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Developing a Bigger Picture: Re-theorising, Applying and Extending the Education in Small States Literature

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Introduction

This chapter builds upon existing research on education in small states in ways that reflect upon emergent theoretical perspectives and the wider international significance of this body of work to date. Priorities for ongoing research and development are identified, but, in doing so, the analysis extends beyond current parameters to explore the potential for new generations of comparative studies and new applications and lines of inquiry. Attention is given to innovative contributions that research in small states could make to improved international understandings of the challenges generated by climate change and global environmental and economic uncertainties; to the concept and experience of resilience; to education for sustainable development and the quality of education; and to the implications of such analyses for post 2015 education and development planning. The scope for future work in previously neglected arenas such as the Gulf small states, and European and post –Soviet and post-socialist small states, is also explored, along with an assessment of the potential for larger nations, for other disciplines and for the field of comparative education itself, to learn from the small states experience.

We argue that the potential of research on education in small states has often been marginalised, or at best under-acknowledged, in the international literature...when much can be learned from distinctive experience in such contexts by the wider international community. In doing so, we reflect upon our own recent research, draw particular attention to work carried out by and within small states, and develop a multidisciplinary perspective that acknowledges how similar observations are being made within other fields such as the political sciences. To cite recent work by Veenendaal and Corbett:

‘Small states are conspicuously absent from mainstream comparative political science. There are a variety of reasons that underpin their marginal position in the established canon, including their tiny populations, the fact that they are not considered “real” states, their supposedly insignificant role in international politics, and the absence of data. we argue that the discipline is much poorer for not seriously utilizing small states as case studies for larger questions. To illustrate this, we consider what the case study literature on politics in small states can offer to debates about democratization and decentralization, and we highlight that the inclusion of small states in various ways augments or challenges the existing literature in these fields. On this basis, we argue that far from being marginal or insignificant, the intellectual payoffs to the discipline of studying small

states are potentially enormous, mainly because they have been overlooked for so long' (Veenendaal & Corbett 2015, p.527).

Parameters for Early Work on Education in Small States

In previous work we have documented the origins and development of research relating to education in small states and have shown how much of this was initiated and sponsored by various Commonwealth agencies in the light of their distinctive mandate to support their member states 31 are classified as small states (Crossley et al. 2011).

Table 1: The World's Small States and Territories by Region¹

Region	Population < 1.5 million	Population, 1.5 – 5 million
Africa	Cape Verde; Equatorial Guinea; Gabon; São Tomé & Príncipe; <u>Swaziland</u>	<u>Botswana</u> ; Central African Republic; Congo (Republic of); Eritrea; <u>The Gambia</u> ; Guinea Bissau; <u>Lesotho</u> ; Liberia; <u>Namibia</u>
Americas	French Guiana (FRORD); Suriname	Costa Rica; Panama; Uruguay
Arab States	Bahrain; Djibouti ; Qatar	Lebanon; Mauritania; Oman; United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza
Atlantic	Bermuda (BROT); Falkland Islands (BROT); Faroe Islands (DENSG); Greenland (DENSG); Iceland ; St Helena (BROT); St Pierre & Miquelon (FRTC)	
Asia	Bhutan ; <u>Brunei Darussalam</u> ; Macao-China (SAR); Timor Leste	Georgia; Mongolia, <u>Singapore</u>
Caribbean	Anguilla (BROT); <u>Antigua & Barbuda</u> ; Aruba (NETHFA) <u>The Bahamas</u> ; <u>Barbados</u> ; <u>Belize</u> ; British Virgin Islands (BROT); Cayman Islands (BROT); <u>Dominica</u> ; <u>Grenada</u> ; Guadeloupe (FRORD); <u>Guyana</u> ; Martinique (FRORD); Montserrat (BROT); Netherlands Antilles (NETHFA); St Barthelemy (FROC); <u>St Kitts & Nevis</u> ; <u>St Lucia</u> ; St Martin (FROC); <u>St Vincent & the Grenadines</u> ; <u>Trinidad & Tobago</u> ; Turks & Caicos (BROT); US Virgin Islands (UST)	<u>Jamaica</u> ; Puerto Rico (SGUT)
Europe	Andorra ; <u>Cyprus</u> ; Estonia ; Gibraltar (BROT); Guernsey (UKCD); Isle of Man (UKCD); Jersey (UKCD); Liechtenstein ; Luxembourg ; <u>Malta</u> ; Monaco ; Montenegro ; San Marino; The Vatican	Albania ; Armenia ; Bosnia & Herzegovina ; Croatia ; Ireland ; Latvia ; Lithuania ; Macedonia FYR ; Moldova ; Norway ; Slovenia
Indian Ocean	Christmas Island (AUST); Cocos Islands (AUST) ; Comoros ; Mayotte (FROC) ; <u>Maldives</u> ; <u>Mauritius</u> ; Réunion (FRORD) ; <u>Seychelles</u>	
Pacific	American Samoa (UST); Cook Islands (SGNZ); Federated States of Micronesia ; Fiji Islands ; French Polynesia; Guam (SGUT); <u>Kiribati</u> ; Marshall Islands ; <u>Nauru</u> ; New Caledonia (FRORD); Niue (SGNZ); Norfolk Island (AUST); Northern Marianas (SGCUS); Palau ; Samoa ; Solomon Islands ; Tokelau (NZSAT); <u>Tonga</u> ; <u>Tuvalu</u> ; <u>Vanuatu</u> ; Wallis & Futuna (FROC)	<u>New Zealand</u>

