

EDUCATION, SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY, AND GROSS NATIONAL HAPPINESS: TOWARDS A PARADIGM SHIFT

M. Kiwako Okuma-Nyström, Institute of International Education, Department of Education, Stockholm University, Sweden

Michiyo.Kiwako.Okuma@interped.su.se

Center for Pacific Asia Studies, Institute of Oriental Language, Stockholm University, Sweden
kiwako@orient.su.se

Theme: Social Transformation

Research domain: Education

ABSTRACT

Socialization is the lifelong process through which a person becomes a respected member of the society where he or she lives. Thus, socialization is a crucial process for sustainability of the society. School education occupies some space in the process of socialization, but there are phenomena that school education disturbs socialization of children and youths, and eventually social sustainability. This paper problematizes some aspects of school education, and suggests to develop new indicators of school education, so that school education can contribute to healthy socialization, social sustainability, and Gross National Happiness.

INTRODUCTION

Gross National Happiness (GNH) is a concept that silently challenges the indicator of GNP/GDP that has been used to measure the degree of development of countries. The GNP/GDP myth has been conditioning many aspects of the society, of which school education is one. The modern school system has the characteristic that children are gathered at a place called “school”, and are grouped into different grades according to their age. Schools in the modern system are often separated from surrounding social environments by walls or some kinds of physical barriers. School is a place where students are supposed to use identical textbooks, where students’ knowledge is measured in various ways, and where students are ranked based on several criteria. The modern school system has been the state apparatus that is closely linked to the state development [8]. For example, there are various examples of state-run school education that served an establishment of national identity and language. Tsurumi [48] states that there are always people who believe that the state has the right to control the school education. On the other hand, the state control on the school education has been criticized, and such a criticism is one of the reasons why decentralization of school education has been implemented in many countries in the world. However, decentralization has created many other educational problems as well [see 11].

The school system as an apparatus of the state (or the sub-systems such as the province) can create various problems regardless of the form of the system. However, one fundamental aspect that is found in common in various problems is that the ultimate goal of education is lost. Needless to say, the ultimate goal of any kind of education must be human development and human happiness, which in turn contributes to social sustainability. However, in reality, it is a kind of quasi-goals or instrumental goals of education that often replace the ultimate goal. For example, a quasi-goal of school education is often to produce employable citizens, and thus school education is utilized as an instrument. Such an instrumental goal, however, is often not met. When the school system is not functioning successfully,

the reasons for failures are often attributed to the socio-economic backgrounds, ethnic backgrounds, cultural backgrounds, and gender of the students. Many educational researches reveal that some students cannot perform well in the school because they have certain backgrounds. Then arguments go on that certain disadvantages of the students with certain backgrounds should be reduced, which is not a fundamental solution.

The overall aim of this paper is to search for an educational direction that leads to social sustainability and eventually to Gross National Happiness. More specific objectives are: (1) to describe conceptual frameworks in order to understand the current educational problems; (2) to depict some problems of school education that the present author has encountered; and (3) to suggest some aspects to be considered to develop new indicators of school education.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

“Big Happiness” and “Small Happiness”

Aoki [in 26] introduces concepts of “Big Happiness” and “Small Happiness”. Here, the terms of “Big” and “Small” do not imply quantified happiness, but happiness that is linked to different social levels. “Big Happiness” is defined as an ideal that the state pursues, while “Small Happiness” is an ideal that individuals and families pursue. In theory, “Big Happiness” and “Small Happiness” can be identical or at least close to each other. Sometimes there seems to be an illusion that “Big Happiness” and “Small Happiness” have a shared ideal, and that a realization of “Big Happiness” leads to a realization of “Small Happiness”. For example, McDonald [23] points out, “The underlying development philosophy of globalization seeks to maximize happiness through the cultivation of a narrow materialist self-interest and competitiveness, both at the level of the individual and at the level of the nation-state” (p. 1). Aoki [in 26] also states that the state has been a driving force of national economic development that is expected to bring about individual’s happiness. In Japan, for example, “Big Happiness” and “Small Happiness” were seen as almost identical during the rapid economic development, and people believed that national economic development would bring about happy lives to individuals.

However, “Big Happiness” and “Small Happiness” can be in conflict to each other, or one of them may be emphasized heavily while the other is almost neglected. In many countries, “Big Happiness” under the name of national economic development has undermined the importance of “Small Happiness”. Nishikawa [27] observes that in the modern society, happiness has been understood as an increase in material richness, but that the material development has actually produced poverty of mind. Recently, there are increasing numbers of people who would not connect material wealth with happiness, and would pursue happiness of different kinds. There are many scholars who point out that economic development and human happiness do not have any strong correlation [23] [27] [31]. For example in Japan, the economy grew seven times between 1985 and 2000, but the level of people’s satisfaction with life does not show any major changes during these years [27]. In Japan, national economic improvement and development (“Big Happiness”) have been prioritized at the expense of “Small Happiness” [24].

