

INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF
COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

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International Handbook of Comparative Education

Part One

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PREFACE

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March 2009

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JOINT EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Robert Cowen and Andreas Kazamias

We are doing well...? In some ways, yes. The field of comparative education began to grow again around the millennium.

Texts from the late 1990s and early years of this, the new, century include: Robin Alexander, Patricia Broadfoot & David Phillips (Eds.) *Learning from comparing: New directions in comparative education research* (Symposium Books: Oxford) 1999; Robert Arnove & Carlos Alberto Torres, *Comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local* (Roman & Littlefield: Lanham, Maryland) 1999; Edward R. Beauchamp (Ed.) *Comparative education reader* (Routledge/Falmer: New York/London) 2003; Mark Bray (Ed.) *Comparative education* (Kluwer: Dordrecht/Boston/London) 2003; Nicholas C. Burbules and Carlos A. Torres (eds) *Globalization and education: Critical perspectives* (Routledge: New York/London) 2000; Michael Crossley's and Keith Watson's *Comparative and international research in education: Globalisation, context and difference* (Routledge-Falmer: London/New York) 2003; Andreas Kazamias and M. Spillane (Eds.) *Education and the structuring of the European space: North-south, centre-periphery, identity-otherness* (Seirios Editions: Athens) 1998; Antonio Nóvoa and Martin Lawn (Eds.) *Fabricating Europe: The formation of an education space* (Kluwer: Dordrecht/London) 2002; Sonia Mehta and Peter Ninnes (Eds.) *Re-imagining comparative education* (Routledge/Falmer: New York) 2004; Jurgén Schriewer (Ed.) *Discourse formation in comparative education* (Peter Lang: Frankfurt-am-Main) 2000; Nelly P. Stromquist and Karen Monkman (Eds.) *Globalization and education: Integration and contestation across cultures* (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham/Boulder/New York/Oxford) 2000 – and all this is without mentioning the flurry of new books in the last year or so – a new book on comparative education research (edited by Bray, Adamson, and Mason); a collection of articles from the journal *Comparative Education* (edited by Crossley, Broadfoot, and Schweisfurth), a study of the professional Societies of Comparative Education; and recent books by Phillips and Schweisfurth, Donatella Palomba, and Sprogøe and Winther-Jensen.

The journals are also numerous. They include *Comparative Education* (the UK), *Comparative Education Review* (USA), *International Review of Education* (UNESCO/Hamburg), *Canadian & International Education* (Canada), *Compare* (the UK), and *Prospects* (UNESCO). There are also other journals (e.g. in French and in Spanish) which frequently carry comparative articles or which like *Propuesta Educativa* (Argentina) offer occasional special issues devoted to comparative education, or are

entirely comparative in content, like the Greek *Synkritiki kai Diethnis Ekpaideutiki Epitheorisi* (Athens).

The advanced study of comparative education is widely institutionalised, in graduate schools. For example, in the English-speaking world in the United States, Columbia University, Florida State University, Harvard University, Ohio State University, University of Pittsburgh, University of Maryland, State University of New York at Buffalo and at Albany, University of Illinois, University of Wisconsin, University of California at Los Angeles, University of Southern California, Stanford University, Loyola University, and University of Hawaii are some of the major centres. Australia, Canada, England, New Zealand, and many of the anglophone African countries – notably South Africa – also have graduate school programmes. In continental Europe, there are specialised courses in comparative education in Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Malta, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Overall, the institutionalisation of comparative education is increasing not merely in Southern and Eastern Europe but also in the older metropolitan university centres, as universities internationalise their programmes and absorb a market of ‘overseas’ students.

Similarly in terms of its international networks and its conferences, comparative education is doing exceptionally well.

But how is it doing intellectually? That is, what kind of concerns and what kind of academic work is being, and has been, done in ‘the field of study’ called comparative education – primarily from a university base? Where are we? And where are we going?

The two volumes of this handbook make an effort to outline the situation. As editors we have used a number of principles.

In the way we have arranged the volumes there are a number of general arguments. These may be summarised as follows:

1. Both volumes argue that what is judged to be ‘good’ comparative education has changed over time. They analyse the shifting academic agendas, the changing perspectives of attention, and the different academic languages used to construct ‘comparative education’. They ask why this happens – why does ‘comparative education’ change its epistemic concerns, its reading of the world, and its aspirations to act upon it? They show the ways in which comparative education responds to the changing politics and economics of real events in the world as well as to the intellectual currents that are strong in particular times and places. The consequence is that several comparative educations can be identified, both at any one particular time and over time, and that comparative education is continuing to change with the new readings of the world which are emerging now.
2. There are some things which the handbook is not, and is not intended to be. It is not an encyclopaedia covering the comparative education world (and scholars within it) alphabetically. It does not offer ‘national case studies of education’ – that stuff was out of date 50 years ago. In particular, the Volumes do not assume that the nation state is the correct unit of analysis in comparative education. Nor does

the handbook embark on a series of case studies of the condition of 'comparative education' in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, etc., and bewail the fact that comparative education is relatively weak in 'the south' or 'the east' and insist that the job of the handbook is to correct that imbalance. Constructing a comparative education in 'the south', for the south, and of the south is a mite more complex than that, even when the political cliché of The South has been deciphered.