Source:(Crossley et al. 2011)

Notes: Countries in **bold** are members of the United Nations. Countries underlined are members of the Commonwealth. Data refer to 2008.

¹ This table does not include some territories which are not permanently populated or which have populations with few or no students.

It is pertinent for the current discussion that even the Commonwealth, whose benchmark for small states is those with a population of 1.5 million people or less, has a formal definition that ranges well beyond this parameter to include significantly larger countries “that share similar characteristics” such as Papua New Guinea where the population is now 7.3 million. Beyond the Commonwealth, Martin and Bray (Martin & Bray 2011, p.26) point out that around 46% of the polities of the world, or 89 states and territories, have less than three million people, further highlighting the range and significance of this grouping in the international arena.

Seminal work by Brock (1984) informed the influential Pan-Commonwealth Conference on Education in Small States that was convened in Mauritius during 1985. This did much to establish the foundations for the continuation of such work by the Commonwealth in subsequent years, and this helped greatly in generating a related international literature. For further insights into this history Bray and Packer’s (1993) book is helpful, along with a Commonwealth study by Crossley and Holmes (1999) and a more recent review published by Brock and Crossley (2013). For present purposes, these publications reveal how the Commonwealth origins came to define the scope and parameters for much of the work carried out on education in small states. In practice, this means that not only is the existing literature on small states somewhat marginalised in the wider social sciences but, in the field of education, work that has been done is highly concentrated on the small states of the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. To some extent, a further concentration on these three regions has been generated by UNESCO’s more recent efforts to stimulate and support work on small island developing states (SIDS) (see for example Atchoarena et al. 2008), which have a priority status in UNESCO’s medium-term strategy. The 2005 Mauritius Strategy (United Nations 2005) made a ‘call for action in many fields related to UNESCO’s concerns, programmes and priorities’ (UNESCO 2009), which led to the development of the UNESCO SIDS Platform, launched in 2008 to address the multidisciplinary concerns facing the sustainable development of SIDS.

Renewed Interest and International Attention

One additional parameter that influenced the nature of much of the early work on education in small states relates to an initial focus upon the problems encountered, and the vulnerabilities and fragilities of small states. Writing from the end of the 1990s from within small states, researchers such as Baldacchino (2001) were some of the first to point to the limitations of the predominance of such negative perspectives, and to some extent this influenced renewed interest in the small states literature...and in the positive lessons that can be learned from their experience. The post 2000 wave of work on education in small states has thus done more to challenge the pervasiveness of the vulnerability parameter, and has been increasingly well informed by local researchers and a diversity of paradigmatic approaches, including indigenous knowledge, postcolonial analyses (Thaman 2009; Koya et al. 2010; Crossley & Holmes 2001) and comparative and critical policy analysis (Mayo 2008; Jules 2012; Louisy 2004). A Special Issue of the on-line journal *Current Issues in Comparative Education (CICE)*, for example,

focussed international attention on the “Fragilities, Vulnerabilities and Strengths” of education in small states, arguing that: “ ...the raison d’être of small states research is more pertinent now than ever ... and continues the resurgent discourse about what we can learn from them” (Jules 2012, p.5).

