acceptance of social capital. For this author, Tocqueville was right in suggesting that the key to 'good government' was found in traditional sources of civic compromise. Accepting this assertion would imply accepting that social capital would solve the dilemma of collective action, without needing to resort

to the radical solution of a Leviathan (Putnam, 1993, 2000). In this view, a 'good government' demands that both the citizenry and governmental actors alike keep a civic mentality. For this author, a correct analysis of the topic makes it necessary to follow an imaginary line that begins with Machiavelli in the Discourses and leads up to Tocqueville in Democracy in America. Thus, we can say that Olson (1965) refers to Machiavelli's civic community and that he is closer to the idea of social capital understood as a public good with collective benefits advocated by Putnam (1993) rather than the conception of public goods with individual benefits in line with the argument proposed by Coleman (1988). In this context, which is related to NMHC, education is the main tool of the government; that is, education which is organised institutionally with the intention of achieving social commitment to state goals.

Civic compromise is tied to the components of social capital, but also to the field of culture and institutions and institutional performance. Zamagni (2003) interpreted it as such: underdevelopment comes about due to a double absence, the absence of institutional capital (non-efficient functioning of political and economic institutions) and the absence of social capital (reciprocal trust between members of the community). If social capital is understood as the norms and values that promote cooperation, it is rooted in religion, in shared history, and in culture. Specifically, the norms of conduct that are culturally transmitted—the informal institutions—have a large part in countries' unequal economic performance because they are the mortar of social stability that makes the economic system possible. Additionally, the relation between informal and formal institutions is key. The application of a law (formal restriction) can be easier if the prevalent social norms, ideology, and culture favour obedience to the law. Therefore, the economic impact of a given institution depends largely on its quality in terms of the framework under which it operates, including informal institutions (North, 1990).

In review, under the heading of social capital according to Putnam's well-known definition as 'features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions' (1993, p. 167), the concept has made its mark on such diverse areas as economic growth, political science research, the sociology of education, or any other specific discipline and topics. Some authors have made an effort to analyse, summarise, and classify the different perspectives on social capital (for an updated review see Bjørnskov & Sønderkov, 2013). Through accepting and valuing a diversity of types ('thick' and 'thin', 'inward' and 'outward', 'bridging' and 'bonding', see Putnam & Goss, 2002) and interpretations of social capital (Robert Putnam, Francis Fukuyama, James Coleman, Pierre Bourdieu, among others), in this article we assume a binary inside both main discourses. From an individualist perspective, the first understands social capital as a resource for people and collective action of social resources that help to accumulate human capital (Coleman, 1988). This is related with neoclassical economics theory and is considered MHC. For the second one, from a point of view of public goods and adopting a interdisciplinary and pluralistic profile, social capital is a collective attribute rather than a compilation of social connections between individuals and, as such, it constitutes a substantial element of collective action. Social capital is a public good related to civic virtues and tends to be internally supplied by private agents (Putnam, 1993, 2000). These common attributes of social capital are also presented in Olson's perspective of human capital, understood as 'civic culture' in the Mediterranean political economy tradition (NMHC).<sup>3</sup>

### **3. The Mediterranean tradition: Public happiness, the objective of civic life**

As described above, civic culture was one of the fundamental values of social capital. The rational reflection on civil life, which entwines with civic humanism, emerged in Naples in the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> This humanism was supported by a basic pillar: in the public sphere, common issues were debated and from this dynamic, civil virtues were obtained. The fundamental topic of political reflection was how to harmoniously express individual interest and the common good. In the utopian debate on the 'virtuous man', man was looked upon as a characteristic good citizen because he played a part in the socio-economic evolution of societies. The whole theoretical system of these 'economists' attributed the source of people's wealth, power and happiness to general trust and reciprocity, while the absence of these attributes was regarded as a factor in the slowdown of

economic activity. Without trust, there is no reciprocal trustworthiness, nor society, nor industry, nor business among the people. The most visible example of this trend, Antonio Genovesi (1713-1769), creator of the 'civil economy', structured his theory around compromise in economic relations, the practice of virtue, and public faith. From this arose his proposition of cultivating trust by means of civil and religious education among the people, since the best way to ensure that there are virtuous people is to offer them a rational education (Bruni & Sugden, 2005). Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750) conceived of public happiness as one of the objectives of public policy, which consisted of attaining the best means of bringing it about (1790). Guiseppe Palmieri (1721-1793), on the other hand, advocated the social nature of happiness (1788).