Here, it is useful to review the myth of GNP/GDP that reveals that GNP/GDP does not demonstrate wealth of a country. For example, negative social phenomena, such as traffic accidents, air pollution, and suicide, contribute to an increase of GDP if there is monetary transaction through formal economic channels. On the contrary, if an old person is taken care of by a family member without any monetary transaction through a formal channel, this work is not counted in GDP [24] [32]. Thus, increased GNP/GDP is not a proof of an improved standard of living, or human satisfaction and happiness. The conventionally used indicator of GNP/GDP has its stress on economic growth, and made an economic

growth as a quasi-goal of societies. Thinley [45] gives a critical statement towards the economic-growth-oriented development models, "...we infer rather boldly from improvements in socio-economic indicators that there might be growing happiness behind it" (p. 14), but the real face of GNP/GDP shows that it is a myth.

A pursuit of "Big Happiness" at the expense of "Small Happiness" is also observed in school education in many countries where education's contribution to "Big Happiness" is more pronounced than its contribution to "Small Happiness" in the educational discourses. School education as a state apparatus serves "Big Happiness", and "Small Happiness" in education seems to have been replaced by quasi-"Small Happiness", such as obtaining a high achievement and having increased freedom of educational choice, which do not necessarily contribute to human development and happiness.

Education in the Risk Society

In the current educational reality in many places in the world, school education has become a matter of risk for which individuals have to be responsible. A risk differs from a danger in that a risk is related to the future that is uncertain and unpredictable, while a danger is rather certain, predictable, and thus avoidable [14]. For example, choosing one school or one type of education today may or may not become beneficial in the future. In this case, one has to take a risk when s/he chooses a school or a type of education in the uncertainty.

In decision makings, individuals have to face and deal with risks in the institutionalized individualism where the individual may and must lead his or her own independent life. In order to avoid failures, individuals should be able to organize and improvise, set goals, identify obstacles, adapt to changes, and be prepared to start something new. Individuals need to plan for a long term, and must be flexible [3]. However, this does not mean that the individual is completely liberated from social bonds. The individual in the modern society may be liberated from constraints of old bonds, such as family and religious institution, but the old bonds are replaced by other guidelines such as labor markets and bureaucracy. The life is bound with "bureaucratic and institutional jungle" that "compel the self-organization and self-thematization of people's biographies" [3, p. 24].

As the roles of old institutions, such as the family and religious institution, became weakened, the demands for a wider role of educational institutions became stronger [8]. For example, Beck [2] states that in the risk society, pedagogical institutions are expected to cultivate the abilities in the students to handle insecurity. However, the pedagogical institutions themselves have, in some cases, become "institutional jungles" that compel the self-organization of people's biographies. With today's increasing freedom of school choice, for example, students and parents are forced to plan well, to foresee advantages and disadvantages of choosing a school, and to select the "best" school on their own responsibilities. However, it is those parents and students who are compelled to take all risks.

When there are social problems, there are two distinctive ways of dealing with them: removing the causes of the problems, or fighting against the symptoms only. Beck [2] states that in the risk society, the latter has been the case most of the times. He states that the non-fundamental solution of a problem in the risk society resembles a usage of chemicals for the purpose of merely alleviating symptoms, instead of making efforts to remove the real causes of a disease. If educational problems are to be seriously considered in search for their solutions, the most fundamental step to be taken is to reconsider/revisit the ultimate goal of education.

Socialization, Education, and Sustainability of the Society

Socialization and human development may be understood as almost synonyms. A person develops social competences that are accepted in his or her society in order to be integrated into that society as a respected member. This process is termed socialization [10] [15]. Socialization is an overarching concept that covers all different kinds of human learning, and it is through this process that a person becomes a social being [30].

The definitions of “learning”, “education”, and “schooling” made by Galtung [13] are useful to review here. “Learning” is a lifelong process in which the individual acquires different kinds of knowledge, skills, manners, values, and so forth. “Education” involves deliberate intentions of both teaching and learning, and thus involves social roles of the “teacher” and the “learner”. In “schooling”, teachers do not only teach, but also rank the students based on certain criteria. Schooling also produces those who are “schooled” and “not schooled”. Although school education extends only a limited period of time in the lifelong process of socialization of a person, it occupies a relatively large psychological space in human lives today, partly because school education is seen as a crucial determining factor for the later lives of people.