3. Thus the handbook is an account of how a field of study was, is, and is becoming within the politics of its times. It analyses the construction of comparative education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries particularly in Volume One. Volume Two shows how lively the contemporary field is, within the new politics of our times.
4. The handbook is a major statement of the condition of a field; it is not a fashion statement. Thus the future of comparative education is addressed in the handbook, especially in Volume Two, but it is not addressed with the rash confidence of conviction that the future is about the clash of civilisations; or the future is more globalisation; or that all that is needed is a better understanding of one (identified and specific) intellectual perspective.
5. The handbook is written at a turning point in the history of the field, and thus it leaves the future of the field open while offering a wide range of ways to talk about that future.

The handbook is divided into two volumes with four sections each.

In Volume One, Section 1 shows the construction of comparative education as a discourse, including the construction of comparative education as a university discourse, up to the late 1970s. The section also notes that 'comparative education' in its nineteenth- and twentieth-century framing was an ideological project for action on the world – practical policy makers were in the nineteenth century using a comparative perspective to construct a new social technology: mass elementary education and national systems of education. Thus the broadest theme of this section of the handbook is how the field of study sees its past in political context. The narrow way to understand the section is to see it as the identification and analysis of specific epistemological paradigms which, over time, framed comparative education in social context.

Section 2 deals with the world and the world of comparative education after the 1980s: the rethinking of the classical assumptions and approaches whose construction was described and analysed in Section 1.

Section 3 is partly devoted to the theme of 'comparative action', that is, those actions upon the world and upon the educational world which are based upon a comparative assessment of it. The strategic themes which the authors were invited to address as they undertook their descriptions and analyses were: (a) what was the political agenda for the activities; (b) what was the view of the international state system which framed the political action and the educational reform; (c) what was the view of the relationship between culture, economies, and education; and (d) what concept of comparative education was made visible?

Section 4 is concerned with the shift from anxiety about the relationships between educational systems and industrial economies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

to the relationships of educational systems and emerging knowledge economies in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. This section thus deals with some of the classic patterns of reforming educational systems to make them more ‘relevant’ to industrialisation and to the disputes and resistances – and very different patterns of education – which were a consequence. However, the concerns are not merely historical. The same ‘economic imperative’, which caused so much anxiety in the nineteenth and twentieth century, is taking a contemporary reprieve under the rubric of ‘globalisation’ and ‘knowledge economies’, occasionally informed by views of neo-liberalism. What is the nature of that contemporary debate?

In Volume Two, the emphasis is on how the world changed – and how this affected ways of thinking in a range of comparative educations. Thus Volume Two of the handbook exemplifies some of the important new concerns and visions of comparative education: rapid transitions in societies; the new emphasis on teaching and learning; the search for the recovery, reinvention, and creation of identity and of future identities, including ideas of ‘postcolonialism’; and – again – the current sense of what constitutes ‘globalisation’.

Therefore Volume Two very carefully avoids a conventional treatment of schooling systems and descriptions of educational reform in many ‘nation states’; or the description of educational systems sector by sector – elementary, secondary, teacher education, and so on; and it avoids the ‘comparative’ descriptions of educational trends and processes on a country-by-country basis or regional basis.

Within that general framing, Section 5 in Volume Two of the handbook deals with postcolonialism. This is a growing area in comparative education, at the intersection of political science, literary studies, linguistic theory, and history. The concerns which are central are those of identity and language, the formation and reformation of post-colonial politics and polities, the postcolonial terms of discursive contestation, shifts in the nature of the State, and new theories of rights. This is not only an extremely interesting area for comparative exploration, it is also a difficult area of new theorising and we asked Elaine Unterhalter – whose South African experience and interests in gender, rights-theory, capability-theory, and ‘development’ come together around the theme of postcoloniality – to edit this section of the two volumes.

Section 6 deals with comparative studies of ‘the educated person’ as constructed through schooling, and pedagogical cultures at different times and in different places. Thus this section explores the revision of knowledge traditions and the construction – the making and taking – of pedagogic identity, a theme which has a long history in comparative education, but which through the work of academics such as Basil Bernstein and Tom Popkewitz, feminists and advocates of positional identities (such as American blacks), and some curriculum specialists is being revitalised. As the nature of educational sites alters in late modernity, the issue of educational cultures and pedagogic identity becomes powerfully de-linked from notions of citizenship and more and more powerfully linked to economics or to religion. The framing of the topics of culture, knowledge, and pedagogies is thus changing rapidly and a comparative education of the future must work out new ways to analyse the theme of identity.