The vision of a politics favouring wealth did not come from the strict and individualist perspective of the citizen; rather it was a national policy that had to be enhanced in order to assure the wealth of the state. The economic problem was approached from the point of view of a government that assumes responsibilities for the moral and economic conditions of the life of the populous. The state had, as a basic function, the goal of achieving happiness, obtainable through wealth acquired from work (Campanetto, 1980; Faucci, 2000). In this sense, the fact that the common good could be interpreted as the public good quality of most social capital means that it is in a different position with respect to purposive action than are most other forms of social capital. There are important implications of this common or public goods aspect of social capital which play a part in the development of citizens. In this sense, social capital as 'good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit' (Hanifan, 1916 quoted in Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 4), would be the one that guides citizens towards the goal of public happiness. Happiness is an effect of the conjunction of virtuous behaviours oriented by education towards state goals.

According to the Mediterranean tradition, the role of civil society was fundamental because it was based on civic virtue and the social nature of human beings, and it could not come about without laws, institutions and civil virtues. There is no alchemy to magically transform the pursuit of personal interest into common good; the pursuit of private objectives is transformed into social well-being only in civitas. By identifying this preoccupation of Mediterranean thought, the concept of social capital in accounting for different outcomes at the level of individual actors is related with the government's goal. The pursuit of personal interest was a passion compatible with the interests of everyone else, because personal interest and collective interest were two sides of the same coin.

As Hirschman (1999) stated, there are two possible ways of making the most of passions and transforming them into social virtues in pursuit of well-being and happiness: calling upon the state or the 'society' as a civilising medium, or invoking personal interest in order to keep the passions in check. In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, interest, as a human behavioural guide, and the market, as a place of interaction, were the foundations of a viable social order (MHC) for the 'civil economy', the 'visible string' of civic virtues (NMHC). Reciprocity, mutual trust, and public faith are emphasised for their importance in economic development. But these virtues do not arise spontaneously, nor are they the product of behaviour tending towards pursuing individual interests, rather they have to be cultivated, as well as the intentional goal of political action (Bruni, 2002; Bruni & Porta, 2003; Bruni & Sugden, 2005). Education is the key to doing so.

#### **4. Education and civic culture as the main components of public happiness**

The enlightened ideology was dominated by faith in progress through education and the cultivation of useful sciences. Through an educational process, the progress of enlightenment, peaceful social change and moral autonomy would be achieved because even virtue could be taught (Mauzi, 1960). Educational reform was a key for a society which demanded new research instruments that were more in line with the changing reality; thus, the battle between new and old began in the educational field. The future political leaders had to be trained in matters like economics and agriculture—a main source of happiness—in order to attain 'pubblica felicità', understood as a condition for a better life for society. If education was intended as a tool for reformation, it could not be left out of the then present reality, and it would have to be generalised and organised by the state. In short, education encompassed three

dimensions: one economic, another political and the third social. Education is linked to progress and therefore to public happiness.