Illich [17] argues that most people acquire much of their knowledge outside the context of the school, and that education for all means education by all. He also states that “[e]qual educational opportunity is, indeed, both a desirable and a feasible goal, but to equate this with obligatory schooling is to confuse salvation with the Church” (p. 10). Tsurumi [48] describes how a person can learn various aspects of society and life outside the institutionalized educational setting. Smith [41] also points out that education and schooling are not synonymous, and that to think that education can be given only through schools is to take a part for the whole. It is important to re-confirm that school education is only a part of the lifelong process of socialization and human development, and that socialization is the process that is crucial for social sustainability.

Sustainable development is often seen in terms of protection and preservation of natural environment and resources. However, in Bhutan, sustainability has a broader definition, and includes preservation of culture and religion as well as natural environment and resources. Cultural sustainability is seen as the key for sustainable development, and is the goal of sustainable development [49]. Wangyal [51, p. 107] states, “Sudden changes and adoption of modern values could potentially alienate these people [farmers] and create social disharmony. Thus there is a need to provide a sense of continuity amidst change”. For socio-cultural sustainability, education plays crucial roles, although education is more often linked to social transformation than to social sustainability. It is also useful to point out the third role that education can play: education can promote socio-cultural revitalization.

REALITIES OF EDUCATION: SOME CASES

Urbanization and Social Non-sustainability

School education does not always contribute to socio-cultural sustainability. On the contrary, it sometimes causes a fragmentation of society or social non-sustainability [40]. This problem can be seen both from a psychological perspective and a social structural perspective. An example of the former is that well-educated people develop certain psychological state that they should not remain in rural areas, while the latter is connected to the urban emigration caused by the economic structural changes. In both cases, “Big Happiness” of socio-economic development and “Small Happiness” of a good life seem to have gone hand in hand.

A relationship between “Big Happiness” and “Small Happiness” can be seen in the current universal goal of Education for All (EFA). In many developing countries, “Big Happiness” is to realize EFA where education provides all children with learning tools, knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that are necessary for human lives [47]. However, in reality, this “Big Happiness” is often replaced by quasi-“Big Happiness”, that is to increase school enrollment rates according to the proposed timeframe pressure from the international community. This means that the original goal of EFA is minimized to a mere increase in the number of students in schools. At the individual level, on the other hand, “Small Happiness” may be to obtain as much schooling, and thus certificate, as possible. In this case, “Big Happiness” and “Small Happiness” go hand in hand. Then school education may create a “credential society” [9], and eventually brings about qualification escalation, which in turn may cause an increase in unemployment, underemployment, and human dissatisfaction.

For example, The Gambia has been successful with regard to a rapid increase in school enrollments in the primary and the secondary levels. This has given rise to qualification escalation in the country with the relatively small public sector. The public sector in The Gambia does not have the capacity to absorb all young people who have completed secondary school, which has resulted in a very high rate of unemployment among young people between 15 years and 29 years of age. Case studies conducted in two rural Gambian villages show that some of youths do not have employment, but they remain in urban areas and would not come back to the village to assist their parents on the farm [36]. Those who have been educated in the secondary school (especially the Western-style school) are “supposed to spatially and symbolically leave the illiterates behind. If they return to farm, that would be a failure” [16, p. 3].

It has been a long experience of the industrialized countries that educated population migrates to urban areas. Needless to say, this is not the problem that school education alone can solve, but is linked to the structural changes in the society. The industrialized societies have experienced urbanization as the economic structure changed from the agriculture-based economy to the industry-based one. With the emigration of the economically active age groups from non-urban areas to urban areas, there have been decreasing social services, including school education, provided by the state or local authorities [53].

The prevailing discourses of school education often adopt terms borrowed from the market principle, such as effectiveness and efficiency of school education, freedom of school choice, and competition between schools. Schools have become like commodities that are to be chosen, and school education is less public good, but more private good [1] [21] [42]. It is also revealed by scholars that the education that a child receives is often conditioned by the wealth and wishes of parents and place where the family lives [7] [38] [39] [52]. In the structural reforms oriented by neo-liberalism in some countries, schools in non-urban areas have been closed down under the name of efficiency, which causes social non-sustainability. Here, “Big Happiness” that pursues effectiveness and efficiency seems to be in conflict with “Small Happiness” of people who do not adopt those concepts as their ideal.

