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Editorial: Open Issue

*Eleonor Bredlöv, Camilla Forsberg, Lina
Rahm and Sara Vestergren*

In this volume, we present only two texts. As such, this may be described as a *brief* volume of Confero. According to a simple definition, brief can be defined as something lasting only a short period of time or something using few words. Of course, the concept of shortness depends on its antonym—lengthy. Whether something is brief or lengthy depends on our matter of scale. We are told that a footprint on the moon made by an astronaut would stay there for millions of years due to the lack of atmosphere, unless a meteorite hits the moon's surface nothing will ever change. On Earth, in a time of postmodernism and constant flux, where change is a ubiquitous feature, it is harder to make an impact that could last forever. On this surface everything changes—fast. The Earth is almost five billion years old. There have been humans like us living on it for less than a millesimal of that time. If we pretend that the earth's history lasted a single year, man is not even eight hours old. Everything you've written, was written a quarter of a second ago. In this long time span everything man has done can be described as very brief. From this perspective, everything on earth can be seen as brief and full of change. At the same time, one might feel that nothing ever changes. Still, lasting changes are possible even on this surface. This volume of Confero may be brief, but the two texts included here have a distinct

possibility to create a lasting impact on the world's changeable surface.

In the first paper, scholars Nancy H. Hornberg and Hanna Outakoski investigate how Sámi teachers ideologically approach the use and teaching of Sámi language in the global everyday life, effected by migration, mass media, global capitalism and environmental degradation. Drawing on interviews with school teachers, Hornberg and Outakoski analyze themes of time, space and place in their statements about the Sámi language use, language teaching, and language revitalization and thus highlight ideologies that effect and inform language teachers. Hornberg and Outakoski contribute empirically to the on-the-ground understanding of indigenous language educators in context. By doing so the essay is also exploring ideological and implementational spaces for supporting Sámi language education and language revitalization into the future.

The final paper in this volume discusses the potential of Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (CA) for the evaluation and view on international education. Global market forces' increased role in international education, and the positioning of universities globally, has entailed a focus on the development of human capital to meet economic growth, and little attention has been directed towards more humanistic values of a knowledge society, global learning and citizenship. This development is also reflected in research on international education - research mainly conducted by host countries. Centring the context of Asia, Pham argues that research on international education should focus more on individuals and their communities so that international education can reach it's potential in developing international students' critical perspectives on themselves, and further allowing them to examine the values and motivations, the roles in their societies, and the reasons for their chosen paths

Sámi time, space, and place: Exploring teachers' metapragmatic statements on Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization in Sápmi

Nancy H. Hornberger
and Hanna Outakoski

Late in the evening before a regular school day, the mother of a Sámi family gets a call from her husband working at the reindeer corral saying that the reindeer will be brought in for separation and round-up early in the next morning. In the morning the rest of the family will join the father and other relatives at the reindeer corral and will be working late with the reindeers that day. At school the teachers get the information about the reindeer roundup from those children that are present in the morning, or from Sámi colleagues that have also gone to the corral. That day must, for the most part, be rescheduled at very short notice. The reactions to the changes are varying amongst the staff. The time used for rescheduling and planning the rest of that school day, or the coming couple of days, is not something that any member of the staff is looking forward to, but the attitudes, frustration and values that relate to the unpredictability of everyday life and the peculiarities of this particular cultural context are experienced in many different ways.

This scenario from the ‘global everyday’¹ of Sápmi hints at some of the tensions teachers experience in their encounter with the local context of Sámi lives. Our goal in this paper is to shed light on this context, exploring Sámi language use, teaching and revitalization and the role of the school therein through the words of teachers in Sápmi. Drawing on interviews with 18 teachers—primary school teachers of Sámi language, teachers of other languages and teachers that use Sámi language as medium of instruction, carried out in the context of a larger research project on youth multilingual literacy in Sápmi², we highlight themes of time, space, and place as indexed in teachers’ metapragmatic statements about Sámi language use, language teaching, and language revitalization. Woven through teachers’ statements are ideological threads of a Sámi sense of place as identity and meaning-making, the Sápmi region as an ideological and implementational space for Sámi identity and language, and a timescale oriented toward ensuring the continuing use, teaching, and revitalization of Sámi language into many future generations to come.

The Sámi are Indigenous people of Europe—a politically dominated people divided across nation-state boundaries and histories of Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Russia; Sápmi is their traditional (and transnational) settlement area in Northern Europe. Nine Sámi languages are still spoken; we focus here on the largest, North Sámi, with an estimated 15-30,000 speakers. We are interested in how Sámi teachers ideologically approach the use and teaching of Sámi language amidst globalizing processes and effects of migration, mass media, global

¹ Appadurai, 2000, p. 18.

² The larger cross-national research project, *Literacy in Sápmi: multilingualism, revitalization and literacy development in the global north*, is based at Umeå University. The project aims at investigating the immediate institutional and societal context for multilingual literacy development of North Sámi learning children and youth between the ages of 9 and 18 in schools across Sweden, Norway, and Finland. For methodological details of the larger study, see Outakoski, Lindgren, Westum and Sullivan, in press.

capitalism and environmental degradation in North Sámi communities. In an era when communication and linguistic inequality are increasingly structured around not only place-based languages but also globally mobile linguistic and semiotic resources (such as registers, genres, varieties, styles, accents, modes and modalities), we offer insights for recent scholarship on ‘globalization from below’, that is on ‘strategies, visions, and horizons for globalization on behalf of the poor ... that proceed independently of the actions of corporate capital and the nation-state system’³. By highlighting ideologies that affect and inform language teachers in Sápmi in their daily lives, we contribute empirically to on-the-ground understandings of the strategies, visions, and horizons of front-line Indigenous language educators in one local context. Reciprocally, with this empirical look at language ideologies of educators actively involved in Sámi education in contemporary Sápmi, we complement existing scholarship on the contents of Sámi education⁴, models for teaching and integrating Sámi traditional knowledge in Sámi schools⁵, language skills of bilingual pupils⁶, ethnolinguistic vitality of Sámi language communities⁷, Sámi language revitalization efforts⁸, and the principles of child upbringing in the Sámi society⁹.

As researchers and educators committed to supporting Indigenous language education, Indigenous language revitalization initiatives and Indigenous language activists more generally, we are oriented toward not only illuminating Sámi teachers’ language ideologies but by so doing also exploring ideological and implementational spaces for supporting Sámi language education and language revitalization into the future. Hornberger has argued that there is urgent need for language

³ Appadurai, 2000, p. 3.

⁴ Keskitalo, 2010.

⁵ Jannok Nutti, 2010.

⁶ Svonni, 1993.

⁷ Rasmussen, 2013.

⁸ Todal, 2007.

⁹ Balto, 1997.

educators, language planners, and language users to open and fill ideological and implementational spaces in local sociolinguistic ecologies for as many languages as possible, and in particular endangered languages, to evolve and flourish rather than dwindle and disappear¹⁰. ‘Ideological spaces are the dominant ways of understanding language in local settings while implementational spaces are the ways that these understandings are enacted in classroom practice’¹¹. Implementational and ideological choices can be used strategically as reinforcements for each other; for example, ideological spaces opened up by policies may carve out implementational spaces for practice, and implementational spaces carved out from bottom up classroom practice may wedge open new ideological spaces¹².

Beginning from these conceptual and methodological starting points, then, our analysis of the teachers' interviews addresses two questions. How do teachers' explicit comments on Sámi language use, language teaching and revitalization index time, space and place in Sápmi? How do their statements explicitly or implicitly position globalizing processes in local language practices and ideologies? These questions point to teachers' ideological constructions of Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization, i.e. their language ideologies or ‘sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use’¹³. We uncover those ideologies through analyzing teachers' metapragmatic statements—their explicit and implicit comments—about Sámi language use. Answers to these questions can, we believe, shed light on how language teaching and revitalization efforts from the bottom up can create new ideological and implementational spaces for Indigenous language use.

¹⁰ Hornberger, 2002.

¹¹ Flores and Schissel, 2014, p. 455.

¹² Hornberger, 2002, 2006; Hornberger, and Johnson, 2007.

¹³ Silverstein 1979, p. 198.

In the sections that follow, we first provide background on the Sápmi sociolinguistic and educational context, and on our analytical framework and methodology, and then take up the teachers' language ideologies. What stands out in our analysis are three ideological threads present in the teachers' statements: a Sámi sense of place as identity and meaning-making, the Sápmi region as an ideological and implementational space for Sámi identity and language, and a timescale oriented toward ensuring the continuing use, teaching, and revitalization of Sámi language into many future generations to come.

Sápmi sociolinguistic and educational context: a transnational Indigenous population

The Sámi are Indigenous people of Northern Europe. The people and their languages are referred to as Sámi, Saami or Sami in contemporary literature and research, and as Lapps (people) and Lappish (language) in older sources. Northern Sámi themselves use the term or notion of Sápmi to refer to their ancestral land, the traditional settlement area of Sámi people that runs across the Kola Peninsula in Russia to northern Finland and further to the mountain regions and coastal areas of central and northern Norway and Sweden.

It is difficult to say how many Sámi there are today, with common estimates in the range of 50,000-100,000¹⁴ people. The Sámi have greatly varying knowledge of and competence in Sámi languages as well as varying ties to Sámi culture and society. There are also other ethnic groups in Sápmi with varied competence in and ties to Sámi languages, who may for

¹⁴ Pettersen, 2011, p.187; Keskitalo, Määttä, and Uusiautti, 2014, p.70.

example use Sámi as the language of trade across borders (e.g. between Finland and Norway). Estimates of total numbers of Sámi speakers vary greatly due to the difficulties of defining language competence of individual speakers, and to the fact that there are no shared official statistics¹⁵ on language use and language practices for Sámi languages in the four countries that the Sápmi-area covers.

North Sámi is the largest of the nine Sámi languages still spoken, with an estimated 15,000-30,000 speakers in Sweden, Norway and Finland, most of them in northern Norway¹⁶. Rasmussen¹⁷ finds that although rapid and acute language change and language loss threaten the future of North Sámi in some peripheral areas such as coastal areas of northern Norway, the numbers of North Sámi speakers have been rising steadily in other areas and, in fact, *‘[v]eadjá leat nu ahte historjjás eai leat goassege leamaš nu ollu davvisámegiela hállit go 2000-logu álggus’* (it may well be that there have never in history been so many speakers of North Sámi as in the beginning of 21st century, our translation)¹⁸. Paradoxically, then, core areas of North Sámi speaking Sápmi are experiencing growth in numbers of speakers while peripheral areas undergo the opposite trend.

Two important historical circumstances characterize the Sápmi transnational space. First, the Sámi have since the 17th century been in the role of political and economic underdog, an unbalanced power relation that continues to exert strong influence on Sámi lives. Second, the physical and political separation of Sámi people to the geographical areas of four different national states has inevitably meant that Sámi living in different states experience different paths and future trajectories. The Sámi may therefore feel and express that they

¹⁵ Pettersen and Brustad, 2013.

¹⁶ Seurujärvi-Kari, 2012; SENC (The Encyclopedia of Saami Culture), 2003.

¹⁷ Rasmussen, 2013.

¹⁸ Rasmussen, 2013, p. 89.

are one people today¹⁹ but the desire to express cultural unity will not erase the marks in their present lives left by different state politics, language and educational policies and strategies for assimilation.

Not only transnationally but also within nations, there has been historically and up to the present a continuum of Sámi educational practices that can be seen as either promoting or threatening bilingualism and the building of strong Indigenous identities²⁰. Hirvonen says of Norway that '[w]ithin the Sámi area, teaching in and of Sámi varies not only from one municipality to another, but also within individual municipalities'²¹. The same holds for Finland and Sweden²², where Sámi learners, depending on where they live, go to schools where Sámi language may be a) used as language of instruction in more than one subject, b) taught merely as a (foreign) language subject among all other subjects, or c) taught as an extracurricular mother tongue subject.

A recent proposal by Keskitalo, Määttä and Uusiautti that could target all Sámi language and culture education in the whole of Sápmi is a 'language immersion tepee' model based on the idea that language learning and the acquisition of cultural content should be accompanied by considerations of local community context, status of the language, and Indigenous epistemology²³. Their stance is consistent with goals expressed by Pasanen²⁴ who sees revitalization as both necessary and desirable, and full-fledged immersion programs with the goal of strengthening Sámi language as target language as appropriate ideological and implementational spaces for revitalization in Sámi contexts. Heritage language pre-school immersion programs modeled on the *kohanga reo* pre-school language

¹⁹ Gáldu organization, 2006.

²⁰ Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981.

²¹ Hirvonen, 2008, p. 24.

²² Puoskari-Aikio, 2006.

²³ Keskitalo et al., 2014.