Public education was an instrument that made the 'perfect man' possible, as advocated by Jean Antoine Condorcet (1743-1794), and had an even greater function: to avoid regression 'due to the continuous and unavoidable conflict of passions, mistakes, and events' (1791). For Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811), the public institution was 'the first and most abundant source of public happiness', the instrument that could 'enable individuals of the state, of any class or profession, to achieve personal happiness and work for the good and prosperity of the nation in the most substantial way possible' (1809). Jovellanos' relationship with education, instruction, and the economy is related to pedagogical optimism and the education for economic development (Negrín Fajardo, 2012). Jovellanos relates education to happiness and economic prosperity. Therefore, he considers the 'good enlightenment' as one of the basic functions of the state's agenda. Educational policy was an axis of a social and economic development strategy as well as a source of individual well-being (Fuentes Quintana, 2000).

This relation between educational reform and economic change is apparent in Gaetano Filangieri (1753-1788), for whom the goal of public education is to train 'useful individuals for the state and true citizens'. This is a real 'capital investment' because a good level of education neutralises, in part, the risks of a social system. Giuseppe Gorani, in his work on public education published in London in 1773, proposed that the state provide for the true teaching of economics, so that ignorance would not be an obstacle to the happiness of the people (cited in Stiffoni, 1988).

As for Antonio Genovesi, in his *Cattedra di Commercio*, he claimed that without education it was impossible to carry out any political or economic project; an undertaking that required enlightened, moral, and cultivated citizens. For the reformer Giuseppe Palmieri, improving the education system was a prerequisite of economic change (López Castellano, 2007). Like Genovesi, he understood that education is the main instrument of the monarch by which he may extend happiness to the entire political body and that educational reform is the basis of moral and economic progress of the country. Education makes a society virtuous because it guides passions towards individual happiness; it prepares citizens to follow the law since it affects their customs, and it multiplies the number of useful citizens because it produces a work ethic in the people. The need for education, as they say, is greater the stronger the dislike of work.

The individual is made through processes of social training and this training depended on the diffusion of educational methods adapted to the customs and opinions of the society and moral values, which would encourage a behaviour inspired by 'civic culture' and promote social cohesion (Palmieri, 1788). In Palmieri's opinion, the most efficient medium for carrying out the educational programme consisted of developing 'amore sociale' among students so that they would realise it is impossible to achieve happiness without the help of their fellow man.

Virtue is the result of the straightforward use of reason and without it instinct becomes the spring of human action (Palmieri, 1788). The strength and fear of punishment, Palmieri argues, slows down only bad instincts, and they are contained in the terms prescribed by law, but education is a more efficient means, although the result comes later. Sanctions improve law, but it is not enough to assure it. The most certain way is love of virtue and respect of public opinion. Customs and opinions are the necessary pillars for the actual development of educational action. Education is the only instrument for training consciousness and the internal organisational element of society itself. Governments should function to extend happiness to the entire political body. Palmieri establishes a positive sequence between education, virtue, and happiness.

Given the above arguments, two criticisms could be raised. From a structuralist perspective (Louis Althusser or Jean-Claude Passeron, among others), it would be considered that the political system of the time had created repressive and ideological apparatuses with the aim of perpetuating itself, where education is viewed as a tool to transmit beliefs, values, and forms of knowledge of the state hegemony. Also, from a Foucauldian perspective, this educational proposal could be accused of concealing a desire for power based on the fear of the enlightened losing privileges (see the analysis of Varela, 1988). Although we must take these warnings into account, we are inclined to think that the pedagogical programme was more the result of economic, social, and educational concerns.

## 5. Implications for educational policy and transformative pedagogy

The Mediterranean tradition is inscribed in a reformist quest for happiness and economic deployment, which can be achieved to a large extent through education, on which everything depends. Its contribution to the process of education is unquestionable and remains relevant today as the educational problem is considered not only from the traditional humanistic-religious point of view, but from the political-social and economic point of view.<sup>5</sup> Let us not forget that, for Genovesi, the spiritual reform of a people was closely linked to economic reform and this could not be achieved without the people being able to read and write. Hence, his explicit request to open an elementary school in each town and to organise secondary schools to teach the fundamental concepts and techniques for a practical life that would lead to public happiness, including women in the process (cited in Stiffoni, 1988). Therefore, it is the state's responsibility to oversee the education and instruction of all people. It is through school that people's attitudes must be strengthened and disciplined and prepare them for professional life. Special emphasis was placed on school organisation and the defence of a compulsory public education organised by the civil power.