Uncertain Risk Society and Social Non-Sustainability

In Japan, there is a phenomenon of social non-sustainability in the recent years. That is a large number of “NEET (Not in Employment, Education or Training)”. The definition of “NEET” is the youths (approximately between 15 and 34 of age) who are not employed or enrolled in educational institution or training course, and are not making any effort to be employed or to obtain education/training. The number of “NEET” was about 640,000 in 2005 (Asahi News, March 4, 2006), but decreased by 20,000 in 2006 due to the improved employment situation (Asahi News, June 29, 2007). According to a questionnaire survey conducted by the University of Tokyo among its students in 2005, out of about 1,400 students who answered the questionnaire, 28.3 percent responded that they might become NEET. Those who have anxieties for the future and life course accounted for 83.3 percent. They are worried

about future employment (67.0 percent), and meaning and goal of the life (61.4 per cent). Those who suffer from uncertain anxiety accounted for 51.5 per cent (Asahi News, December 18, 2006). Since the University of Tokyo is regarded as Japan's top university where most of the students are "winners", these results surprised the university authorities. Although the reasons for their anxieties are not revealed, those students possibly suffer from the uncertain risk society, and university education does not seem to be able to mitigate the anxieties.

In Sweden, increasing pressures on school students and youths result in different kinds of school destruction. A recent newspaper article in Sweden (Svenska Dagbladet, August 10, 2007) revealed that at least one school per day on average is burnt in Sweden, and in many cases it is school students and youths who set fire to the school buildings. The number of burnt schools has increased drastically from 350 in 2004 to more than 500 in 2006. Increasing pressures on youths also affects their physical and mental health. Another newspaper article (Svenska Dagbladet, April 29, 2007) showed that today's youths in Sweden feel worse compared to their parents' generation in their young age. With the increasing standard of living, younger generations have always had better health (both physically and mentally) in the Swedish society, but this tendency has stopped.

In the Human Development Index, Sweden is ranked 5th and Japan 7th out of 177 countries [50]. Yet, there is scattered information which indicates that today's youths are dissatisfied with their lives, worried in uncertainty, and lost in various choices. Generally, in postmodern societies where basic material and monetary needs are met, other non-material satisfactions, such as meaningful life, good social relationships, enjoyable work, are pursued [18] [24] [32]. Needless to say, school education alone cannot be responsible to satisfy such non-material needs, because some aspects that worry the youths, such as high unemployment rates, are out of school's control. On the other hand, as Beck [2] states, pedagogical institutions are expected to prepare students to deal with insecurity, which is not well realized in reality.

Beck [2] points out that while individuals became the agent of decision-making for their own lives, problems of the system are sometimes transformed into personal failures. "In the detraditionalized modes of living, a new immediacy for individual and society arises, the immediacy of crisis and sickness, in the sense that social crises appear to be of individual origin, and are perceived as social only indirectly and to a very limited extent" [2, p. 89]. However, personalization of educational problems as well as solutions based on the personalization cannot be a fundamental solution. An example is that refusal of school attendance by school students in Japan was personalized and seen as a personal psychological problem, instead of being seen as a problem of social origin. A solution for this problem was to allocate a psychological counselor in schools [19]. Similarly, the issue of NEET was personalized. In order to reduce the number of NEET, the recruiting offices in Japan opened special counters for the NEET. In order to prevent different kinds of destructions of school buildings, many Swedish schools have now cameras set in the school buildings. These are typical solutions in the risk society in which attempts are made only to alleviate symptoms, without making efforts to solve the fundamental problems that cause the presence of NEET and school destructions.

The situation of uncertainty is not special in industrialized countries. In the above-mentioned two rural villages in The Gambia, parents increasingly feel that future of their children is uncertain and unpredictable. Those parents are forced to be into a situation where they must strategically make a choice between the *madrassa* (modernized Islamic school), the Western-style school, or both, for their children. The parents argue that since nobody knows which type of education becomes preferable in the future, a safe way is to send some of the children in the family to the *madrassa*, and others to the Western-style school. They are hoping that at least one type of education would bring about a gainful employment to their children. One parent even expressed that those parents were in a gambling situation

[36]. This is an example that school education, instead of nurturing human development, becomes a cause of risks.

Perception of Knowledge

The separation of school education from the holistic process of socialization can be seen from the perspective of knowledge and power. Certain types of knowledge or knowledge acquired in certain types of school may be seen superior to other types of knowledge. Foucault [12] states that scientific knowledge hierarchize other types of knowledge, and traditional types of knowledge become disqualified. It is scientific knowledge that has created discourses that are associated with power. In relation to the argument made by Foucault, it may be useful and interesting to cite David Suzuki's experience here. He describes his experience of visiting the World Wildlife Fund research station near Manaus in the Amazon rain forest. He describes:

Three scientists, frog experts, were there at the time, and their knowledge of their subject was impressive. One of them took us on a night hike and in pitch dark, could find frogs that were barely half an inch long. But when I asked about a bird ... and a strange plant on a tree, he shrugged his shoulders. "Don't ask me, I'm a herpetologist," he said. Yet whenever I asked Kayapó Indians on the Xingú River in Brazil about an insect, plant, or bird, they always knew it by name and could relate an anecdote about it. Scientific expertise is so narrowly focused and specialized that it can barely comprehend the dimensions and the interconnectedness of life [43, xxxvi].