Other recent work that testifies to the international impact of a contemporary phase of renewed attention includes research commissioned and published for the 2009 (Kuala Lumpur) and 2012 (Mauritius) Conferences of Commonwealth Education Ministers (CCEMs) (Crossley et al. 2011; Heibert 2012); the convening of the 2009 UNESCO/IIEP Education Policy Forum on Tertiary Education in Small States (Martin & Bray 2011); the development of the Commonwealth of Learning’s Virtual University for the Small States of the Commonwealth (VUSSC) (Commonwealth of Learning n.d.); and ongoing UNESCO led initiatives with SIDS worldwide (Baldacchino 2008). Our own research for the Commonwealth is marked by clear recognition that in many respects small states are ahead of many others in terms of progress toward the achievement of Education for All (EFA) targets and Millennium Development Goals (MDG). At the basic education level, for example, many small states have long achieved access for all, and were leaders in pushing the boundaries of global discourse in favour of initiatives designed to prioritise education quality and equity. Moreover, they were also some of the first to challenge global discourse to re-prioritise tertiary education and training. This recognised that this sector is crucial for nations that need to develop all of their scarce human resources to the highest level for active participation in the modern, global knowledge economy. To cite our 2011 findings, small states have:

‘been among the first to extend the concept and boundaries of basic education to prioritise secondary and higher education and, in tune with early EFA agendas, to reprioritise adult and lifelong learning. They have done much to pioneer efforts to move beyond what have long been the dominant global goals and targets, and to prioritise skills training for the modern economy, strategies to deal with the migration of teachers and other professionals, the expansion and strengthening of higher education and the use of ICT.’ (Crossley et al. 2011, p.56)

At the broadest level our own research has also challenged the dominant focus on state and system levels by highlighting the emergence of widespread concern with the implications of global economic and environmental uncertainties...including the impact of climate change and sea level rise....for education within and beyond small states (Crossley & Sprague 2014). Having said this, while some parameters have changed, the focus of much research on education in small states continues to focus upon SIDS and the three global regions of the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. It is to the implications of this, and to emergent lines of innovative enquiry, that we now turn in the next section.

Potential for New Generations of Comparative Research

While the continuation of work along well established lines in small states is still called for, there are increasingly important opportunities opening up for innovative research that explore new lines of enquiry and new multidisciplinary, methodological and theoretical applications and developments.

ESD, Climate Change and Global Uncertainty

Emerging from our own work for the recent CCEMs the theme of sustainable development has opened up what we believe are clear ways for the wider international community to learn FROM the experience of small states. With regard to climate change and increasing global uncertainty SIDS are, as we have put it, at the sharp end of the challenges, and because of this they have much experience from which the international community can learn. In terms of the focus for this current volume, other states have big lessons to learn from small states.

It is such thinking that informed our work throughout 2014 which focussed upon the realities of living with environmental change and uncertainty from the perspective of small island states. The central line of argument, and a focus for ongoing research, that characterises this work suggests that small island states are some of the earliest to experience the most dramatic realities of climate change...particularly those of sea level rise, groundwater salination and the resulting threats to food security and stability. We argue that this 'sharp end' experience has therefore positioned small island states as forerunners in the development of new ideas, approaches and technologies to combat these challenges. As such, there is much that larger states, and particularly low lying coastal communities, can learn from the early experience of small island states. To explore these issues in depth, in July 2014 a two day multidisciplinary 'Learning from the Sharp End' conference and research workshop was held at the University of Bristol Graduate, School of Education, organised by our Education in Small States Research Group in conjunction with the University of Bristol Cabot Institute and the Wales and Zanzibar based NGO Sazani Associates. This event provided a multidisciplinary platform for researchers, practitioners and policy makers to highlight the experience of small island states in living with climate change and uncertainty, and to explore the implications of this for Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) (University of Bristol Cabot Institute 2014).

International partnerships as methodology

This two day event also reinforced the fact that there are many shared experiences between the three global small state regions (the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Pacific) in facing the challenges of living with environmental uncertainty as a small island state. There was an evident desire from delegates to build upon the synergies of the event to enable further collaboration. As a result, one of the outcomes of the Sharp End conference was the establishment of a UN Small Island Developing States (SIDS)

Partnership. This Partnership (UNDESA 2014), which was launched at the 3rd International Conference on Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in Samoa, is now facilitating cross-regional work in the areas of education and training, the blue and green economy, ESD, teacher education, resilience and more.

While international research partnerships are not a new method of collaboration, they are seen to hold significant potential (Barrett et al. 2011), and this large global Partnership, involving more than 22 institutions across three regions, provides one way forward for small island states to act as a larger entity and with a collective voice. It provides a new space for exploring and sharing common experiences and for uniting participants to better position small island state voices in the broader global discourse.