²⁴ Pasanen, 2003.

nests originally developed in Māori communities of New Zealand in the 1980s have spread to Indigenous language revitalization contexts around the world²⁵, but have been difficult to implement in many parts of Sápmi due to the widely dispersed settlement patterns of Sámi speaking communities. The above proposed approaches to Sámi education are also in line with proactive and radical language ideological approaches to Native American education²⁶. Many Sámi communities both in and outside Sápmi are actively engaged in culture and language reclamation and revitalization efforts and processes²⁷, pressing schools to provide teaching in Sámi languages.

Analytical approach: Language ideology and globalization from below in Indigenous language education

Grounding ourselves in the ‘sociolinguistics of speech’²⁸, we understand language use, language structure, and political economy as integrally related²⁹; language ideologies as mediating links in those relationships³⁰; and discourse analysis as a useful tool in uncovering those relationships and links³¹. Language fulfills not only denotational but also indexical and constitutive roles with respect to social relations, such that even minute linguistic differences may project onto stratified patterns of social structure and indeed social inequality. From the perspective of the contemporary era of globalization and the ‘sociolinguistics of mobility’³², we further understand linguistic resources to move and function across layered and polycentric

²⁵ May, 2014.

²⁶ Kroskirty and Field, 2009.

²⁷ See e.g. Rasmussen, 2013, on the case of neighboring municipalities of Utsjoki (Finland) and Tana (Norway).

²⁸ Hymes, 1996.

²⁹ Gal, 1989.

³⁰ Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994.

³¹ Pennycook, 1994.

³² Blommaert, 2010.

scales in time and space (hereafter used interchangeably with *timespace*)—local to intermediate to global, each scale with particular norms, patterns, and meanings of language use. From this perspective, teachers’ metapragmatic statements about Sámi language can be analyzed as reflecting and projecting values attached to language and identity in layered and polycentric scales of time, space, and, as we suggest below, place.

We are interested not just in globalizing and scaling processes at work, but also in how they are taken up and (re)configured in local language ideologies in the sociolinguistic ecologies of Sámi schools. Pursuing the notion of ‘globalization from below’ in Indigenous language education contexts³³, we explore tensions and possibilities manifest in the global everyday of Sámi linguistic ecologies, with particular attention to ideologies of time, space, and place. We join with recent work of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars who seek to bring to light new possibilities at the ‘interface of local epistemologies ... with global time and spatial scales’ and to consider how Indigenous globalization from below can be a ‘force for dismantling local and global linguistic hierarchies’³⁴. Key to this reconfiguring in Indigenous contexts, we suggest, is the sense of place.

In the geography literature, a distinction is made between space and place, with space theorized as comprised of relational places and places being geographically bounded portions of space³⁵. Importantly, while place may be geographic and bounded, it is also ideological: ‘place is where the physical substratum merges with the people that act upon it, that think about it, that give it a name – to the place and to its contents; that recognize it and recognize themselves in it’³⁶. Places have a central and enduring role in Indigenous language ideologies³⁷, as

³³ Hornberger 1996; Hornberger & McCarty 2012

³⁴ Hornberger and McCarty, 2012, p. 6.

³⁵ Hawkins, 2014.

³⁶ Pascual-de-Sans 2004, p. 349, cited by Hawkins 2014, p. 94.

³⁷ Feld and Basso, 1996; Groff, 2010; Hornberger, 1988; Kroskrity and Field, 2009; McCarty, 2002; McCarty and Zepeda, 2010; Nicholas, 2009; Wyman, 2011.

geographies of social meaning and identity that naturalize ‘worlds of sense’³⁸. This sense of place as tied to social meaning and identity belongs, in Kuokkanen’s³⁹ words, to the core of Indigenous philosophies that ‘*váldet vuhtii dieđu ja dulkomiid sorjevašvuoda dihto báikái - ahte olmmoš gii diehtá lea álo čadnon iežas lagašbirrasii ja diehtu ovdana álo dihto konteavsttas*’ [take into account the connection of knowledge and interpretations to a certain place - that a person who carries the knowledge is always bound to her immediate environment and that knowledge always develops in a certain context (our translation)]. It is this sense of place, as a place of identity and of meaning-making, that is recurrently highlighted in the teachers’ statements we analyzed.

In approaching our analysis, we used an inductive and iterative process of close reading of the interview transcripts and notes, developing and refining categories of analysis, grouping and regrouping finally into the three broad categories of language use, language teaching, language revitalization, with cross-cutting themes of time, space, and place. We then went back to the transcripts to select specific quotes indexing these themes, in order to highlight teachers’ ideologies of time, space, and place in Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization in their own words. We looked closely at the deictics of individual speakers and identified time and space scales manifested either as words, terms, phrases, propositions, or presuppositions that enlighten us as to how the language teachers in Sápmi position themselves and Sámi language. Both authors participated in the analysis, but it should be acknowledged that Outakoski carried the major burden in sifting through and translating the transcripts from their original language to English.

Teachers’ metapragmatic statements about how language use and language teaching *were, are* and *should be* in time, space

³⁸ McCarty, Nicholas, and Wyman, 2012, p. 51, citing Feld and Basso 1996, p. 8.

³⁹ Kuokkanen, 2009, p. 95.

and place offer a window into their language ideologies⁴⁰. In analyzing their statements about Sámi language use, language teaching, and language revitalization, we at times drew on notions of *iconicization*, *fractal recursivity* and *erasure*, semiotic processes ‘by which people construct ideological representations of the linguistic differences they notice’⁴¹. Gal and Irvine describe iconicization as the semiotic process whereby ‘linguistic features that index social groups or activities come to appear to be iconic representations of them’⁴²; fractal recursivity as the process by which oppositions and boundaries created and identified to distinguish between groups in one context recur elsewhere in another context and on another level of (social, linguistic, political) relationship⁴³; and erasure as the process that ‘renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible’ by conscious or undeliberate acts of ignorance, avoidance and leaving out of information, descriptions or other facts⁴⁴. Identifying these processes at work in teachers’ statements illuminated ideological threads of a Sámi sense of place as identity and meaning-making, Sápmi as an ideological and implementational space for Sámi language and identity, and a timescale oriented toward ensuring Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization into future generations.

A note on researcher positionality: We have mentioned above our position as educators committed to Indigenous language education and revitalization in general and Sámi language education and revitalization in particular. Hornberger brings decades of research and scholarship in Indigenous contexts around the world, a trajectory of experience and perspective that undoubtedly shapes her understanding and interpretation of the Sámi teachers’ statements. Outakoski brings a lifetime

⁴⁰ Silverstein, 1979; Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, 1998; Dorian, 1998; Irvine and Gal 2000; Kroskrity, 2006, 2010.

⁴¹ Gal, 1997, pp. 7-8.

⁴² Gal, 1997, p. 7; Gal and Irvine 1995; Razfar, 2012, p. 66.

⁴³ Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 38.

trajectory as Sámi speaker, former Sámi school pupil, present teacher and researcher of North Sámi, and perpetual scholar of Sámi language, all of this affording her crucial insights and language proficiencies in all phases of the research—data collection, transcription and translation of interviews to English from Sámi, Swedish/Norwegian, and Finnish, and the ongoing process of analysis and interpretation of the data. It is important to acknowledge that our analysis is inevitably informed and transformed by our own language ideologies. Although our purpose is to examine the metapragmatic statements of 18 language teachers in Sápmi and the language ideologies and values reflected by such statements, we are aware of and unapologetic for our potential role in Sámi language ideology emergence through our roles as researchers of Indigenous education, and our personal and professional connections to the Sámi community.

Teachers' metapragmatic statements on Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization across time, space, and place

Although full-fledged immersion programs are still rare in Sápmi, all five schools that participated in the study in Finland have Sámi classes where the language of instruction is primarily Sámi (North Sámi or some other Sámi variety). The two schools from Norway represent the bilingual educational model identified by Hirvonen⁴⁵, offering Sámi medium instruction either to all pupils at the school or to the pupils that choose to study in Sámi class. In Sweden the five participating schools are either Sámi primary schools with limited Sámi medium instruction, or secondary and upper secondary schools where Sámi language is taught as a language subject a few hours each week.

⁴⁵ Hirvonen, 2008.

The 18 teachers whose interviews are analyzed here are primary school teachers of Sámi language, teachers of other languages (English, Swedish, Finnish and Norwegian), and teachers that use Sámi language as medium of instruction⁴⁶. The interviews lasted 30-90 minutes and were semi-structured around a basic set of questions, while also allowing space for the teachers to tell their own stories in their own words. We asked teachers to comment on typical teaching situations, available resources and materials, language attitudes of the pupils and their parents, external and internal influences on everyday life at the school, and potential changes they had experienced during their working lives. We also asked the teachers to reflect on the situation of different languages in their community, and to freely share their thoughts concerning revitalization of Sámi language(s). The interviews were conducted in the language of the teacher's choice and later translated into English.

We have kept both the teachers' identities and their countries of residence anonymous since they have shared personal and sensitive information about their everyday teacher practice and life with us, and because the Sámi communities, although covering large geographical areas, are demographically small (and potentially judgmental) when it comes to knowing the people active in those communities. Our main interest lies in unfolding general, rather than country and school specific, ideologies about Sámi language use, language teaching and language revitalization in Sápmi.

As we turn to analysis of language ideologies about time, space, and place in teachers' metapragmatic statements about Sámi language use, teaching and revitalization, we offer the caveat that neither language use, teaching, and revitalization nor time, space, and place are wholly separable categories. Language use

⁴⁶ Of the eighteen teachers, 9 are from Finland, 4 come from Norway, and 5 are from Sweden. Whereas in Sweden and Norway, one teacher might teach all language subjects in the school, in Finland there were more often separate teachers for each language; hence, the greater number of teachers interviewed in Finland.

cannot be completely disconnected from language practices such as teaching of the language nor from changing language use ensuing from language revitalization efforts. Time and space are defining axes of specific contexts and cannot easily be detached from each other, while space and place are intertwined in the ways discussed above. We acknowledge, then, that the following analysis is inevitably overlapping and complex.

On language use in local and far north Sámi contexts of the globalizing world

Language teachers who are rooted, re-rooted, or just beginning to feel rooted in a Sámi sense of place index their understanding of Sámi language use in time and space in different ways. Their sense of place—cultural sensitivity, background, and knowledge—is of central importance in rooting them as teachers, members of the community and in some cases members of the Sámi ethnic group. Teachers' comments and timespace comparisons may also be made based on observations over a long timescale or on more or less intensive and conscious observations over a short and clearly defined timespan.

An understanding of language use in the school and community limited to 'where the language is heard' constitutes a fragmented understanding of language use, linked to the role of external observer rather than speaker of the language. In the following comment made by a teacher who moved to Sápmi to work as language teacher, what the teacher refers to as language use comprises only a fraction of overall language practice in the community:

Extract 1: I believe that—well, not believe but feel—now that I've been here a couple of years—that people are not ashamed of Sámi language. One can hear parents speak Sámi to their children in the grocery shops, and people get their service in Sámi. And I think that is good and right— people should be able to use their language. But I don't think that it threatens the

position of [majority language], nor does [majority language] threaten the position of Sámi. And English and other foreign languages, they are present here—this is quite a busy town. One can hear other languages too. (TI 123) 47

In this teacher's comment, language use is limited to conversations between family members, or between a customer and service personnel. All other modes of language use (e.g. media, public signs, literature, political speeches, and ceremonial language) are ignored or left out, *erased and rendered invisible*⁴⁸. The teacher underlines that this is a personal interpretation based on a feeling and casual observations made in contact with other members of the local community, positioning himself/herself outside the group of Sámi speakers and locating language use in public spaces such as the grocery shop or customer service. The stance taken in the statement that 'people are not ashamed of Sámi language' refers to other people, presumably Sámi speakers, from whom the teacher excludes himself/herself, and further presupposes that some people might be or might have been ashamed of Sámi language. The fragmented language use view has an impact also on how the teacher indexes the ecology of languages in the local context of the town or village—as long as Sámi is heard in some context it is not threatened nor does it threaten the position of another language. Globalizing processes observed by the teacher in the multilingual mix of local language repertoire are foregrounded, and the question of the actual state of Sámi language use is placed aside, or erased.

An alternative view of the sociolinguistic ecology comes from another teacher who has been observing pupils' language skills and use over time in her/his school:

⁴⁷ To ensure anonymity, we identify teacher quotes only by the number of their interview, e.g. TI 123 is Teacher Interview nr. 123.

⁴⁸ Irvine and Gal 2000.

Extract 2: When I said that the pupils' language skills in Sámi are getting poorer then this is also true about their skills in [majority language]. If we compare to the situation 10 years ago, the special teacher did reading tests here, and the pupils in the Sámi class were the ones to manage best in the tests. This although they had [majority language] as their second language... So the fact is that one language does support the other. (TI 121)

The teacher's comments from this 10-year school-based timespace perspective index a language ideology of interconnectedness across Sámi pupils' languages, such that strong skills in one language may mutually support the other and, by a similar token, weak skills in one language may in turn weaken the other language as well.