The hierarchized knowledge is linked to "illusion" of the power and the superiority of certain knowledge. Those who are schooled may think that they are superior to those who are not schooled. Also different types of schools are linked to different kinds of knowledge. For example, some youths in a rural Gambian village see English competence (and indirectly the Western-style education) as superior to Arabic competence (and indirectly the *madrassa*), although Arabic has been in use in The Gambia since Islamization took place in the 11th century in the area [36]. The children in the village often have more school education than their parents, which leads to the situation that the children feel superior to their own parents. Some villagers gave the following statements:

Western education has made children feel that they know more than their parents and therefore don't respect their [parents'] views. In the past the people were poor and illiterate, but had respect; and

Morals are bad, no respect for elders because of education. People nowadays feel too good to learn, and they feel that they know all because they have been to school [36, p. 186].

Many villagers complained that today's youths do not follow the traditional values, do not respect the elders including their own parents, and deviate from the socially-accepted behaviors. Many adults in the villages attribute these problems to the Western-style education. They also observe that children educated in the Western-style school and children educated in the *madrassa* develop different types of identities, behaviors, and values. For example, those who graduated from the Western-style school, especially the secondary level, would not remain in the village. One villager observed, "Those with Western education tend to think that they should do only white collar work. Their expectation is too high, they don't want to do anything else" [36, p. 154].

Even if different types of knowledge may not be hierarchized, different types of school are connected to different and separate kinds of knowledge and different life courses of the learners. For example, in Bhutan, modern education is regarded as a means to acquire a better job and higher salary [20] [51], while traditional education is “more or less seen as an end in itself in the individual’s quest to remove ignorance and attain greater knowledge for its own sake” [51, p. 118], and is “viewed as a process of edification and knowledge as a tool for benefiting the world” [37, p. 100]. In the Gambian villages, villagers have divided perceptions of knowledge that is linked to different types of school. They think that education at the *madrass* is beneficial for the life hereafter, while education at the Western-style school is mainly for a better employment opportunity and its associated benefits in this world [36]. One problem here is that different kinds of knowledge that can be integrated as a holistic property of a person are seen as divided properties.

Isolated School Education

In the Nisga’a Nation, an Indigenous group residing in northwestern Canada, the colonial school education caused a socio-cultural devastation of the nation. Until the Nisga’a established their own school district in the traditional territory in 1975, loss of the Nisga’a language and cultural practices continued for three generations. After the Nisga’a established schools up to the post-secondary level in their traditional territory, revitalization of their language, culture, and social activities became accelerated partly through the education provided in those schools [34]. In the Nisga’a tradition, education is regarded as a total way of life, and learning as a Nisga’a person largely takes place holistically in every setting in the society, such as where elders are, *Ayuukhl* Nisga’a (Nisga’a Law) is taught, *asaawak* (true stories) are told, people fish and hunt, and so on.

However, school education in the Nisga’a Nation in the reality is somewhat isolated from this holism [35], just like in many other parts in the world. Okuma [34] cites an interviewee who stated that parents would expect the school to do everything and to have magic answers to problems. Thus, if a child has behavior problems, parents tend to see it as a school’s fault. This interview indicates that roles played by the school and by the family are not interwoven, and that the school became a ‘special place’ in the community. With regard to Indigenous people’s education, MacIvor [22] suggests to expand the school walls into the community, because there is no reason that the classroom should be remained within the school building.

TOWARDS A PARADIGM SHIFT

Learning from Gross National Happiness (GNH)

The concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH), through its challenge to the GNP/GDP myth, suggests a paradigm shift in various aspects of the society. In the concept of GNH, economic development must be sustainable, and must not be the ultimate goal of the country, because the ultimate goal must be human happiness. This theory can be fully applied to education: the ultimate goal of education must be happiness and human well-being, but should not be economic development or to be a winner in the global competitions. In Bhutan, the country of origin of the concept of GNH, four strategic pillars were established in order to pursue the national objective of GNH. They are:

- (1) Sustainable and equitable socio-economic development,
- (2) Conservation of environment,
- (3) Preservation and promotion of culture, and
- (4) Promotion of good governance [46, p. 9]

These four pillars are not well covered even in the Human Development Index (HDI) that is seen as more sensitive to the social aspects of human lives than GNP/GDP [33] [44]. What is unique with Bhutan's vision of development is that it stresses non-quantifiable objectives such as spiritual well-being and happiness, in addition to the conventional notion of development measured by quantified indicators. In this holistic approach, human happiness is linked with sustainability of the society. Thinley [45] states, "Much is known about income disparities but nothing about the happiness gap either between social groups or between nations", and "Happiness is not the direct concern of many government or international agencies" (p. 13).