The concept and experience of resilience

One of the new research projects that is developing under the umbrella of the Sharp End Partnership is a qualitative exploration of the concept of environmental resilience in the light of the experience of small island states. As an extension of our work on climate change and global uncertainty, the starting point here is the argument that SIDS have been some of the first countries needing to exhibit environmental resilience due the increasing frequency of extreme weather events, sea level rise and the other effects of climate change which threaten social, economic and environmental security. Yet, resilience remains a chiefly western-oriented concept, largely championed by United Nations entities, informed by research groups such as the Stockholm Resilience Centre and put in the spotlight by philanthropic organisations such as the Rockefeller Foundation with its 100 Resilient Cities project. Our own study is identifying the ways in which small island states understand resilience, including culturally-informed and embedded forms which could strengthen and enrich the international discourse. As a three region comparative study, this is work that demonstrates the larger theoretical potential of research in small states and a study that helps to address one of the challenges that the current volume aims to take up, namely that there is a predominance in the small states literature of single country case studies.

The resilience study also points to an emerging shift in the positioning of research on small states which helps to open space for innovative lines of theoretical development. In this case a change is seen to be emerging that can be characterised as a vulnerability to resilience shift (Sprague forthcoming). As indicated above, for many years the international literature on small states in many fields has focussed upon the concept and implications of vulnerability. When compared to larger states, it has been argued that small states are more vulnerable to external shocks, particularly in the economic arena. In the light of this sustained work, some of which has been conducted for the Commonwealth, led to the development of a small states vulnerability index (Briguglio & Kisanga 2004) that has been used to measure the inherent economic vulnerability of small island states in areas such as economic openness, export concentration and dependence on strategic imports. Such work has been highly influential in quantitatively and systematically demonstrating, and indeed leading to a consensus, that small

island states are more inherently vulnerable than larger states, particularly in terms of economics and are more prone to external shocks (Briguglio 2014).

More recently, however, this vulnerability discourse is changing to a focus on resilience, including attention upon how to foster and grow resilience, especially in SIDS. Discussions about resilience, for example, were evident in many domains at the September 2014 Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States in Samoa. New work with the Commonwealth Secretariat and UNDESA is also now emerging to develop ways of measuring resilience, and not only in terms of economics, but also with regard to social and environmental dimensions (Lewis-Bynoe 2014). This can be seen as a positive shift away from the tendency to position small states as fragile and dependent, and it is a shift that reflects parallel theoretical developments in the educational literature relating to small states as discussed earlier.

European, post-Soviet and other small states

While much of the work on small states necessarily concerns islands in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Pacific regions, considerable potential exists for other lines of enquiry into the small education systems of Europe. First, there is currently little comparative research on and about the micro states of southern and western Europe including Andorra, Faroe Islands, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino (Brock forthcoming). Many of these are, for example, states that exhibit robust economies, strong democracies, high quality education systems, and significant resilience in the face of increasing global uncertainty. Indeed, in the challenging political context of contemporary Europe, a wide audience may find that studies of European micro states could provide a unique and revealing unit of analysis for understanding the potential and limitations of political decentralisation and devolution, and of the related educational economic and environmental implications. During the run up to the 2014 Scottish Referendum, for example, politicians on both sides of the debate were seen to be taking an interest in the status, problems and prospects of small states worldwide.

Secondly, while educational transition or transformation in post-Soviet and post-socialist states is already an area of enquiry in comparative and international education in its own right (see for example McLeish 2003; Rado 2001; Silova 2009) there exists a unique opportunity to do much more to explore the experience and processes of that transition, while it is still recent, within the small states in this category. Such states, depending on the definition of 'small', include Albania, Armenia, Estonia, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro and Slovenia. Many of the education systems in these countries were subject to similar post-independence development reform packages, characterised by striking similarity in the approach to decentralisation, curriculum, assessment and the like (Silova 2009; Hogan- Brun 2010).

Other potential lines of enquiry are now emerging rapidly and this is becoming strategically important in times of heightened tensions between Europe, post-soviet territories and a re-asserted Russian state (Financial Times 2015). For

example, as states which were for a period of time part of a larger political and economic unit, since independence how do these relatively small states now position themselves? How are their educational systems responding to political change and in the face of global economic and environmental challenges, and further demographic shrinking due to emigration? How are the challenges of national and educational rebuilding in post-conflict situations different in small states, extending to contexts as diverse as Macedonia and Kosovo in the Balkans to countries outside of Europe such as Timor-Leste? And what might such new political entities learn from the earlier experience and existing literature, both theoretical and practical, on small states?