One teacher's story indexing wider globalizing processes affecting local sociolinguistic ecologies of Sámi communities caught our attention. This teacher of North Sámi and of other subjects in which Sámi themes were prominent reported that in one of the arts and crafts classes, a group of Sámi learners was working on writing instructions for traditional crafts work in Sámi, when one of the pupils asked if (s)he could write the instructions in English. This pupil then went on to say that (s)he felt that (s)he could express himself/herself better in English than in his/her native language, Sámi. Other teachers report from different regions in Sápmi that e.g. 'English has become interesting. You just have to know it' (TI 312), and 'I think that English is the language of the world, and therefore it is important' (TI 142). Teachers also report on generally improved language skills in English over time in the whole of Sápmi, and relate this development to the popularity of English as a subject among most Sámi pupils and as the 'posh' or 'trendy' language of great importance globally.

The pressures on Sámi language use and the advantages of knowing many languages are often contrasted or juxtaposed in

teachers' comments. Knowing many languages offers different future opportunities than not knowing many languages, and the threats and pressures can be at the same time conceived of as a threat in some general level or as an asset on another level, as witnessed by the opinions expressed by an English language teacher:

Extract 3: English is not a threat to Sami language at the school. But maybe English in general is a threat to Sámi. But at the school it is no more threat than is [majority language]. It is only something positive if you, or anyone, knows many languages. Think about the opportunities, the jobs you have ahead of you. But of course these colonizer languages, they add pressure toward Indigenous languages. (TI 215)

Here, the teacher is indexing across several scales in considering the role and position of English language in the multilingual mix of the Sámi schools. This teacher feels that there is an inherent inequality among languages, with Indigenous languages positioned as inferior to languages of power. Therefore English could, according to this teacher, be considered a general threat to Sámi language use, or to any other Indigenous language under similar pressure.

For many teachers, the equipoise to the global situation is the local school situation, where languages are seen as assets and pupils are encouraged to learn many languages. The same teacher as in Extract 3 emphasizes in Extract 4 how important it is that the school be confident of its mission and purpose as one of the most eminent language arenas for Sámi language, when not only language pressure is put on the school, but also external attitudes toward and against the school are negative:

Extract 4: Of course the outside world, [those] who think negatively, they have an impact. They might, I don't know, maybe not shut down the school, but they might add a pressure. But this school is so confident on what they do and

how positive its effects are, so I think the school will be here for a while. (TI 215)

Looking at the world map, Sápmi and the schools in this study are located far north on the northern hemisphere, and far north from the capital cities of their respective countries. The western understanding of the world having far north as opposed to far south has for a long time formed the conception of where Sámi places are and, iconically, where Sámi language is or is supposed to be used. In Extract 5, a language teacher who has been working a long time at a small school in Sápmi having moved there from the south still maintains his/her footing in the south, thereby indexing the north/south ideology even while making an important point about local language use in the north:

Extract 5: I have been thinking about [the benefits of bilingualism] because our school is located so far north. So I am not trying to motivate movement toward the South, but instead, I tell them, that you will benefit so much from Swedish when you are in contact with Norway, that you will be able to communicate with Norwegians. (TI 113)

Although this teacher does not explicitly mention Sámi language use, he/she iconically indexes ideologies about (language use in) the far north as different and removed from (the languages of) the south. While motivating local pupils to think of the neighboring country as a potential place of future employment, the teacher simultaneously situates Sápmi wholly in the far north. This particular school is actually located quite far south in Sápmi, yet even after having lived in the community for a long time, the teacher still views the school from outside (from the southern angle) and not from his/her current timespace.

Contrasting with the outsider idea of Sápmi as located elsewhere far away is a place-based ideology of Sámi people

living and being in neighboring countries but at the same time also ‘here’ in Sápmi. Even the smallest movements in timespace (here, crossing a bridge) can be of great importance for actual language use and language choice, as exemplified in the following teacher’s statement discussing the importance of sharing and planning educational and free time activities with Sámi speakers in the neighboring country, and in so doing highlighting a sense of Sámi place as a place of identity and of meaning-making.

Extract 6: Then [during visits] the only mutual language is Sámi language. That is also something that the children have noticed themselves, when they [used to] ask ‘what is the language good for,’ now they have noticed it themselves. You only need to cross the bridge and your language skills will become an asset. I have also noticed that they are starting to make friends there now. And the only possibility [to communicate] is to speak Sámi language. (TI 141)

Teachers’ metapragmatic statements locate language use mainly at local (e.g. school or local grocery shop), national and global (e.g. neighboring countries or outside world) scales. What is erased is the immediate timespace—the actual language use of teachers themselves, in the classroom or elsewhere. The teachers seem to distance themselves from Sámi language use (and hence a Sámi sense of place as identity and meaning-making), viewing Sámi language use as something perhaps in other timespaces, that can be “performed” and observed by others (e.g. overheard parent-child conversations), affect the use of other languages (e.g. language tests of the bilingual learners), be planned (e.g. mutual language group activities) and be placed in certain contexts (e.g. use of Swedish in Norway). The next section will complement this picture with a closer look at statements about language teaching practices in Sámi schools where the present and the immediate timespace combine with experiences from the past.

On language teaching: re-emplacing Sámi perspectives in materials and curriculum

In reflecting about their teaching, whether they are teaching Sámi language, using Sámi as medium of instruction, or teaching majority language or English to Sámi-speaking pupils, teachers tend to place themselves on more limited timespace scales than when reflecting about Sámi language use and revitalization. The focus is the everyday and current time; and they place themselves, their pupils, and their teaching mainly within classroom, curricular, Sámi program, or school spaces. When they index wider timespaces, it is to reflect on what they see as the positioning or especially absence of Sámi language and content in teacher training, curriculum, and teaching materials.

The challenges of teaching simultaneously ‘here and over there’ i.e. teaching a lesson to distance learners via video along with pupils at several grade levels in a local multigrade class make salient to teachers what they see as the ‘totally inadequate’ (TI 113, 121) teacher education some teachers receive. One teacher (TI 121) implicitly expresses the idea that Sámi perspective should be part of teacher training for teachers who will teach in the Sámi schools, by telling of the opposite case—a newly graduated teacher colleague in whose training program the multigrade model in which they currently both teach ‘was not mentioned even with one word’ and ‘[e]ven less was said about the Sámi perspective’. Similarly, according to another teacher (TI 312), Sámi children experience two separate worlds when a visiting special resource teacher comes to the school with no Sámi skills or understanding of the Sámi situation. Woven through both teachers’ statements are ideological threads of a Sámi sense of place as identity and meaning-making, and of Sápmi as an ideological and implementational space for Sámi language and identity.

The ‘two separate worlds’ metaphor in the second teacher’s statement points to ideological erasure of the bilingual and multicultural reality of Sámi children’s lives; indeed, teachers’ comments sometimes index assumptions about the Sámi language or about Sámi children’s language fluency that reflects a missing Sámi perspective in their training. For example, a teacher’s comments may assume that because Sámi children have bilingual proficiencies in Sámi and the majority language, they necessarily have academic literacy at a level adequate for textbooks, exercises, and tests in the majority language (TI 123), or that Sámi language structure is more difficult for pupils who therefore choose to use the majority language because they can manage it and find it functional in the classroom space (TI 312). These comments index emerging language ideologies, such as the presumption of a direct connection between language skills in one language and another or simplified models of complex language choice dynamics, that could work against the continuing use, teaching and revitalization of Sámi language into the future.

Many teachers comment on the missing or misleading Sámi perspective in books, course plans, and the national curriculum, affirming that there is no continuity in materials for teaching Sámi (TI 311); that extra exercises and worksheets available for the majority language are almost completely missing in Sámi (TI 121); and that there are books in which the Sámi are characterized as a ‘foreign group’ from somewhere and local history is completely missing (TI 141). Teaching materials translated from the majority language to Sámi are, in the eyes of the teachers, often not only awkward and incomprehensible (TI 112), but are seen as conveying misleading content, as explained in this comment in which the teacher indexes multiple, polycentric centers of authority (the school, books, writers of the books and the teacher’s own father) in identifying what he/she sees as a serious potential for misinformation:

Extract 7: I remember the time when I myself went to school. It was the same then, but it was not so dangerous/serious because it was in [the majority language]. It was not my mother tongue that was used to describe those things [history and origins of the Sámi]. But now those books have been translated and it is all in Sámi, historical facts, facts that do not even mention the Sámi people. I think that is very dangerous. Because now it is all written in their mother tongue, and they might think that it must be the truth then. I remember myself, it was in [the majority language] and I had to ask someone to explain it to me, so I went to my father to ask if it was true. And he could confirm that the things that were written about the Sámi were not true, 'they only believe so,' and I learned to doubt that information. But I am not sure that the children of today critically assess the information. It is all in Sámi, in one's own mother tongue, so it must be true. (TI 142)

Consistent with many Native American language ideologies that view language and speech performatively—as a ‘powerful and creative force that "makes" the natural and social world they habit’⁴⁹, this teacher’s comment implies that language, through its very essence, is able to affect and change world views, and to alter people's critical thinking capacities, an ideological stance rooted in the sense of Sámi place as a place of identity and of meaning-making.

Sámi teachers index this same sense of Sámi place as identity and meaning-making in metapragmatic statements on the vulnerable situation for Sámi language, Sámi children, and the Sámi program in relation to the rest of the school. In the following comment, we see a Sámi subject teacher express how (s)he feels alone and disconnected from other teachers teaching this subject, and her belief that the pupils are afraid to do traditional Sámi activities at her school because of their heritage, for fear of insult:

⁴⁹ Kroskrity and Field, 2000, p. 10.

Extract 8: They do not want to, I mean, they don't want to cook [traditional] food, or have traditional Sámi celebrations, or to wear their *gákti* [traditional Sámi clothing]. They are afraid of something. Maybe that they might hear something, I mean things like 'terrible, what awful food this was,' or 'yack, what *gákti*.' (TI 351)

It is through these kinds of statements that we get valuable glimpses of what teachers interpret as hurtful insults, and what they interpret are the reasons for why the younger generations do not want to engage in certain kinds of curricular activities. It is also clear that this teacher regards traditional ways of being, dressing, cooking as authentic vehicles for teaching language and culture, a view that is supported by Sámi scholars Balto and Østmo⁵⁰ who highlight the importance of traditional storytelling in academic studies as a resource and tool for learning.

Pervasive in teachers' comments on language teaching are concerns around re-emplacing Sámi perspectives and ways of being in teacher preparation, materials, curriculum, and teaching activities, concerns ideologically underpinned by an understanding of the performative and organic nature of language, of place-based Sámi identity and meaning-making, and of schools as potential spaces for Sámi language teaching and revitalization in Sápmi. We turn now to a closer look at teachers' metapragmatic statements about Sámi language revitalization.

On language revitalization: Sámi language use and teaching in Sápmi past, present and future

In commenting on Sámi language revitalization, teachers not surprisingly focus on the role of the school and teachers themselves in Sámi language use and teaching in the past and present, and into future generations. They also reflect on

⁵⁰ Balto and Østmo, 2012.

changes in the language itself as spoken and used by pupils, their families, and communities. We will first take up the latter, as background to consideration of schools in Sápmi as ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization into future generations.

Many of the Sámi language teachers comment on what they call *giela geaffun* ‘language attrition,’ further described as ‘lack of words,’ which they perceive as having an effect on the freedom of expression and richness of the language, as expressed by this teacher:

Extract 9: My first reflection is that the language skills of the pupils have become worse if one compares just with the situation 10 years ago. When they come to school and in general. In writing it shows best in that they can't... or when they are writing stories, they can't describe feelings, or e.g. movement. They lack words. They may say that a person walked, but there are so many other words that could be used to describe that. Their language is not so rich. (TI 121)

Another teacher iconically connects the perceived language attrition to changes in the social context of Sámi communities, observing that attrition affects even the most fundamental structures of language knowledge, as the words that are missing are not only newer and less familiar words, but ‘can be just ordinary words from everyday life’ (TI 211).

Extract 10: The Sámi have always used their words in a certain context, and now that everything is changing then the words are lost. Language is changing. It is scary, and it is also something that makes me grieve. [...]What I am going through is a personal sorrow for me. (TI 211)

The focus on loss of particular words and what these changes do to the language (and in the long run to the culture) reflect an

understanding of language as rather static stores of words that are in a way the property or essence of the culture. Through a process of iconicization, particular words are linked to particular images of Sámi lifestyle and social context, such that the loss of these words becomes linked to a loss of identity or culture.

While from our perspective as researchers and educators, there are evidences in Sápmi as elsewhere of Sámi language and its speakers acquiring new and added language resources such as better literacy skills in Sámi, knowledge of new words and subject areas that have entered the Sámi language, and novel ways of using Sámi language in e.g. blogs, songs, social media forums and SMS, the teachers in our interviews construct the changes overwhelmingly as loss. The semiotic process of erasure in the teachers' statements renders invisible or problematic the ways that Sámi language practices take on new linguistic features, modes and modalities.