Optimism was one of the keys to the pedagogy of the enlightened, as they believed in the total power of education to achieve desired happiness (Ruiz Berrio, 1988). The Education = Virtue = Happiness equation explains the importance given to pedagogy, which was viewed as the main pillar of civic culture. This education emphasised the formation of citizens and endowed it with a socially transforming power, thus moving from a more individualistic approach to a more collective one. Education, therefore, does not focus only on individual productivity and well-being (MHC), but is identified with a more humanistic and culturalist approach (NMHC). In this way, from a perspective of public policy, education is a primary site for collective activity.

Additionally, all education is inherently value-laden and value-forming. Humans want to incorporate values to their existence and always pursue the main objective of education: happiness. Therefore, education in itself is a positive value, but it also brings about debate on the meaning of life. Furthermore, education is inescapably normative in that it seeks to change people for the better by developing powers of reasoning, critical thinking, imagination, and reflection to form judgements about activities and lives that are worthwhile, among other alternatives (Nussbaum, 2006; Peters, 1966; Vaughan & Walker, 2012). We further recognise that the aims of education which policy seeks to articulate may be universally indeterminate (Peters, 1966) and require public reasoning about the 'common good' (Deneulin & Townsend, 2007), so educational values ought to emerge such as those that promote flourishing and well-being for all, not just some (Vaughan & Walker, 2012). Therefore, values are not only a matter of transmission in education, as education is rather more complex. We understand values in education to be significant in shaping and influencing a critical position on life. From this assumption, education values are interpreted from a Freire perspective: Education sets values that help individuals in a permanent dialogue with others, with permanent revisions, and a critical analysis of their 'discovery', which identifies them with scientific methods and process (Freire, 1969). Pedagogy, therefore, transmits values through the forms, ethics and practices of teaching.

In this regard, the two interpretations presented in this article, MHC and NMHC, serve to contextualise some of the main trends of international educational policies. On the one hand, MHC has legitimised a set of policies in the service of economic liberalism since the 1980s, and demanded an educational system for improving the flexibility of workers to privilege capitalism in a neoliberal framework. On the other hand, NMHC allows us to question crucial economic theories and philosophic ideas (ethical/ normative dimension of education) that, in the past, remained in the shadows. From the point of view of NMHC, the role of education is more than simply developing technically oriented citizens for the workforce. Additionally, NMHC views education as a tool to prepare citizens for public service and encourage their development.



NMHC could link with a number of critical educational theorists who have promoted schools in order to achieve alternative understandings of democracy and social justice (Sehr, 1997) through alternative educational practices that help citizens (Nagda, Gurin, & Lopez, 2003) connected with different streams of knowledge and practice (multicultural education and critical pedagogy, dialogic education, active learning, feminist pedagogy, etc.).

Finally, educational opportunities provided in schools ought to foster behaviours and values which advance human development and well-being, both for individuals and society (Vaughan & Walker, 2012, p. 497). Transformative pedagogy, understood as an activist pedagogy combining the elements of constructivist and critical pedagogy that empowers persons to critically examine their beliefs, values, and knowledge with the goal of developing a reflective knowledge base, an appreciation for multiple perspectives, and a sense of critical consciousness and agency (Ukpokodu, 2009; Garcia-Carmona, 2015), plays a very important role. To summarise, the ten defining features we consider most important in the transformative pedagogy from the prism of NMHC education are highlighted below:

It prepares for change	It seeks public happiness	It involves engaged learning	It is democratic	It is dialogic
It is contextualized	It involves reflection and critical thinking	It is active and engages students and teachers	It promotes intergroup relations	It seeks social justice

## 6. Conclusions and educational challenges

In this work, human capital is considered to be a public good (NMHC) in line with what Olson (1965) has laid out. In his acceptance of civic culture, he connects Putnam's studies about the unequal performance of regions with the accumulation of social capital. The two main trends in explaining the development of civic culture are also presented, if only in brief, namely the trend of social capital and the 'civil economy'. Following the first approach, it would imply admitting that social capital would solve the dilemma of collective action, without needing to resort to the Leviathan metaphor. The second approach would demand collective action in order to encourage civic compromise in citizens.