Since "sustainability" seems to be the fundamental key concept that underlies the four pillars of GNH, attempts are made in this paper to describe some educational problems from the perspective of sustainability. Some theories indicate that socialization is the process through which social sustainability is more or less assured [4] [5] [6] [15]. Socialization is a lifelong process and school education takes a limited period of time in the long process of socialization. However, school education is often not well integrated into the process of socialization, and sometimes disturbs a healthy process of socialization and human development, which in turn causes non-sustainability of the society as a whole.

Some issues depicted in the scattered observations presented above can be summarized as the following:

- School education as a state apparatus is expected to contribute to the state interests ("Big Happiness") which may or may not be identical or close to the individual interests in school education ("Small Happiness"). Sometimes, "Big Happiness" is pursued at the expense of "Small Happiness". When people become more conscious of ignored "Small Happiness" of their own, dissatisfaction may be expressed in various ways.
- Although the ultimate goal of any kind of education must be human development and happiness, school education sometimes becomes a source of stress for students and parents. Individuals are increasingly forced to take risks with regard to school choice, and forced to participate in the educational competition promoted by quasi-"Big Happiness".
- School education is sometimes isolated from the holism of the society, and school knowledge is also isolated from a holistic integration of knowledge. At the same time, there is such a perception in the society that the school is a special place where most of the social problems must be solved, which also indicates that communication, collaboration, cooperation, and integration between the school and the society are not enough or even absent.

Development of New Indicators

There are several measurements in the field of school education that give some pictures of school education. To name a few, they are school enrollment rates, grade repetition rates, school completion rates, as well as scores in the international achievement tests, such as PISA and IEA. However, these indicators have very little contribution, if any, to make to human development and human happiness that must be the ultimate goal of education. Precisely like the degree of development of a country has been measured by GDP/GNP, the progress of school education has often been measured by those indicators named above. However, as mentioned earlier, GDP/GNP is challenged by the concept of GNH, which has promoted gradual changes in the international community with regard to the measurement of development. For example, OECD launched a global project "Measuring the Progress of Societies", and in the Second World Forum was held in Istanbul in 2007. Also, the Istanbul Declaration was adopted by the OECD, the European Commission, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations,

the UN Development Program, and the World Bank [29]. In the Forum, the need for new approaches in measuring social progress was confirmed. Such new approaches would go beyond the conventional economic indicators, and include the measurements of such factors as health, education, environment, together with economic factors such as employment, productivity, and purchasing power. The goal of the suggested new approaches is to improve the society by improving policy making based on reliable indicators [28].

Similarly, there are needs for developing completely new educational indicators that differ from such indicators as enrollment rates and the level of educational achievement in the international tests. The new indicators need to be able to indicate education's contribution to human development and socio-cultural and environmental sustainability. The purpose of developing the new indicators is, needless to say, not the measurement per se, but to identify educational problems and to see them as social problems, and to attempt to remove real causes (not mere symptoms) of problems through appropriate policy making. The ultimate goal of such indicators is, again, a contribution to human development and happiness.

Although suggesting new indicators is beyond the scope of this paper, and of the present author's competence, at least attempts are made to present some aspects to be considered when new educational indicators are developed:

- □ School system's flexibility (whether school education can foster individual student's talent and interest in the way that they can contribute to socio-economic, cultural, and environmental sustainability)
- □ Schools' problem solving mechanisms
- □ Schools' communication, collaborations, and integration with communities and families for the purpose of fostering students' healthy human development
- □ Students' awareness of local, national, international, and global issues
- □ Schools' contributions to the civil society (whether the school is sensitive to issues surrounding the school)
- □ Collaborations within schools (whether collaborations within the school reflect those in the real society)
- □ Students' perception of different types of works
- □ Preparation of students for the social reality
- □ Psychological and physical health of students and teachers
- □ Degree of happiness of students and teachers
- □ Parents' satisfaction with school education

This list is not at all exhausted, but is just an immature attempt and the subject for further research.

Practical Applications

Practical applications of sustainability and human development in education can be observed at various types of alternative education institutions in many parts of the world. Although features of alternative education are varied to a very large extent, those students who receive alternative education are, in general, the minority. In his international comparative studies on alternative education, Nagara [25] states that definitions of contents of alternative education needs to be avoided, and presents six characteristics of alternative education:

- Is independent from the market and the state, and raises questions about the norms and common ideas in the mainstream (publicity);

- Has critical observations of the conventional education and reconstructs education (renovativity);
- Establishes own social roles in collaboration with the public education (complementality);
- Can be found at any historical point and in any geographical area (diversity);
- Is not based on dichotomist ways of thinking (wholeness); and
- Respects various values and specific needs expressed by minority groups (plurality).