In this vein, teachers speak about language that is 'muddied' (TI 351) or 'poor' (TI 142) or 'mixed' (TI 141), i.e. morphologically, syntactically and idiomatically changed and simplified language that either, in the words of the teachers, structurally resembles majority language or is just a skeleton form of Sámi language. Teachers describe two categories of pupils affected most directly by this kind of changed language, who they see as struggling to learn Sámi at school: pupils that do not hear any Sámi elsewhere than in school and pupils that hear 'muddied' language at home from parents that are not fluent or only partially fluent (TI 112, 121, 141, 211, 313 and 351). Many of the teachers express their concern about the future that awaits these pupils and families, in which language is not a living language of the home, and the consequences that this has on Sámi language in general, or as one of the teachers puts it:

Extract 11: There are two sides to it [future bilingualism]. If I look at the children that are in the lower grades at the moment, they have Sámi as their mother tongue, because it really is their first language. But those that have Sámi as second language [non-dominant L₁ or L₂], they don't hear Sámi anywhere else than at the school. And they don't speak Sámi to their friends. It may be that they will remember some words, but they don't use the language. So if it isn't a living language for them now then how could it become alive later? (TI 313)

Here, the semiotic process of recursivity underlying teachers' ideologies about the language skills of Sámi speaking children projects a distinction between non-Sámi speakers and Sámi speakers onto groups of weaker and stronger Sámi speakers, constructing and reinforcing differences that are then recursively linked also to differences in Sámi language skills from parents to school. One teacher indexes this construction of difference in offering an example of potential conflict when pupils with weaker and stronger Sámi language skills are in the same class together: '[a] pupil comes from another area of Sápmi and has stronger language skills, knows appropriate words and terms and is eager to correct other pupils that do not have so strong language skills. This adds up to a conflict' (TI 215). Another teacher indexes the same difference, in this case offering a solution to the potential conflict, one very much in the vein of Keskitalo et al.'s language immersion tepee approach cited above⁵¹.

Extract 12: [W]e should not have the kind of groups that we have today. There should be a group for those that speak well and another language shower⁵² group. There is no need for other groups. One clear group for Sámi [L₁] speakers and another group for language shower purpose. And I think that

⁵¹ Keskitalo et al., 2014

⁵² Here, by language shower, the teacher refers to immersion classes where non-Sámi speaking children would be immersed in Sámi-medium education geared to their language proficiency level.

all children here want to learn Sámi even if they are not Sámi.
(TI 142)

The recursively constructed difference in Sámi language skills from parents to school is characterized by some teachers as a ‘divide’, expressed here in Extract 13.

Extract 13: The situation is that parents expect very much from us teachers and the school. We are expected to pass on the language to the next generation. Whereas they don't feel the obligation themselves and we can hear the children speaking the majority language in their free time with their parents. I always speak and try to speak Sámi. So the homes and school are not working together on this. [...] I feel that the school and the homes are separate worlds, that the parents have so many prejudices against the school, and that there is a divide between the school and the world outside. Of course one reason might be that their [parents'] experiences from school are not so positive. And this has an effect on it all-- that is what I think. (TI 121)

Teachers index this same ‘divide’ and the parents’ expectations for the school to bear responsibility of passing on the language, in commenting on the motivation for parents to choose Sámi education for their child even if they (the parents) do not speak Sámi:

Extract 14: There are parents who did not get Sámi [were not spoken to in Sámi] when they were little, and now these parents choose Sámi education so that their children will get the language. And it is the same thing with daycare. (TI 141)

Another teacher muses empathetically on how it must feel for a child that has very poor language skills in Sámi to be placed in a Sámi class only because ‘it is the parent’s choice’ (TI 112) and continues on to say that ‘the child will be put in a vulnerable position when the child is not able to communicate.’ Here, too,

the teacher's comments recursively index difference between non-Sámi speaking and Sámi speaking groups of children, even while implicitly advocating for the child's right to Sámi-medium education geared to his language proficiency level.

In another process of recursivity, some teachers compare the current situation with the situation of the past, when Sámi children were sent to boarding schools where they were not allowed to speak Sámi, and who therefore missed out on the contents of the education and did not become literate in their heritage language. They recursively connect the past and present language education choices made by others for Sámi children – the choices made by "others" (national states and their representatives) in the past and the choices made by the childrens' parents in the present. Significant for the teachers, though, is that today the choice of language is made by the parents and the motivation of that choice is the desire to revitalize or in some cases bring back a language that has been silent in the family for a generation or two. In this endeavor, as we have seen, teachers perceive parents as looking to the schools as ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language revitalization, and we turn to that possibility in our implications discussion below, after a brief analysis of how teachers situate Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization in timespace through their use of deictic markers.

Timespace deictic markers in teachers' metapragmatic statements

Deictics of time and space in individuals' discourse offer clues about how they position themselves and the topic of their discourse in time and space, offering the discourse analyst 'possibilities to connect microscopic instances of communicative practice to larger-scale political and sociological patterns and

structures⁵³. The following two diagrams give an overview of the distribution of timespace deictic markers in teachers' statements about Sámi language use, language teaching, and language revitalization discussed in the earlier sections. The diagrams represent not instances of each use but the composite set of markers used; for example, the deictic space marker *here* may be used many times in the interviews, but is only counted once for our purposes here.

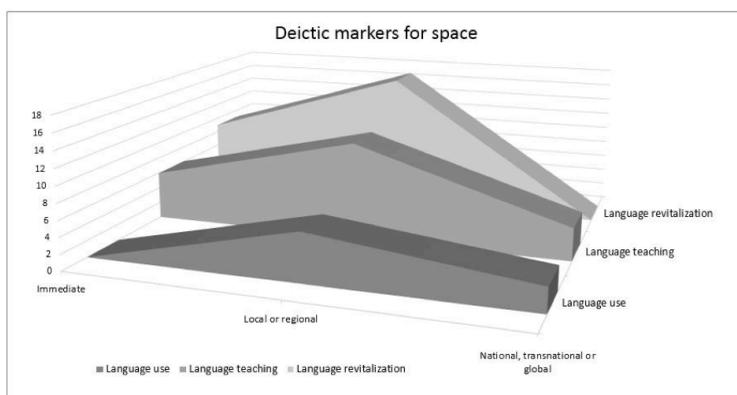


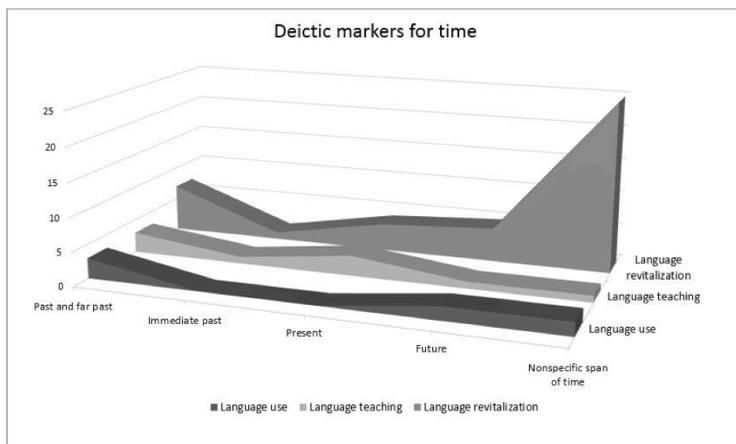
Diagram 1: Deictic markers for space in teachers' metapragmatic statements.

Diagram 1 shows the distribution of deictic markers for space across immediate and local to national and global scales. Deictic markers used for the immediate space included reference to *classroom* and *home*, *curricula* and specific *teaching programs*, as well as pro-forms such as *here* and *this particular*. Markers that indexed local or regional space included *school*, *daycare*, *shops*, *town*, *community*, *this region*, *outside the village*, *Sápmi*, *far north*, *another area of Sápmi*, and adverbs such as *somewhere*, *over there*. National, transnational and global

⁵³ Blommaert, 2007, p. 127.

deictics included *country (of residence)*, *neighboring countries* and *outside world*.

A few observations stand out in Diagram 1. It is local and regional space that is foregrounded by teachers in talking about



all three themes—language use, teaching, and revitalization. They do not index the immediate space in their statements about language use, and conversely, they do not index national, transnational or global space in their statements about language revitalization. That the national, transnational and global level is missing from the revitalization comments is, in our opinion, an important indication of the missing shared transnational view on revitalization among the teachers in Sápmi, and offers clues to understanding why teachers are keen on giving examples of how revitalization can be achieved in their local contexts, and at the same time are unable to define what is meant by revitalization in a wider Sápmi context.

Diagram 2: Deictic markers for time in teachers' metapragmatic statements.

Diagram 2 shows the distribution of deictic markers for time scaled across far past and immediate past to present, future, and nonspecific timespans. There are only a few indexical markers

of the immediate past (e.g. *a moment ago, at the beginning of the week*) across all themes. Indeed, indexing to immediate past and present (e.g. *now, today, at the moment, current situation*) is missing altogether in the language use comments, which are instead indexed to the past, the future (e.g. *after 30 years, next generation, future, ahead*), or to a nonspecific span of time (e.g. *every day*). Language teaching on the other hand is very much tied to the present and firmly rooted in the past, but seldom indexed toward the future. Deictic markers indexing teachers' statements to the past (e.g. *last couple of years, the last ones 4 years ago, only 3-4 year ago*) and far past (e.g. *old days, many years ago, ten years ago, a long time ago*) are present in all the themes, but are most prominent in statements about language revitalization. Notably, statements on language revitalization index a wide range of nonspecific timespans whether past, present, or future, such as *very early in their lives, over time, still, on their free time, once in a while, next generation, and very seldom*.

A few observations stand out in Diagram 2. Whereas local and regional space was foregrounded across all themes in Diagram 1, here with respect to time deictics we find that each theme has its unique pattern. Only past and far past are indexed similarly in all themes indicating that the teachers often consult their understanding or interpretation of the past when making sense of the present or predictions about the future. Language use is not anchored in present (as it was not anchored in the immediate space), while teaching is discussed mainly in the present time span. Language revitalization stands out from use and teaching in that the deictic markers for time are more vague (*then*), general (*new times*), or nonspecific (*when the children are little*).

Implications for schools in Sápmi as ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization into future generations

Striking in teachers' use of deictic markers in talking about language revitalization, discussed above, was that they strongly indexed immediate, local and regional spaces while referring to national, transnational or global space barely at all; similarly striking was that deictics of time were heavily weighted to future and nonspecific timespans such as *next generation, future, when they grow older, new times, no longer, very seldom, once in a while*. Indeed, as we have already seen, many of the teachers' metapragmatic statements focus on the school's responsibility for Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization. This responsibility looms ever more important to teachers as they reflect on changing Sámi language practices in families and the community and what that means for the future.

The school space is quite literally seen by teachers as a 'language island' for Sámi language use and language revitalization among children and youth in an otherwise rather inhospitable or inactive language environment. Mutual language projects, visits, co-work, 'penpal' classes to and with other areas of Sápmi or with Sámi in a neighboring country are constructed as implementational spaces for Sámi language use, teaching and revitalization, in comments like this one:

Extract 15: Not much happens here, nothing happens *in Sámi* in this village, or maybe the service at the church... very little. Well, at the grocery shop they of course speak Sámi, when you go there, but in the village itself... there are very few [activities]. But the relations to the neighboring country, to [a town in the neighboring country], I think that is the best solution. We must do it—we will not succeed otherwise. (TI 142)

The school space is also understood as a Sámi place of identity and meaning-making—the heart and the center of the community and even region, particularly when many other services have fled to larger urban centers in the area, as implicit in this teacher’s comment:

Extract 16: There is already so much other activity going on. This is kind of like... well, like a community center, this school of ours. There are many activities arranged by different organizations. (TI 111)

The school as ideological and implementational space for Sámi language use and revitalization stands in contrast for teachers to changing language practices in families and the community, as in the following two comments:

Extract 17: In this little community I do know most of the families, and I can see the parallels with the home language environment and the language in the children's language knowledge and skills. There are homes where language is still a living language of the home and where one does read a lot of books. But the tradition of storytelling is left behind, parents don't tell many stories to their children. (TI 121)

Implicit in this teacher’s use of the deictic ‘still’ and the mention of reading and storytelling are perspectives on strong language practices the teacher regards as disappearing from many homes, even while there are still some homes where one can find them.