Both perspectives are complementary and link with the Mediterranean tradition of political economy, as framed in the concept of 'pubblica felicitá', where education is proposed as a method for inspiring this civic behaviour in people (civic culture). Education turned into the main instrument of political power for extending happiness to the whole society and educational reform is the basis of the moral and economic progress of the country. Education constructs a virtuous society by channelling passions to benefit individual and public happiness. Authors such as Antonio Genovesi, Ludovico Muratori, and Guiseppe Palmieri proposed that the improvement of the teaching system was a prerequisite for economic change. Education, it was argued, improved efficiency because it multiplied the number of useful citizens, but also enriched public debates because it formed a virtuous and participatory society. In this sense, human capital and social capital are public goods and tend to be internally supplied by private agents.

In contrast, MHC links educational success with economic success, without considering that it could be opposed to the general interest and 'public felicitat'. Some authors, such as Schlutz or Becker, uphold this line of argumentation. They understand human capital as any stock of knowledge or characteristics that contributes to the improvement of workers' productivity as well as countries' productivity.<sup>6</sup> Their conceptions, associated with neoclassical economics theory, economic neoliberalism, and the World Bank's education policy are insufficient to describe the variety of forces that drive human motivations, nor are they sufficient in providing a holistic critique of the myriad factors that contribute to unemployment, inequality, poverty, migration or environmental degradation (Anderson, 2009; Collins & Wiseman, 2012).<sup>7</sup> As many authors have argued, this linearity is decontextualised from economic imperialism, the configurations of power, and the purposeful actions of capitalist producers (Anderson, 2009; Stuart,



2016). A paradox could exist: people with a high accumulation of MHC could use it for individual or corporative interests, not for the public good. In this case, MHC could increase disparities, precarious employment, and the poor conditions of the majority of the population, while extractives elites increase their benefits. For MHC, the basic functions of the state embrace the schematic scenario of the 'public choice' theory over the 'predatory state' theory, the latter of which rejects all state redistributive policy and conceives of the state governing an extortionist activity (see Bardhan, 2005). It holds that the state has a monopoly of violence, creates the rules, and has power to violate them (Weingast, 1995). However, according to the idea that individuals can be motivated by extreme egoism or pure altruism, the Mediterranean tradition draws attention to the existence of ethical values (such as justice and public spiritedness) and to the individuals who think and behave 'institutionally'. Moreover, individuals often have a sense of duty that transcends personal or organisational loyalty. The behaviour and motivations of public figures are subject to modification, and education is the main tool for doing so.

Nowadays, international organisations and educational movements are arguing for the need to regard education as a tool to go beyond the acquisition of knowledge and skills (Viñao Frago, 2016). Education must be reoriented from the actions of educational models towards the integral development of people and, at the same time, it must include broader debates. One cannot fall into the misconception of characterising educational systems as production systems that can be assessed only in terms of performance and efficiency. Education cannot be reduced to a tool for gaining knowledge and skills in order to 'get a job' (marketable education). Focusing education on these prisms would liquidate the school model as an element of liberation and personal formation and would bring about a devaluation of the school as a symbolic centre of knowledge control (Carrera Santafé & Luque Guerrero, 2016).