Nagata does not assert that alternative education should replace the existing conventional education where problems, such as those presented above, emerge. Instead, he warns that the criticisms of the mainstream education by alternative education may connote the danger of self-justification. On the other hand, new approaches that are stimulated by the concept of GNH are being formed in the international community. This is the time to reconsider/revisit the ultimate goal of education as a global project, although many individuals have already wisely considered the ultimate goal of education throughout the history.

References

- [1] Apple, M. W. (2000). Between Neoliberalism and Neoconservatism: Education and Conservatism in a Global Context. In N. C. Burbules & C. A. Torres (Eds.), *Globalization and Education* (pp. 57-77). London: Routledge.
- [2] Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage Publications.
- [3] Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2001). *Individualization*. London: SAGE.
- [4] Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Doubleday & Company.
- [5] Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [6] Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- [7] Brown, P. (1997). The 'Third Wave': Education and the Ideology of Parentocracy. In A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown & A. S. Wells (Eds.), *Education: Culture, Economy, Society* (pp. 393-408). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [8] Brown, P., Halsey, A. H., Lauder, H., & Wells, A. S. (1997). The Transformation of Education and Society: An Introduction. In A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown & A. S. Wells (Eds.), *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society* (pp. 1-44). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [9] Collins, R. (1979). *The Credential Society*. London: Academic Press.
- [10] Damon, W. (1988). Socialization and Individuation. In G. Handel (Ed.), *Childhood Socialization* (pp. 3-19). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- [11] Daun, H. (Ed.). (2002). *Educational Restructuring in the Context of Globalization and National Policy*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- [12] Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- [13] Galtung, J. (1981). *Schooling or Education?* Lund: Malmö School of Education, Lund University.
- [14] Giddens, A. (2002). *Runaway World : How Globalisation Is Reshaping Our Lives*. London: Profile.
- [15] Habermas, J. (1987). *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volum Two*. Cambridge: Polity.
- [16] Hagberg, S. (2002). Learning to Live or to Leave? Education and Identity in Burkina Faso. In M. Melin (Ed.), *Education: A Way Out of Poverty?* (pp. 43-57). Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.
- [17] Illich, I. (1971). *Deschooling Society*. London: Calder & Boyars.
- [18] Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- [19] Kikuchi, E., & Nagata, Y. (2001). A Sociology of Alternative Education: Reconsidering "Publicness" in Education. *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (68), 65-84.
- [20] Kinga, S. (2005). Youth and Unemployment in Bhutan. In L. Dorji & S. Kinga (Eds.), *Youth in Bhutan* (pp. 33-79). Thimphu: The Center for Bhutan Studies.