Extract 18: So it is this way, how should I put it, well... when the community is like this, this village, language [Sámi language] is deeply embedded, so that you won't hear it. When people step outside the Sámi class then they will not hear Sámi anymore, when you go to the shops then it will be only the elders that still might speak. [...] The elders here, well, their language is rather clumsy/ponderous, they must stop to think

and their language comes in waves. I have noticed this. It is noticeable that it does not come fluently. (TI 112)

This teacher metapragmatically links loss of fluency among elders with the disappearance of spoken Sámi in the village, and goes on to say that ‘when the elders are gone, then... At the moment they can be used as resource persons, but later... the situation is bad’ (TI 112). Ideological threads of Sámi time, space, and place come together in this teacher’s insight that with the disappearance of fluent elders comes the loss not only of spoken Sámi in the village, but also of a valuable resource for Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization into future generations.

Conclusion: Sámi time, space and place in teachers’ metapragmatic statements

Our goal in this paper has been to understand Sámi language use, teaching and revitalization and the role of the school therein, through the words of teachers in Sápmi. We concur with Huss⁵⁴ that schools have a crucial, albeit endlessly hard won, role to play in language revitalization and we take as premise, with Sámi researchers Määttä, Keskitalo, and Uusiautti, that ‘in order to develop the Sámi School, it is necessary to listen to the active realizers of Sámi education, namely Sámi teachers’⁵⁵. To that end, we have drawn on teachers’ metapragmatic statements about Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization, seeking to answer two questions: How do teachers’ explicit comments on Sámi language use, language teaching and revitalization index time, space and place in Sápmi? How do their statements explicitly or implicitly position globalizing processes in local language practices and ideologies? From analysis of their statements, we have sought to

⁵⁴ Huss, 2008.

⁵⁵ Määttä, Keskitalo and Uusiautti, 2013, p. 451.

illuminate how Sámi language teaching and revitalization efforts from the bottom up might create new ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language use, teaching and revitalization into future generations.

Indexing a timescale comparing past to present, teachers comment that from pupils' individual writing, to their language use in class and in breaks, to language use by parents and elders in shops and community, spaces for Sámi language use are changing. Similarly, they speak of changes in language use itself: some pupils lack basic everyday words; some parents speak morphologically, syntactically, or idiomatically changed and simplified Sámi; and some elders lack Sámi fluency. Indexing metaphors of difference across immediate, local, and transnational spaces, teachers speak of the separate worlds of children's languages and identities, a home-to-school divide in Sámi language use, and the north/south geographical opposition. In the face of these time and space markers of loss, teachers see Sámi language teaching as closely tied to Sámi identity and traditional ways of being, and Sámi language revitalization as strongly located in schools. Indexing an underlying ideology of a Sámi sense of place as identity and meaning-making, teachers talk about missing or misleading Sámi perspectives in teacher training, materials, and curriculum, juxtaposing these with the need for resourcefulness in motivating pupils to use Sámi language in their classes and in contact with pupils from other regions of Sápmi.

In terms of explicitly or implicitly positioning globalizing processes in local language practices and ideologies, teachers acknowledge that while global English is inevitably an interesting, popular, and trendy subject in school and a possible threat to Sámi at a general level, it can also be (re)emplaced at school within a multilingual mix of the north and neighboring countries rather than oriented solely toward a national or global scale. Similarly, while teachers are critical of a national curriculum that is mainly reflective of the south in content and

perspective, they also readily recognize the potential for curricular content to be (re)emplaced in the Sápmi and northern context. And even while teachers see parents' Sámi fluency weakening in some cases, they also noted the trend of those same parents' choosing Sámi for their children out of the desire to revitalize the language—and teachers see a role for the school to actively support those choices in programming and language use.

Teachers' metapragmatic statements identify and advocate for implementational and ideological spaces for Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization, thereby inverting globalization processes to Indigenous language revitalization 'from below'. They see the school as an ideological space with the knowledge to adapt to new times and as an implementational space that can be an island of language revitalization while families and communities are facing pressures on Sámi language use. They highlight the crucial need for teacher training that addresses the Sámi school context, including not only ideological space for the multilingual mix of (changing) languages, but also implementational space for structural aspects such as alternative language teaching programme models, multigrade classes, and distance learning. Teachers' statements identify the potential for curriculum and materials to incorporate Sámi perspective and content, providing ideological space for teachers' and pupils' co-construction of Sámi ways of knowing; and equally the importance of continuity of curriculum and materials across grades, providing implementational space for more effective Sámi language use and teaching.

The reindeer round-up story with which we began this paper captures much of the complexity of time, space and place that teachers in Sápmi grapple with in using and teaching Sámi language and reflecting about Sámi language revitalization. The reindeer corral is a place partly anchored in the present moment and partly in knowledge and actions reaching far back in time and into the future; it is a site of overlapping, polycentric social

and societal spaces such as family needs, community practices, regional Sápmi identities, and national educational policies, but also of school spaces such as classroom lessons, school policies, and curricular demands. There are teachers who recognize the reindeer corral as an important place for Sámi language use, perhaps one of few remaining authentic community places that can contribute to Sámi language revitalization into future generations; some teachers also recognize the corral and round-up as a place with great potential for teaching Sámi language and Sápmi perspectives, in contrast to the existing overrepresentation of knowledge and perspectives from the south in curriculum and materials. We chose this story to represent both the challenges and opportunities Sámi teachers see ahead of them in the increasingly pressing task of opening and filling up ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization in Sápmi into many future generations to come.

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Rethinking international education through the concept of capabilities: a bridge to development in Asia's emergent knowledge societies

Lien Pham

There has been a tremendous growth in student mobility in higher education in the last two decades as universities in the West respond to globalisation, economic growth and capacity building strategies of Asian countries. According to the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) 2013 report "Education at a Glance"¹, the total number of foreign students enrolled in tertiary education in 2011 was 4.3 million with the United States receiving 16.6% of the total number, followed by the United Kingdom (13.0%), Australia (6.6%), Germany (6.4%), France (6.3) other OECD countries (35.6%) and non OECD countries (15.5%). Asian students account for 53% of all students studying abroad worldwide with the largest numbers of international students from China, India and Korea.² At the same time, the Asian region has begun to make its presence as countries like Singapore, Hong Kong (as part of China), Malaysia offer international education to neighbouring countries including Thailand, Vietnam and Taiwan.³

Stemming from preoccupation with globalisation, universities have been motivated to deliver international education as part of their internation

¹ OECD, 2013.

² Ibid.

³ Ng, 2012.

alisation strategies to meet economic and political interests.⁴ International education is referred to here as provision of higher education by universities to foreign students in the host countries. The increasing role of market forces in international education and positioning of universities on a global scale has seen a focus on marketisation, competition and management of student mobility with little attention to the humanistic values of a knowledge society, global learning and citizenship.⁵ The delivery of international education as a market based commodity is as prevalent in Asia as it is in Western countries,⁶ where policies and practices have been predominantly focused on developing human capital to meet economic growth, and duplicating Western ideas of a university.⁷ The latter is underpinned by the assumption steeped in Enlightenment viewpoint of humanity, that the process of human development is cultivated through knowledge acquired in universities toward democracy, justice and equality.⁸ The broad benefits that have often been advanced from countries and institutions offering international education are improved public diplomacy and trade relations between host and source countries, higher status qualifications and better job access for international education graduates, universities entrepreneurialism and market positioning.⁹ In reality, according to Knight (2014), the motivation of international education is for benefits of political, economic and overall competitiveness, dominance of Anglo-Western knowledge and pedagogies, and commodification of knowledge. The nationalistic agenda determined by economic rationales and institutional interests leads to low priority of preparation of young people to understand social needs and challenges, and participate ethically in their local societies and be global citizens.¹⁰

It is not surprising, then, that research about international education has been mainly conducted by host countries and universities that offer international education focusing on the economic imperatives of demand and

⁴ Altbach and Knight, 2007; Ng, 2012; de Wit, 2014; Knight, 2014.

⁵ Nahas, 2012; Teichler, 2004; Altbach, 2014.

⁶ Ng, 2012.

⁷ Altbach and Knight, 2007; Marginson, 2007.

⁸ Gustavsson, 2014

⁹ Murray, Hall, Leask, Marginson, and Ziguras, 2011; OECD, 2013.

¹⁰ Knight, 2014.

supply, economic and labour outcomes, student mobility, or critiques of dominance of Anglo-Western perspectives in knowledge production and export as new forms of internationalism.¹¹ The various orientations of these studies have accumulated a large body of literature about student mobility, international student experiences, policies and practices in international education programs, pedagogy and curriculum delivery, student preparations, skills, jobs, and migration. However these studies tend to present international students as belonging to homogenous groups of nations, rather than examining the impacts of international education at individuals' levels and considering viewpoints of international students and their communities. Alongside with the awareness of opportunities for citizenship education, there are policies and practices of international education that focus on answers and results for education providers rather than questions and processes about goals of international education, and values and opportunities for international students.¹²

Despite much critique of the mass commercialisation and Western soft power in international education, there has been little attention to understanding how acquired international education may impact people's ability to debate, reason, and generate democratic freedom that may expand social justice within and beyond national boundaries. Without consideration of the social contexts that people exist and operate in, and their effects on people's choices and actions, the linkage of education and human development is often presented as instruments of economic and political rationalism. Without a focus on individuals and their communities, international education as a mission misses the opportunity to realise its potential in developing international students' critical perspectives of themselves, their societies, their roles in their societies and the capacity to see the world with the eyes of others.

This paper calls for rethinking international education towards a transformative agenda to engender international students' self-determination,

¹¹ Altbach, 1989; 1999, 2014; Knight, 2014; Macgregor, 2014; de Wit and Jooste, 2014.

¹² Walker and Unterhalter, 2007.

self-reflection, agency and citizenship that would enable them to make valuable personal and social change for them and their communities when they return to their homeland. It argues for a reconceptualisation of the vision of international education to include both the instrumental objectives of skills development and jobs procurement, as well as the intrinsic value of creating substantive opportunities for people to live the lives they value. It further argues that there is a need to move research from institutional perspectives of international education providers to those of international students and graduates focussing on their personal and civic commitment within their home communities.

In the context of this paper, the terms “West” and “Western” generally refer to countries in the geographical regions of Europe including the United Kingdom, North America, and Australia and New Zealand in the Pacific region. The terms “Anglo-West” and “Euro-America” are also used interchangeably with the same meaning. The terms “Asia” and “Asian” generally refer to countries in the geographical regions of East and South East Asia, and South Asia.

This paper has four parts. The first part sketches the current discourses on international education in the emerging knowledge societies of Asia. It critiques the parochial Anglo-Western values in international education discourses and calls for contending viewpoints that consider diversity of students’ cultural and social values. The second part presents Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach (CA) as an alternative framework for viewing and evaluating international education. The third part discusses the operationalising aspects of the CA in the practical contexts of its philosophical status and considers the potential of its epistemological benefits. The last part concludes the paper by summarising the discussion about the merits of the CA as a conceptualising and evaluating tool for international education.

The role of international education in a knowledge society

The idea of the knowledge society is far reaching, capturing the complex and dynamic societies across the world and the interdependencies between them.¹³ The knowledge society relies upon the imagination and ingenuity of its people to create new possibilities, directions and outcomes. As such the knowledge society requires people to have intuition, imagination, interpersonal skills and communal responsibility to share ideas, experiences and solutions.¹⁴ The United Nations in its 2005 report ‘*Towards Knowledge Societies*’, emphasises an agenda of human development where there are opportunities to cultivate human creativity and enrich tacit knowledge.¹⁵ As Harris et al (2013) argued, the role of education in the knowledge society predicated on continuous learning and creation of originality and ingenuity, particularly in scientific, technological and research innovations.¹⁶ More importantly, it raises questions about the nature, purpose and function of education and education systems. There is a need to focus not only on individual learning and outcome but also on individuals working together to enhance creativity, performance and outcome. This commitment to social responsibilities is fundamental to the workings and maintenance of a knowledge society.

The notion of “knowledge economy” in Asia

In reality, the practices of educational systems in emergent knowledge nations of Asia have to a great extent been about developing human capital to contribute to economic value. Wealth and creation in the economy is assumed to be dependent on high level of skills acquired by individuals through education. These economic ideologies transpire the idea of the knowledge society to narrow assumptions of the knowledge economy where education is pursued for vocational outcomes and financial rewards.¹⁷

¹³ Welch, 2013.

¹⁴ Harris, Jones, Sharma and Kannan, 2013.

¹⁵ UNESCO, 2005.

¹⁶ Harris, Jones, Sharma and Kannan, 2013.

¹⁷ Welch, 2013.