At the other end of the political and economic spectrum much can surely be learned from widening research parameters to include the experience of the richer small states of the Arabian Gulf, such as Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, or from elsewhere in the Muslim world such as Brunei Darussalam. Working from the University of Malta and the Euro-Mediterranean Centre for Educational Research, Ronald Sultana and colleagues have already begun to focus upon educational developments in Arab small states (Marawi & Sultana 2010) considering issues such as early childhood development and vocational education and training, and in developing regional collaboration. Brunei is also increasingly using its wealth derived from oil resources in developing as a higher education hub for Borneo and its neighbours (Brown & Rahim Derus 2013), and interest in our own work on education in small states has led to invitations to discuss local implications with policy makers in Sarawak, what can be seen as a small constituent state of the large nation of Malaysia (Crossley 2013). Within the same region is the small city state of Singapore which is often seen as a global model for education (Ponnusamy & Gopinathan 2013), although such discussions have rarely been incorporated in the small states literature. And what can be learned from a small city state perspective on the distinctive Chinese cases of Hong Kong and Macau?

Discussion relating to the richer small states helps to remind us of the diversity that exists within the small states categorisation, and the need for context sensitivity in the analysis of these differences (Crossley, 2010). It also helps to return our analysis to islands that do have financial strengths, such as a number of the British Overseas Territories (BOTs) including Bermuda and the Cayman Islands. The big implications for such contexts, and for the international community, of changes in global financial regulation mechanisms demonstrate the potential to be gained from according them greater attention, along with critical reflections on the economic and related educational challenges encountered by small states such as Iceland and Cyprus in recent years. While Overseas Territories are often located in the three traditional groupings of small states, including those of former colonial powers Britain, France and the Netherlands, they are also a diverse group that have received little focussed attention in the international literature (Fisher 2004). Here is scope for a further widening of the frame of reference and our units of analysis. In addition, the above discussion reminds us that diversity also relates to geographical size. Tjitemisa (2015) highlights this by referring to Namibia as a 'big small state', being that its geographical size is 823,290 square kilometres but with a population of only 2 million

The Bigger Picture: Looking Beyond Small States

The above analysis has already pointed to the potential for research on, within and with small states to contribute to bigger, and strategically important, theoretical debates relating to education and a diversity of other fields. By way of example, teacher recruitment protocols developed from Commonwealth small state initiatives are contributing to policy and practice in larger Commonwealth countries and to the related theoretical literature (Penson & Yonemura 2012). Similarly, research on small state migrations and diaspora offer further potential for sustained international consideration. While the parameters for small states research have remained relatively stable until recent times, it is also increasingly clear that widening the scope of analysis has much to offer not only small states, but also sections of larger states, such as coastal Bangladesh, that share similar challenges, and the wider international community.

At what is perhaps the broadest international level, the experience of educational development in small states has much to contribute to ongoing global post 2015 development planning. The last three Conferences of Commonwealth Education Ministers (CCEMs) in Kuala Lumpur 2009, Mauritius 2012 and The Bahamas 2015, have, for example, all featured specific sessions for small state ministers and officials, and all have presented opportunities for small state experience and perspectives to be fed in to international deliberations on the nature and form of post 2015 education agendas including the emerging Sustainable Development Goals. In doing so, the prioritisation of issues such as the quality of education and ESD have loomed large; along with locally grounded perspectives on the limitations of oversimplified and one size fits all global targets and agendas in the light of small state responses to the EFA and MDG era. As argued elsewhere:

‘As targets and goals for the post-2015 era are now being formulated, this small state experience can help to caution against the similar replication of a new set of fixed, universal and inflexible educational goals and targets. In the light of this experience the strengths and limitations of global agendas can be more clearly assessed and, while some may use this to challenge their basic rationale, it can also be argued that a greater degree of contextual flexibility has much to offer, if willing engagement with such global agendas is to be maximised and if the extent of successful implementation in practice is to be increased.’ (Brock & Crossley 2013, p.399)

Implications of such thinking also help to reinforce the traditional rationale for the commitment of comparative researchers to context sensitivity in both education policy analysis and the advancement of theory (Crossley & Watson 2003). Moreover, returning to the opening quotation for this chapter, this captures the spirit of Veenendaal and Corbett’s call for greater attention to be given to small states in other disciplines and fields such as the political sciences.

Conclusions

In concluding, it is argued that while research on education in small states has its own distinctive history and potential, its achievements and significance are often undervalued and marginalised, as is the case for parallel work in other fields and disciplines. However, we also wish to underline the argument that:

‘With rapidly increasing interest from both the USA and China in the small states of the Pacific it is certainly clear that the strategic and political significance of small states will be increasingly important in the future, and this, in itself, calls for further multi-level, ‘scalar’ research in such contexts within and beyond the field of comparative education’ (Brock & Crossley 2013, p.399).

In a world characterised by rapidly intensified globalisation, the efforts of the current volume to re-read and re-theorise existing educational research on small states in ways that better address contemporary challenges deserve concerted support, and it is in this spirit that we offer our own assessment of how small states research has the potential to contribute to a much bigger picture in the field of education and across the social sciences more generally.

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