- [21] Ladd, H. F. (2003). Introduction. In D. N. Plank & G. Sykes (Eds.), *Choosing Choice* (pp. 1-23). London: Teacher College, Columbia University.
- [22] MacIvor, M. (1995). Redefining Science Education for Aboriginal Students. In M. Battiste & J. Barman (Eds.), *First Nations Education in Canada* (pp. 73-98). Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- [23] McDonald, R. (2003). Finding Happiness in Wisdom and Compassion: The Real Challenge for an Alternative Development Strategy. *The Journal of Bhutan Studies*, 9, 1-22.
- [24] Motobayashi, Y. (2006). *Bhutan to Kouhukuron (Bhutan and Happiness)*. Kyoto: Houzoukan.
- [25] Nagata, Y. (2005). *Alternative Education*. Tokyo: Shin-Hyoron.
- [26] Nandy, A., Yalman, N., Tamotsu, A., & Inuhiko, Y. (2003). Ajia wa 21-seiki ni Donoyouna Koufuku wo Tsuikyuu Suru no ka (What Kind of Happiness Does Asia Pursue in the 21st Century?). In T. Aoki, S.-j. Kang, Y. Kosugi, H. Sakamoto, B.-f. Mo, S.-i. Yamamuro, S. Yoshimi & I. Yomoda (Eds.), *Ajia Shin-seiki (New Century of Asia)* (Vol. 4). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- [27] Nishikawa, J. (2003). Kaihatsu to Koufuku (Development and Happiness). In T. Aoki, S.-j. Kang, Y. Kosugi, H. Sakamoto, B.-f. Mo, S.-i. Yamamuro, S. Yoshimi & I. Yomoda (Eds.), *Ajia Shin-seiki (New Century of Asia)* (Vol. 4, pp. 83-109). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- [28] OECD. (2007a). *OECD and international organisations to develop new approach to measuring progress of societies*. Retrieved July 5, 2007, from the World Wide Web: http://www.oecd.org/document/24/0,3343,en_2825_293564_38883800_1_1_1_1,00.html
- [29] OECD. (2007b). *OECD Global Project - Measuring the Progress of Societies*. Retrieved July 5, 2007, from the World Wide Web: http://www.oecd.org/site/0,3407,en_21571361_31938349_1_1_1_1_1,00.html
- [30] Ogbu, J. U. (1978). *Minority Education and Caste*. New York: Academic Press.
- [31] Ohashi, T. (2000). *Jomyakukei Shakai no Sekkei (A Plan for Society with a Vein System)*. Tokyo: Yuhikaku.
- [32] Ohashi, T. (2005). *'Manzoku-shakai' wo Dezain Suru Dai-san no Monosashi (The Third Measure that Designs a "Satisfaction-oriented Society")*. Tokyo: Daiyamondo-sha.
- [33] Ohashi, T. (2006). Is the Triple Bottom Line in Japan Safe?: Towards the Construction of "Satisfaction-Oriented Resting Society". *The Stockholm Journal of East Asian Studies*, 16, 75-84.
- [34] Okuma, M. K. (1996). *Aboriginal Education as a Decolonizing Method: The Nisga'a Experience*. Unpublished MA thesis, The University of Northern British Columbia, Prince George.
- [35] Okuma, M. K. (2000). *Education is a Total Way of Life: Models and the Reality* (ERIC Database, ED450985).
- [36] Okuma-Nyström, M. K. (2003). *God Turns the Chapter and Everything Changes: Children's Socialization in Two Gambian Villages*. Stockholm: Institute of International Education, Stockholm University.
- [37] Phuntsho, K. (2000). On the Two Ways of Learning in Bhutan. *The Journal of Bhutan Studies*, 2 (2), 96-126.
- [38] Robertson, S. L., Bonal, X., & Dale, R. (2002). GATS and the Education Service Industry: The Politics of Scale and Global Reterritorialization. *Comparative Education Review*, 46 (4), 472-496.
- [39] Schneider, M. (2001). Information and Choice in Educational Privatization. In H. M. Levin (Ed.), *Privatizing Education* (pp. 72-102). Boulder: Westview Press.
- [40] Serpell, R. (1993). *The Significance of Schooling: Life-journeys in an African Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [41] Smith, E. W. (1970). Indigenous Education in Africa. In E. E. Evans-Prichard, R. Firth, B. Malinowski & I. Schapera (Eds.), *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman* (pp. 319-334). Westport: Negro Universities Press.

- [42] Stromquist, N. P., & Monkman, K. (2000). Defining Globalization and Assessing Its Implications on Knowledge and Education. In N. P. Stromquist & K. Monlman (Eds.), *Globalization and Education* (pp. 3-25). New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- [43] Suzuki, D., & Knudtson, P. (1992). *Wisdom of the Elders*. London: Bantam Books.
- [44] Thinley, J. Y. (1999a). *Gross National Happiness and Human Development: Searching for Common Ground*. Retrieved April 2, 2007, from the World Wide Web: www.bhutanstudies.org.bt/publications/gnh/gnh.htm
- [45] Thinley, J. Y. (1999b). *Values and Development: "Gross National Happiness"*. Retrieved April 2, 2007, from the World Wide Web: www.bhutanstudies.org.bt/publications/gnh/gnh.htm
- [46] Thinley, J. Y. (2005). *Rethinking Development: Rethinking Pathways to Global Wellbeing*. Paper presented at the The Second International Conference on Gross National Happiness, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada.
- [47] Torres, R. M. (2000). *One Decade of Education for All: The Challenges Ahead*. Paris: UNESCO.
- [48] Tsurumi, S. (1999). *Kyoiku Saiteigi no Kokoromi (An Attempt for Redefinition of Education)*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- [49] Ueda, A. (2006). *Bhutan ni Miru Kaihatsu no Gainen: Wakamono-tachi ni totte no Kindaika to Dentou-bunka (The Concept of Development in Bhutan: Modernization and Traditional Culture from Young People's Perspectives)*. Tokyo: Akashi-shoten.
- [50] UNDP. (2006). *Human Development Report 2006*. Retrieved June 28, 2007, from the World Wide Web: <http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/statistics/>
- [51] Wangyal, T. (2001). Ensuring Social Sustainability: Can Bhutan's Education System Ensure Intergenerational Transmission of Values? *The Journal of Bhutan Studies*, 3 (1), 106-131.
- [52] Whitty, G. (1997). Marketization, the State, and the Re-Formation of the Teaching Profession. In A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown & A. S. Wells (Eds.), *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society* (pp. 299-310). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [53] Woods, M. (2007). Redefining the 'Rural Question': The New 'Politics of the Rural' and Social policy. In G. G. Giarchi (Ed.), *Challenging Welfare Issues in the Global Countryside* (pp. 1-17).