The phenomenon of the knowledge economy in Asia serves as a stimulus in the race to internationalisation practices of universities in Europe, North America and the Pacific, particularly universities in the United Kingdom, Australia, and to a lesser extent those in the United States, Canada and New Zealand.¹⁸ According to Knight (2013), the rationales underpinning the process of internationalisation in the last two decades have shifted from social and cultural motivations to increased commercial competitiveness and strategic alliances.¹⁹ The competition between nations and regions increases the importance of international education as discursive practices of economic actors.²⁰ The reaction to and support for the ‘competition’ agenda presents free markets as appropriate in delivering and evaluating higher education where universities are managed as entrepreneurial business entities with international students as customers.²¹ At the same time, the emerging economic growth coupled with the operation of multinational corporations in Asia implies a form of economic imperialism and knowledge capitalism that rationalise education purposes.²² Knowledge production and transfers are viewed as means to fulfil economic motives of a knowledge economy that justify commercial activities by universities in the Asian region. The consequence is that practical and applied value of knowledge is seen as having a strategic occupation in the knowledge economy where universities’ performance and graduates’ outcomes are measured on ranking and employment outcomes. The role of education is thus seen as equipping students to meet the impetus of educational status and income generation over the importance of socialising students to be active citizens in civil society of their nation and of the world.²³

Patrick (2013) refers to the narrow representation of the knowledge society as simply the knowledge economy as a *doxa*, as if it is an objective truth that credential-prepared people are able to make choices and act to

¹⁸ Brandenburg and de Wit, 2011; Marginson and Considine, 2000; Rhoades and Torres, 2006.

¹⁹ Knight, 2013.

²⁰ Knight, 2013.

²¹ Olssen and Peters, 2005.

²² Choi, 2010; Ng, 2012.

²³ Knight, 2013.

realise their full potential in the labour market.²⁴ Yet, those choices are limited to those that they can observe and command in accordance with their position in the market place.²⁵ Viewing education only for the economy surrenders people to the conception of ‘value’ that depends on economic exchanges primarily in the market place, rather than engagement with knowledge as enabling individual and social development within a set of broadly conceived development aims.²⁶ When knowledge is narrowly construed as having economic value and economic value is dominant, the person to which knowledge is acquired is disempowered and robbed of his/her opportunities to make real personal and social change.²⁷

The soft power of Western knowledge

This paper centres on the context of Asia, thus it refers to international education in relation to mobility programs between Asian and Euro-American countries. It does not consider other forms of regionalisation programs like Bologna or Erasmus processes because within Europe, these programs have lighter knowledge transfer due to similar cultures and communication mechanisms compared to those between continents,²⁸ aided by a distinctive European managed process of internationalisation with salient political and cultural objectives of convergence and collaboration between countries and institutions.²⁹

Teichler (2004) argued that international education programs between continents, those programs between Asia and Europe, North America and Australia, tend to result in vertical knowledge transfer from nations with higher knowledge to those with lower knowledge, and that knowledge exporting nations actively engage in shaping the types of knowledge transfer for their national interest. The economic prevalence in Asia stemming from the idea of knowledge economy as constituting

²⁴ Patrick, 2013.

²⁵ Pham, 2013.

²⁶ Turner, 2012.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Teichler, 2004.

²⁹ Marginson, 2007; Robertson, 2009.

demands for international education has thus a further disempowering effect at the national level as universities in Asia strive to borrow policies from the Euro-American nations. Marginson (2007) refers to this as knowledge that relies on “subordination of peripheral countries to Europe-American intellectual dominance of research concentration and knowledge flows”. The “Big Five” host nations of international students are the US, the UK, Germany, France and Australia, with the US leading in terms of top research intensive universities and can attract talent from countries in Asia.³⁰ The relationships between the West and Asia are thus constructed in a reductionist viewpoint of the West possessing the expertise, technology and management, and education that Asian countries lack thus desire and seek from the West.³¹ It is this lack of expertise and capacity that is portrayed as the problem of Asia and economic development can be achieved by acquiring Western education. The emphasis of knowledge in this context is in response to catching up with the demands of globalisation and advance of technologies that are in line with Western values and through the use of English.³² Under this framework, international students’ identities are discursively manufactured as seekers of positional goods who will gain monetary rewards in the labour market abroad or at home without really considering their subject locations in either location. They are assumed to be global citizens with global and diverse tastes, senses and values that would allow them to fit into a global Western democratic society and capitalist economy, and that they can utilise these acquired tastes, senses and values to participate in society and achieve labour market advantage wherever they are.³³ However, as Gustavsson (2014) noted, rather than agreeing or rejecting Western values, we should be examining the power of interpretation and application of these values and impact to the lives of diasporas as they return to their local communities.³⁴

³⁰ Kell and Vogl, 2012.

³¹ Marginson, 2007, 2008; Choi, 2010; Welch, 2013.

³² Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994; Choi, 2010; Mahbubani 2007.

³³ Waters, 2009.

³⁴ Gustavsson, 2014.

Contending viewpoints

It is always problematic to try to align the values, knowledge and skills acquired from the global to the local because people's everyday practices respond to local conditions and contexts. When overseas trained graduates return to their home countries, they actively live and their motivations and actions are shaped by their local political, economic and social influences. The new skills and values that graduates have acquired overseas are adapted to their local environment.³⁵ A framework of interpretive analyses of processes of applying skills and knowledge learnt from global that draws on localised traditions and values can bring about opportunities to question the scale of politics and policy of education for ethical development.³⁶ Reflexive aspects of the individual returnees in terms of their positions in their communities ought to be examined to understand the significance of acquired international education in enabling or restricting their agency as local and global citizens.

The idea of the knowledge society demands thinking about human beings as agents who are in charge of their lives, where educational values are about what people can do with their knowledge. Under this conception, development of educational processes are about creating the kind of knowledge that enable people to make choices that they value rather than accommodating to those that are imposed on them.³⁷ International education can advance knowledge production and transfers when people foster diverse cultural values and openness, as well as having respect for their own cultures and traditions. This can only be achieved if international education is about creating and sustaining mutual advantages between countries, universities and students that are based on mutual human interest and altruism in conjunction with economic benefits. The link between education and individual productivity due to labour market advantages cannot be assumed because the extent to which people can exert their agency and their choices depend on their social, cultural, economic and political resources.³⁸ It is thus important that we understand

³⁵ Brooks and Waters, 2013.

³⁶ Ozga and Lingard, 2007.

³⁷ Welch, 2013.

³⁸ Patrick, 2013.

how international education impacts people in different parts of the world.

The particularity in the case of Asia is multi-fold. First, there has been significant economic growth in the past two decades for East Asian nations such as South Korea and China, and in other parts of Asia like India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam. Second, the significant increase in the number of international students come from Asia is attributable to the region's economic growth and industrialisation progress, which has led to requirement for human capital, and increased private wealth in many nations. Third, the tremendous flow of international students from Asia to Euro-American countries is a reflection of Asians' pursuit of employment opportunities and skilled migration³⁹ in these countries, as well as their perception of the superiority of Europeans and North Americans. According to Mahubani (2007, 2008), 'mental colonisation' of many Asians due to many years of colonisation as in the case of Vietnam, or a lesser extent, Indonesia, Hong Kong and India, have led to embedded desires to catch up with the West by emulating the West.⁴⁰ Fourth, following from the works of scholars including Chen (2012) based on Takeuchi's (2007) "Asia as Method", and Connell's (2007) "Southern Theory", there are different conditions of knowledge that are in Asia today and if we compare patterns of modernisation processes in Asia to Europe and North America, then we may be able to recognise that Asia's mental colonisation is her complicity in moving towards capitalist imperialism in higher education. Fifth, such recognition may allow Asian scholars, policy makers and citizens to find a right balance in educating their students to be open to technological advances of the interconnected global universe, but remain conscious of indigenous cultures, in order to define their own personal, social and national identities and enhance their place in the world. The balancing act requires understanding of compatibility of the value systems between Anglo-Western and Asian traditions, and different utilisation of returnees' overseas-acquired competences and knowledge compared to those living in the West. Sixth, echoing Gustavsson's (2014) idea of '*bildung*' as a development of humanity

³⁹ Brooks and Waters, 2013.

⁴⁰ Mahubani, 2007, 2008; Takeuchi 2007, Chen, 2012; Connell, 2007.

by relating to other human beings,⁴¹ examining particularism of Asia and Asian international students may also enable scholars in Europe-America to understand how Asian minds work in their aspirations to search for modernity while keeping to their traditions.⁴² As Connell (2007, 2014) noted, which echoed Spivak's (1994), the West can go further than identifying the subaltern by recognising subaltern voices; with that is responsibility of structuring relationships to provide space for subalterns to do good and feel good without the implicit assumption of Western cultural supremacy.⁴³

de Wit (2014) calls on us to rethink and reinvent international education by moving away from economic rationales of globalisation and internationalisation, and decolonize international education from an elitist approach, where Enlightenment values are seen as necessary for development efforts that then legitimise them as universal values, toward a social contract approach that recognises local-global interdependence, where intercultural and international cooperation is the focus. Furthermore, enquiries into experiences of diasporas who return home may reveal whether they are able to leverage on their "elitist" ability to negotiate different contexts to be cosmopolitan agents, or whether they encounter cultural differences that inhibit their ability to justify their actions and realise their goals. There is much needed research into the heterogeneity of global elites to further understand the nature and workings of "elitism".⁴⁴ As Knight (2014) asks, "Do we buy in to soft power or should we think about mutual power? Do we want self-interests or mutual benefits?" Responses to these ideas and questions necessitate a shift in thinking about the aim of international education from a transfer of knowledge from the West to Asia towards understanding and committing to the diverse cultures of Asian students. If we understand and use plurality of Asian students' values and cultures to enhance and challenge ethnocentric lens of Western education through research, then we might develop

⁴¹ Gustavsson, 2014.

⁴² Mahubani, 2007.

⁴³ Connell, 2007, 2014; Landry and Maclean, 1996.

⁴⁴ Brooks and Waters, 2013.

more theoretical insights about the reach and impact of international education.

Furthermore, if the current processes of international education are about hegemonic forces, and these forces are misrecognised, then we might miss opportunities to realise intrinsic value of education and cultural diversity of international students.⁴⁵ If we attend to it as humanising processes, then we can prepare students to be critical and democratic to address local and global issues with confidence and voice, and shape sustainable development and international collaboration in a highly interdependent world. As Bottery (2006) argued, international education should involve developing human flourishing and forging of communities together for ethical development.⁴⁶ What seems to be also missing is space to evaluate whether international education actually enhances students' learning, skills and knowledge as resources to live the kind of lives that they want. In this regards, benefits should be seen at the level of students as much has been about institutions. The vision and evaluation of international education could consider diasporas and returnees from overseas studying as active social and political agents who can negotiate, interpret and contest their social worlds by mobilising and materialising their knowledge through which that world is constituted.

Rethinking internationalisation has been the attention of many scholars in the field in various ways such as redefining identity, reaffirming core values and purposes, and reorienting delivery pathways.⁴⁷ Drawing particularly on de Wit's (2014) call for attention to norms, values and ethics of international education (as part of internationalisation policies and practices), this paper calls for a research focus on international students' values, motivation, choices, resources and freedom to participate in society as reasons for and results of acquiring education abroad. Inquiries into the opportunities and achievements of international education graduates

⁴⁵ Yang, 2003.

⁴⁶ Bottery, 2006.

⁴⁷ Teichler, 2004; Egron-Polak, 2012; Brandenburgh and de Wit, 2012; Nahas, 2012; Hudson, 2012; de Wit, 2014; Knight, 2014; de Wit and Jooste, 2014; Altbach, 2014.

that question whether their actions reflect their own values of how they want to live their lives, may contribute to nuanced understanding about international education, and allow it to be a tool for reflection and tolerance of differences. Such an evaluative framework cannot be a universal set of checkpoints and must reflect upon the social, cultural, political and economic landscape that condition the values of graduates living in those contexts. This is no doubt pluralistic as graduates return home, they encounter contesting traditional values that are different to those acquired during their sojourns. In addition, graduates create new alumni and diaspora networks in their home countries. These new networks are forums where they share and exchange information, reflect on their new and old values and how these values mediate and mobilise their social positions. As Massey (1998) pointed out, people construct their own social imaginaries as agents in a global world and citizens of their nation.⁴⁸

What we need to do is understand their agency freedom, the potential for self-determination and how it is conditioned by resources and historically grounded conditions of power, but we also have to understand individual agency itself because self-determining freedom is conditioned by agency itself, by the imagination and capacity of agents to work within their limits.⁴⁹ The subjectivities of returnees and their influences on their communities hold much relevance to knowledge production and transfers. A systematic inquiry into dimensions of social, cultural and economic capital that people have as a result of acquired international education can allow us to understand how people engage in differing states of knowledge, power and representation. To understand the rationale and potential of international education to make a difference in people's lives, there must be a space to imagine transformation at a local level. Thus the social, economic and political conditions that impact values of a person must be accounted for and considered relativised to agency and freedom of the person.⁵⁰ In addition, we must not conceptualise local as something distinct from global and seek to examine the reflexive aspects of relationship between individuals and global world in the day-to-day

⁴⁸ Massey, 1998.

⁴⁹ Alkire, 2002.