However, this is not enough to have NMHC build cohesive societies. We do not have to create only intelligent and happy citizens, we have to show them that there is a convergence between their interests and the actions that are necessary to make cohesive national societies (Non-Marketable National Education), and also a cohesive world. Education should be based on global moral values, such as honesty or reciprocal respect for the other and nature, which would motivate social cohesion by instilling a behaviour in the public inspired by the ethics of the 'vivere civile'. We need the integral development of their capabilities to be linked with others' integral development, and also with environmental conservation. To achieve this, 'Global Studies in Education' (see Peters & Besley, 2014) that assume a transformative pedagogy are necessary. Such studies must be applied in all sectors of education and include these debates horizontally from a political and moral perspective.<sup>8</sup> Only in this way can we create a kind of human capital that we could call 'Non-Marketable Global Human Capital' for the common good of both humanity and the environment. This is the role of education (Non-Marketable Global Education) in shaping a cosmopolitan identity (Roth & Burbules, 2011) and in establishing and realising freedom from poverty as a human rights regime more generally (Dhillon, 2011), and the only path to achieving a 'vivere civile' in our world, a 'vivire civile' of the twenty-first century. These have to be the educational challenges of today.

## Notes

1. The term 'values' in this article is used to broadly refer to matters that are valuable to an individual and determine agency goals rather than a specific set of ethical values or behaviour.
2. In this work, the acronym MHC (Olson, 2007) and other terms, such as 'economic growth approach' and 'economic development growth paradigm' (Nussbaum, 2010), are used to refer to the mainstream economics interpretation on human and social capital represented by neoclassical economics theory, where the general equilibrium approach is the point of reference of every theoretical development. On the other hand, beyond that literature, we can distinguish another kind of approach that is based on frequently ignored literature whose roots date back to the intellectual legacy of Mediterranean tradition of political economy. We use the acronym NMHC (Olson, 2007) and other expressions such as 'civic culture', 'civic community', 'vivire civile', and 'civil economy' to refer to social capital understood as civic culture that is connected not only with Putnam's argument (1993) that successful outcomes are more likely in civically engaged communities, but also with the Mediterranean tradition of economic thought in the eighteenth century.

3. It is important to note that this approximation assumes some obviously too simple premises as a starting point such as rational action (see Coleman, 1988) or rational self-interest (Olson, 1993).
4. During the eighteenth century, Naples was one of the largest cultural centres, which went through a phase of substantial social changes. Coinciding with the end of Spanish domination and the start of an era of peace and stability, a great intellectual debate arose. The debate covered all topics: the economic problem, the role of the state, wealth and economics as a science. In this context, the new science, economics, was born as a science of public happiness; an epithet that expresses the social nature of happiness because it has to do with the common good, the government's goal and the 'science of administration' (Bruni, 2002; Bruni & Porta, 2003).
5. Although we do not focus on the philosophical discussion in this article, we are aware that both MHC and NMHC are based on a Western framework of philosophy. We also believe, but do not have the space to elaborate upon the idea, that power structures, technologies, knowledge, social and ethical conventions, conflicts of interest, and class differences, among other aspects, have an enormous importance in educational and economic theories, policies, motivations, and behaviours.
6. For a critique of the MHC approach from an economics perspective, see Amsden (2010) and Vally and Motala (2014). Also see Blaug (1976) for a methodological critique.
7. This critique can be extended to the interpretation of NMHC presented in this paper. Alternative approaches are needed to reveal the faults and inconsistencies in orthodox discourses and to support new research and actions. The philosophical proposals of Hegel and Marx, brought to the economic field by Thorstein Veblen, and critical institutionalism could help us to go further in our analysis (for a specific study of this interpretation see García- Quero & Ollero, 2015).
8. According to Jan Nederveen Pieterse (cited in Peters & Besley, 2014, p. 852), global studies should be 'multicentric' (i.e. critique Eurocentrism and the deconstruction of the West) and 'multilevel thinking'. 'Multilevel thinking' holds two meanings: viewing global relations at macro, meso, and micro scales of interaction and viewing them across the spectrum of class and status.

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