⁵⁰ Sen, 1985.

experiences because individuals produce day-to-day actions actively in local conditions.⁵¹ From this basis, theorising international education can reflect on people's forms of transformation as a result of their education abroad and build upon the characteristics of their cultural uniqueness.⁵² The inquiry process would necessarily encompass intersecting and diverse informational and contextual principles of evaluative criteria.

The Capability Approach as an evaluative framework

This brings us to the potential of Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (CA) in viewing and evaluating education as it allows us to think about humans as ends of the process not as means to an end. The key features of the CA are now outlined to provide background and definitional terminologies, followed with a discussion of how the CA maybe beneficial as an evaluative framework for international education.

The CA has two parts: valuable doings and beings (*functionings*) and substantive opportunities (*freedom*).⁵³ Functionings represent multiple diverse things that people value doing and being, such as having food to eat, going to school, taking part in a political decision, being self-determined, being confident, being contented. The CA could thus be used to analyse all functionings of people in diverse situations, from rich to poor, from basic to complex functionings. The CA distinguishes between the *value* of doings and beings, and what people achieve doings and beings. In other words, activities or states that people do not value or have reason to value could not be called capabilities. For example, a person who is fasting is similar to a person who is starving in that they are both not eating and in a state of undernutrition. However, the fasting person could eat and chooses not to because he/she sees not eating as a valuable action, but the starving person has no choice and would eat if he/she could because he/she sees eating as valuable. Therefore, the fasting person can be said to have improved his/her capability by not eating, but the same cannot be said about the starving person. An analogy to this example in

⁵¹ Ng, 2012.

⁵² Altbach, 2014.

⁵³ Robeynes, 2011.

the context of international students, is distinguishing between the skills that graduates acquire overseas and the opportunities to apply them as they see valuable in their local workplace.

A person's *achieved functionings* at any given time are the particular functionings that he/she has successfully pursued and realised.⁵⁴ An evaluation that only looks at achieved functionings does not adequately capture the relational functionings, nor those functionings that people deeply value. For example, if an evaluation of acquired international education outcomes only takes into account the achieved functionings of, say employment rates or level of income generated, it misses out on functionings that may have been expanded or contracted, or those that people have not achieved but see as valuable, say independent learning, or openness to other cultures. The essence of the CA requires a discussion of any initiative or educational program to take account of what people value and have reason to value in those programs. Not all functionings are relevant to every program evaluation. It is important that in each evaluation, the values that people hold which motivate them to realise achieved functionings are made explicit, in addition to the assessment of those achieved functionings.

The second dimension of the CA is the *freedom* to bring about achieved functionings. Sen argues that a focus on achieved functionings, and the values that people have on those functionings is not enough.⁵⁵ It is also important to consider people's freedom to decide which path to take to bring about the achieved functionings. Sen argues that is important to evaluate freedom in this way because it has both instrumental as well as an intrinsic value.⁵⁶ He contends that a good life is one which a person has reason to value and achieve based on genuine choice, not one in which the person is being forced into by others' conception of what a good life is. From this understanding, essence of freedom is the option that a person is free to promote and achieve valuable functionings. Capability is thus a vector of functionings that reflects the person's freedom to

⁵⁴ Agee and Crocker, 2013.

⁵⁵ Sen, 1999.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

lead the type of life that he/she values. It is a budget set of real opportunities that people can use and that are open to them.⁵⁷

Sen's use of the term freedom needs to be clarified to avoid misconception of the CA. Freedom is defined here as the "real" opportunity that one has to accomplish what one values.⁵⁸ It is different to the idea of freedom as something that people hold theoretically or legally, but in reality they cannot reach. In liberalism, freedom refers to the idea of choice, but Sen argues that increase in choice per se does not necessarily lead to a meaningful increase in freedom unless the increase in choice options comprises the options that one values.⁵⁹ Another distinction is that freedom in the CA does not depend on the person's control, whereas in liberalism freedom tends to refer to something that one can control. In the CA, freedom can occur even if somebody else is exerting control. For example, a smoke-free workplace policy increases one's freedom if one values a smoke-free environment at work even though one does not implement or can make changes to the policy. An evaluation using the capability framework has to include both elements of functionings and freedom otherwise it risks being misrepresented.⁶⁰

The CA denotes a person's well-being in terms of his/her functionings and freedom. In other words, achievements indicate realised well-being, freedom to achieve indicate potential to well-being. According to Sen, people adapt their preferences and well-being to their cultural and socio-economic contexts.⁶¹ Therefore whilst well-being is an important consideration, an evaluation that is solely based on well-being risks missing opportunities to identify real opportunity for improving conditions for human flourishing. It is more fruitful to think of human as ends and in that they are able to reason their values and aspirations towards these ends.⁶² An evaluation that takes account of "values" is thus not limited by the circumstantial factors that people have to contend with as it assumes that

⁵⁷ Robeynes, 2011.

⁵⁸ Alkire, 2002.

⁵⁹ Sen, 1993.

⁶⁰ Robeynes, 2011.

⁶¹ Sen, 1985.

⁶² Sen, 1997.

people have the capacity to reason and make informed decisions about their lives.

The CA emphasises the agency notion, as it centres on how people shape their own lives in light of their goals to bring about change rather than simply being shaped or instructed on how to think. Agency is intrinsically important for freedom but also for collective action and democratic participation.⁶³ The CA allows for evaluation of agency as individuals and in cooperation with others.⁶⁴ It embraces agency through education that links outcomes with people's origins by making explicit people's cultural values and social norms in shaping participation in education, educational achievements and the conditions that give rise to such achievements.⁶⁵ It allows for questioning how people with education might make claims on resources and opportunities to realise what they aspire to do. It offers some conceptual elements that can be drawn upon to evaluate potentials of education to enhance one's quality of life and the circumstances around such potentialities. A sketch of a possible research approach to exemplify some of these elements is suggested in the next section.

Agency is important to consider as a purpose of education because if well-being is worthwhile then agency has to be seen as sense of well-being and is required for well-being to materialise.⁶⁶ This is because agency is important for intrinsically freedom and is also instrumental for collective and democratic participation. These two aspects are distinguishable and linked aspects of human life.⁶⁷ Agency enables individuals to develop a sense of self. As Patrick (2013) pointed out, agentic self can resist strong social suggestion by locating a position and role within social practices that is consistent with his/her subjectivity and identity. According to Sen (1999), a role of education is to expand human agency and freedom, both as an end in itself and as a means of further expansion of freedom. Thus

⁶³ Crocker, 2008.

⁶⁴ Ballet, Dubois and Mahieu, 2007.

⁶⁵ Unterhalter, 2003.

⁶⁶ Crocker, 2008.

⁶⁷ Sen, 1999.

learning to expand agency should encourage people to examine themselves and their place in the world, their subjective conditions and forms that they can use to consider the role of knowledge in imagining and developing their own futures. This is a powerful contribution that the CA can bring to argue for vision and processes of international education. Seeing education as linked to expanding a person's valued choices requires evaluation that goes beyond economic measures or quantitative indicators that relate to educational outcomes only, to understanding both intrinsic and instrumental purposes of education for human flourishing. The "normative" refers to the values that each person has that determines their preferences, choices and actions. Its emphasis on value judgement and ethical reasoning by and for people is the essence of its normative framework which can assist evaluative studies to investigate issues of distribution, justice and equality in education.⁶⁸

Operationalising the Capability Approach

The CA has been criticised for lacking the operational explicitness to allow empirical application. The critiques mainly focus on the lack of objective definitions and measurements of functionings;⁶⁹ the concept of freedom which is untestable empirically;⁷⁰ and the lack of auxiliary theory of what provokes choices and behaviours.⁷¹ It is argued here that the CA can be operationalised in two ways, based on the philosophical premise of freedom and the practice of participatory dialogue with participants in the context of the specific research problem. In the context of this paper, operationalising is discussed within the practical strand of the philosophical approach, not its empirical manifestation. The latter necessitates a separate in-depth discussion, which will not be attempted here, of the assumptions underpinning well-being, choice, behaviour, and use of additional theory to examine conditional factors of structure and agency. However, a brief outline of possible elements that may be used as analytic

⁶⁸ Robeynes, 2011.

⁶⁹ Alkire, 2002; Clark, 2005, Robeynes, 2006.

⁷⁰ Nussbaum, 1998, Pogge, 2002.

⁷¹ Agee and Crocker, 2008.

criteria will be sketched in an illustrative example of a case study in Vietnam.

The philosophical premise

Drawing on Kant's philosophy, there are two ways of viewing human beings, as empirical beings or as intelligible beings.⁷² If we look at human beings as empirical beings, humans cannot be capable of freedom because every exercise is conditioned by the influence social structures have on interests and desires. Any choice the person makes is a heterogeneous choice governed by some pursuit of some end. The will that drives agency could never be the first cause, only an effect of some prior cause.⁷³ From this viewpoint, agency is an instrument of one or others' impulse or inclination. On the other hand, intelligible beings act autonomously, out of free will, because their actions are based on reasons rather than choice. If we reason then we abstract from particular interests. It follows that if we think of ourselves as free, we cannot think of ourselves as only empirical beings but rather as intelligible beings. There is no need to prove freedom empirically because it is presupposed when human beings are viewed as intelligible beings.⁷⁴

Following Kant, Sen presupposes that people can see themselves as agents rather than objects.⁷⁵ If they see themselves as agents then they cannot disprove freedom, at the same time they act as objects which means they cannot prove freedom. Sen argues that human beings have to be seen from both standpoints of agency. The first standpoint is that as people consider themselves as belonging to the empirical world, they act heterogeneously in the contexts that they operate within. At the same time, they consider themselves as belonging to the intelligible world where they operate under the law independent of contexts and thus have grounds of operations in reason.⁷⁶ Autonomy under the CA rests on

⁷² Kant, 2013.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Kant, 2013.

⁷⁵ Sen, 2001.

⁷⁶ Kant, 2013.

these two standpoints of agency that operate simultaneously. People inhabit simultaneously both standpoints in the realm of necessity (empirical) and in the realm of freedom (intelligible). There will always be a gap between the two realms due to existence of social structures or the law of nature in the empirical world. Research in sciences cannot disprove freedom because it is not an empirical concept. We cannot make sense of free life if we do not presuppose it but at the same time we cannot prove that it exists.⁷⁷

The CA understands the role of education is to instil or foster in people the ability to reason because without reason, people will not have free will to come up with their own consent of their societies. The conception of what is good for them cannot come about without their ability and the freedom to reason it. According to Sen, people can come up with the notion of good life through the process of public reasoning and collective consent.⁷⁸ That is why Sen insists that the definition of capability cannot be restricted to a certain set of proposed capabilities as of utmost importance to be derived by one author.⁷⁹ The selection of capabilities is one of value judgement, which is also dependent on the purpose of the program or policy initiative. Here lies the complexity because people's values are involved both in the identification of purpose of the program and in the processes that these purposes are realised. The value judgements in the CA will need to be made on the ground over and over again with the people for whom the program is intended for. The selection of capabilities to focus on will have to be done repeatedly and for each evaluation,⁸⁰ because there is not one set of capabilities that can be universal and relevant for all situations.

⁷⁷ Sandel, 2010.

⁷⁸ Sen, 1999.

⁷⁹ Robeynes, 2011.

⁸⁰ Alkire, 2002.

Plurality and participatory dialogues

Robeynes (2008) argued that the CA allows heterogeneity of people and connects individual biographies and social arrangements through its emphasis on individuals' ability to rationalise their choices and actions ethically.⁸¹ The idea of individualism in the CA thus is an ethical dimension rather than a methodological base.⁸² The process of achieving functionings depends on people's ability to convert their social, cultural and economic resources and their personal attributes into functionings. In other words, it takes the individuals as the unit of evaluation when considering the outcomes of social arrangements, but does not assume that only individuals and their properties exist, nor that explanations are only in terms of individuals.⁸³ Social, cultural and economic factors contribute to different aspirations and participation in programs and the outcomes depend on intersecting differences of people's resources and social surroundings. An evaluation process through capability space considers whether social opportunities or social norms expand agency or diminish it and on the other hand, how agency contributes to social norms. The CA is mainly about an evaluative space and can be used with widely different positions on social reality and relationships.⁸⁴

Thus, the salient aspect of operationalising the CA is the engagement of participants in the process of evaluating capabilities because without that, researchers may run the risk of defining response categories in questionnaires that are biased and unduly reflect their own value judgements. As Sen (1999) argues, the participatory approach is about 'people decide on what count as valuable capabilities.'⁸⁵ In other words, attention will be on the process of making the choice to act not so much the action itself because education should be about the processes that explore systematic, cogent and effective use of the moral concerns that people have without telling them what the concerns ought to be.⁸⁶ It is important to be open

⁸¹ Robeynes, 2008.

⁸² Robeynes, 2011.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Robeynes, 2011.

⁸⁵ Sen, 1999.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

rather than follow specific content of capabilities as the CA concerns about participatory dialogue with people in conceptualising their capabilities. It centres on understanding people's cultural and social influences that may shape their idea of functionings and freedom, and the plurality of a conception of meaningful life rather than endorsing a particular view of good life.⁸⁷

Evaluating international education using the Capability Approach - an illustrative example

To illustrate a specific problem for applying the CA, I come back to the vision and evaluation of international education outcomes. In the context of international students from Asia, it is important to understand the effects of their acquired international education in light of their countries' political, social, cultural and economic specificities, and with local views on education and its relationship to individuals and their society. The options that a person has depend greatly on his/her relations with others and on what the States and other institutions do. The CA is particularly focused on the opportunities that are influenced by social circumstances, such as demography and labour force, economic development and markets structure, culture and society.⁸⁸ These sociocultural factors can be examined at a country level or regions within the country. Given the limitation of space within one paper, and the philosophical focus of this paper, the following is offered as a sketch of a possible research design of a case of Vietnamese nationals who have studied overseas and returned home to illustrate the possible empirical workings of the CA. An actual research program would require much more in depth consideration of political, economic and cultural settings, individual circumstances, methodological application of auxiliary theory of what provokes choice and behaviours, and sociological analysis of agency and structures.

A possible way to approach research is to design a list of elements that serve as proxy indicators of capabilities that distinguish conditions of agency and achieved functionings of Vietnamese returnees. The former

⁸⁷ Sen, 1985.

⁸⁸ Dreze and Sen, 2002.

may include cultural and social conditions of power such as income, education, qualification types, disciplines, skills acquired, family background, political affiliations and social networks; motivation; goals; and values indicators. The latter may include jobs; civic actions; and well-being indicators such as satisfaction with job. These elements should be examined as connecting points which operate differently in different domains whether in the professional fields or in community participation fields. There are fields that are more bounded by political factors like law and government, and fields that are more open such as finance and information and technology, and some in between such as higher education. Individuals' positions within the organisations that they are members of shape their understanding and construction of opportunities that are permissible and relevant to them, which influence their preferences and choices making. Evaluation of capabilities then need to identify the factors that lead people to taking choice x or y, and specify how other variables for making preferences or taking choices are generated. Any restrictions would in practice be specific to the context of the individuals, or at least within the fields that they operate within. In addition, the skills and knowledge indicators can be expressed as resources to be surveyed and analysed in relation to achieved functionings. These elements of capability proxies are then surveyed and followed up with participatory discussion with research participants to understand further their conceptualisation and derivation, and how people make choices and use their resources to achieve their functionings.

It is essential that we also evaluate these elements at the individuals' levels in light of their social influences. For example, in the traditional society of Vietnam, fondness for learning and emphasis on morality in education are important sociocultural values. The Confucian traditions were adopted from Chinese colonialists and adapted by Vietnamese imperials to cement fundamental virtues such as benevolence, righteousness, ritual, knowledge and loyalty.⁸⁰ The embedded respect for learning and education as a form of social mobility, coupled with economic growth and competing dimensions of market economy, have encouraged studiousness and industriousness of its people. This has stimulated people especially

⁸⁰ Marr, 1981.

the youth to study actively and to seek opportunities to enhance their competitive skills and competencies, through international education.⁹⁰ Colonisation by China for 1000 years followed by years of domination by the France, Portugal, Japan and the US have also encouraged Vietnamese people to open themselves to foreigners' cultural ideas which they use to augment their own cultural resources.⁹¹ Participatory discussion with Vietnamese international graduates could enquire in depth about how these historical, social and cultural values may impact their aspirations for overseas studies, and predispositions to conception of their choices and actions that are embedded in foreign ideas, nationalism or both.

In addition, there should be consideration of socio-political aspects in conjunction with Vietnamese socialist market based economy in the evaluation of international education outcomes for graduates who return to Vietnam. The emphasis on economic necessity of education in a socialist transition economy could be examined in relation to their impact on Vietnamese graduates' ability to reflect and justify their own values. For Vietnam, nationalism is a salient aspect of national identity which the governments continue to foster at all levels. The patriotism and piety to the nation is bestowed and constantly upheld by the State as the most important Vietnamese ethics. At the same time, the Vietnamese government welcome foreign ideas and knowledge through development programs with bilateral and multilateral organisations. As with other countries in East and Southeast Asia, the higher education sector has also seen reforms that orient towards Western knowledge and ideas which have led to creating partnerships between local and foreign universities, and increased number of government scholarships for Vietnamese academics to study overseas.⁹² Drawing on the "values" indicators surveyed, and through interviews, we can examine the nuances of acquired international education in relation to the knowledge values and social contingencies that these overseas trained academics rely upon to go through the daily lives as interdependencies between local political governance and global

⁹⁰ Pham and Fry, 2004.

⁹¹ Marr, 1981.

⁹² Welch, 2013.

knowledge. In particular the capabilities that individuals realise as adjustment to local contexts may differ considerably to what they expect to achieve from international education.

These participatory dialogues can then be incorporated into the result of proxy capabilities indicators in the survey to compile a list of capabilities and achieved functionings. In other words, capabilities are drawn from voices of actors from the local contexts. Overtime, we can use capabilities and achieved functionings derived from other research in other domains or countries as proxy indicators of capabilities to be surveyed and evaluated and then reconceptualised in different sets of research problem.

Epistemological benefits of the Capability Approach for international education

Based on the theoretical reflections provided earlier in the paper, and some of the empirical dimensions sketched in the last section, I will now offer some implications for future research on international education through the concept of capabilities. The operational focus of the CA is upon characterising and evaluating gaps between potential and realised capabilities that assume association with a person's goals and agency for personal and social change.⁹³ The epistemological implications for using the CA thus are paramount because it asks us to consider whether the knowledge gained through international education can be liberating and emancipatory.⁹⁴ Acquisition of knowledge is thus far more open and goes beyond the learning that an individual can acquire. There is an emphasis on not only personal characteristics like cognitive skills or intellectual skills and social attributes, but on social, political and economic determinants that people have and can employ to convert their resources to derive real capabilities.⁹⁵ The central concern is not only what lessons are offered to students, but also what opportunities these students have and can make as a result of their education. By looking at graduates and their personal and social change through the lens of capabilities, the contrast

⁹³ Agee and Crocker, 2008.

⁹⁴ Unterhalter, 2009.

⁹⁵ Hill, 2003.

between rhetoric and social reality is understood as a process of enabling people to live more freely and fully by asking whether people develop the ability to criticise reasonings of their lives and their society, and make conscious ethical actions to bring about personal and social change.

As noted in the illustrative sketch of the operationalising the CA earlier, for any set of research problems, the problems are posed specifically and analysis is narrowed within the scope of the defined problem, thus capabilities are conceptualised at different levels in different problems. For the CA to retain its spirit of pluralism in information and principle, we must resist the needs to turn it into a set of list or checkpoints that can then be ticked off and filled.⁹⁶ The openness of the CA ought to be retained and used in a critical way with other disciplinary theories, as without this, the explications of the CA's incompleteness are not there and its implications are lost.⁹⁷

The other contribution of envisioning international education through the concept of capabilities is that it places ethical individualism at the heart of education, rather than national aggregated economic benefits or other quantitative educational measures like student enrolment or number of international partnerships.⁹⁸ Sen's ideas of functionings and freedom extend beyond economic values of education to look at quality of life between people and the information that could be provided to assess these comparisons.⁹⁹ Citizenship is accorded with Sen's (1999) idea of agency in enabling individuals to decide their education and converting their education aspirations into something that they value and can do.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Robeynes, 2005.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Walker and Unterhalter, 2007.

⁹⁹ Robeynes, 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Sen, 1999.

Summary of discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I reflect on de Wit's (2014) call for reconceptualising the vision of international education to articulate and justify purposes that are worthy of educational efforts and can serve as a valuable reference point for educational policies.¹⁰¹ On that basis, I argue for a rethinking of international education towards focusing on its role in expanding people's agency to enable them to be directors and actors of their own lives, who are able to conceive their own self-esteem in the global world and can realise their possibilities with local values and traditions. There is a space and place for connecting international education between Asia and the West to presuppose a tradition of cultural plurality, and ethical dimensions of development beyond the Western values of modernity, humanity, knowledge and learning.

I emphasize the importance of knowledge societies in Asia to not lose ground to the economic rationales of a knowledge economy. The new modes of knowledge production and transfers in Asia are fortified through international education at a fast rate and with that come opportunities and challenges. The opportunities are the growth of service sector and the weight of highly educated workers within and external to universities. The challenges are the increasingly market-based internationalisation of universities that borrow policies from the Anglo West either through direct transfer of scholars, programs and policies but also in terms of more international partnership programs and student mobility. Such programs have the consequences of infusing local universities with Western perspectives as a model for understanding and delivering higher education reform and internationalisation in market based formats, which might not be relevant or equitable for local communities, due to their lack of genuine value and high costs.¹⁰² A way to shift this paradigm is to envision an alternative viewpoint that can integrate the non-Western model and the Western model together through the experiences of a person. The CA offers such fundamental insight into the objective of education to develop human as ends not means. It allows

¹⁰¹ de Wit, 2014.

¹⁰² Altbach, 2014.

us to look at the context of research in international education through what international students bring home from the West.

In the emerging market of China, India, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong as international education host countries, the CA can also enable us to understand Asian perspectives of internationalisation through the eyes of Anglo-Western trained academics working in universities in these countries. In this sense, research through the lens of capabilities can examine reflexive aspects of the effects of international practices largely driven by Euro-America upon Asia, and at the same time, provides a shift to incorporate more pluralistic view of universities with multidimensional processes and attention to interculturalism. The focus is upon discursive production of individual values and goals and how colonisation may operate through people's choices and everyday practices. Rather than binary thinking of West and Asia or rejecting the West, the boundaries which reify differences can be bridged by acknowledging differences as barriers and re-contextualising representations of a knowledge society. As Aman (2013) noted, there are possibilities for local actors in the non-West to create their world of modernity and civil society beyond Western imperatives and neoliberalism.¹⁰³ This can and should be done through the will and deliberation of those who have studied overseas and thus should benefit from international education rather than from interests of providers of international education.

Noting the current writings of scholars in international education¹⁰⁴ and the Global Dialogue organized by the International Education Association of South Africa (IEASA) in 2014,¹⁰⁵ I reflect on the rationales of universities in Anglo-West nations in engaging in international education for knowledge dominance, economic interest, strategic alliance, global competition, and draw on the declaration of mutual benefit and more equitable and ethical global education agenda in international education. In recognising that benefits of international education are different among

¹⁰³ Aman, 2013.

¹⁰⁴ Teichler, 2004; Egron-Polak, 2012; Brandenburgh and de Wit, 2012; Nahas, 2012; Hudson, 2012; de Wit, 2014; Knight, 2014; de Wit and Jooste, 2014; Altbach, 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Macgregor, 2014.

actors, particularly for those in Asia compared to those in Europe and North America with similar cultures and knowledge values, it is important that leadership in international education programs across continents have equal opportunity to take part in constructing the conditions and shape the future of international education. This calls for a pathway of international education towards knowledge diplomacy and improved relations between nations at the institutional levels,¹⁰⁶ and a focus on individuals' human agency, civic values and global participation.

The ideal model of any society is where people have the real freedom to lead the lives they want to live and have reason to live. Through the lens of the CA, we can rethink international education towards that purpose for Asia's emergent knowledge societies, to allow people to examine their values, motivations and reason their chosen paths. The focus of the CA is on asking people to question the society that they live in, rather than take for granted the assumptions of a good life in a society that they happen to live in. Agency entails the capacity to make personal and social change. The goal for international education should allow people to conceptualise and mobilise their beings and doings in their societies as they see valuable rather than aligning to existing social norms without questioning them. We should then ask whether acquired international education transforms their lives, their actions and how they can use that to change their society.

From the perspective of the CA, the intrinsic value of international education is seen through the expansion of real freedom of people that put them above and in awareness of the economic oriented and ecclesiastical authorities. The CA does not underestimate the importance of economic participation as a goal of education, but it forces us to value graduates' involvement in social, economic and political initiatives in their lives. It opts for a qualitative self-referenced evaluation system that depend on the valuations that graduates make for themselves and the extent that their overseas education has enabled them to develop life projects that they have reason to value.

¹⁰⁶ Knight, 2014.

Thinking about international education in terms of capabilities allows us the space to conceptualise education towards enabling people to make real ethical changes for themselves and their communities. The concern with human diversity in social contexts renders the CA its deliberate incompleteness which allows its integration with other disciplinary theories to inquire into specific sets of research problems. More research into the capabilities that international students value in a wide range of countries can be fruitful in anchoring international education as a bridge for ethical human development.

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Sámi time, space, and place: Exploring teachers' metapragmatic statements on Sámi language use, teaching, and revitalization in Sápmi

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Rethinking international education through the concept of capabilities: a bridge to development in Asia's emergent knowledge societies

Lien Pham