Sections 7 and 8 ask about ways forward. They ask, after Sections 1–6: is there anything else to talk about? The answer is, yes. The volumes finish with a range of fresh proposals for new kinds of comparative education.

ON HISTORY AND ON THE CREATION OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Robert Cowen

Max Eckstein and Harold Noah do not know this but I have for years liked both of them very much. At the personal level, I was most touched when they were the first in the comparative education community to warmly welcome me to the USA where, rather to my surprise, I found myself teaching sociology and comparative education in a good university at graduate school level. Professionally, they had also, earlier, solved one of my problems as a student: where is there a history of comparative education? It was there in their classic text (Noah & Eckstein, 1969). Here the origins of the field were set out with exemplary clarity. The footnoting was scholarly and clearly a flurry of research had been done. As someone who was thinking about specialising in comparative education I was most relieved that there was a history – and there was also that marvellous account in Bereday's book (1964) about scholars in other countries and their universities and departments. Comparative education existed and it had a history as well. There were more jobs in sociology, but clearly comparative education was more fun. I could take up a career. The history legitimated me.

And now – a few decades later? Now that we are all legitimate, in what senses do we exist historically?

The first difficulty is we have a lot of unseen history and not enough labour to make it visible. We have archives in major universities, but not enough obvious reward for young scholars to undertake research on them. We have marvellous bits of private writing on the history of the field – Peter Hackett and Richard Rapacz come to mind – but we have no one who has brought these correspondences (in both senses) together. At least a start has made by Gita Steiner-Khamsi and others on oral history (clearly something which the Comparative Education Society in Europe ought to undertake also as rapidly as possible). But – again – the initial problem is the career difficulty of being labelled as a specialist in the history of comparative education.

The second difficulty is the massive amount of effort required to get one of these serious historical projects going – a point made with great clarity in the Acknowledgements at the beginning of the book *Common Interests, Uncommon Goals* (Masemann *et al.*, 2007). There are very practical problems in writing histories – in the ways that these must be done if you work seriously on researching history. Miguel Pereyra for example has been working hard and long on analysing Kandel as a scholar in the history of comparative education – but to chase down material on Kandel has meant major travel and expense which can just about be

handled by a scholar in mid-career with major effort – but there are few structural supports for such historical scholarship.

The third difficulty is that, given the invisibility of a large amount of information, we simply do not have the density of information which makes for good history. The amount of material that goes into a first rate historical account of something is astonishing. Dalrymple's work on *The Last Mughal* (2007) – so brilliantly contextualised – is dependent upon a complete new bit of the national archive becoming visible. Herman's work on *The Scottish Enlightenment* (2006) is dependent upon a massive bibliography of earlier specialist and detailed texts. Major histories – whether these are by Norman Davies (1997) or by Tony Judt (2007) – draw on bibliographies which take a chapter-length essay merely to list. An obvious counter-argument may be offered – such work is 'mainstream' history (though that is an odd expression given what historians now study) – and, the counter-argument might continue, the comparison is unfair: all we are talking about here are histories of fields of study. But that last proposition, in turn, is not convincing in the face of texts such as Randall Collins' book on *The Sociology of Philosophies* (1998), Friedrichs' book (1970) on sociology or even a monograph on a field of study such as Bartholomew (1989) on the formation of science in Japan.

Right now, we simply do not have enough material to move on from the huge amount of work which is already involved in putting together the essays in this section of the handbook. The scholarly apparatus of all of the chapters in the section is impressive and the scholarly apparatus of some of the chapters is amazing. But we are still short of material.

The problem is also worse than that because a history of comparative education ought – sooner or later – to become a comparative history of comparative education.

We are still a little bit away from that – although it is worth remembering that the 'history' of comparative education in these volumes is not limited to this first section. Reading the chapters in the other sections of the volumes – Larsen on history, Steiner-Khamsi and her conceptualisation of the development of comparative education, the exploration of comparative education in East Asia outlined by Wang and Dong and Shibata, the concept of voices which Mehta raises, the mappings of Paulston, the analysis of Popkewitz – reminds us of possibilities and thematics in a potential comparative history of comparative education.

There is also the shiver of the shock which comes later, as a reading of these volumes is complete, and it is recalled that we have no serious history of comparative education in Brazil or in Argentina in print – and this despite the significance of Sarmiento in Argentina and his political views and his astonishing practical 'comparative education' or the significance of Anísio Teixeira and his international connections in Brazilian educational history. (Of course articles in our specialist journals exist on both people with good hints about where a 'history' might go, but that is just my point. We have articles and hints; and we do not have histories.)

We have not even brought together seriously the 'individual' histories of comparative education in France, Germany, Italy and so on – though again in at least three book chapters or articles by Wolfgang Mitter (one appearing in Volume 1) you can find ways into a fuller comparative history.

So, let us be optimistic like a cheerful and happy child. Let us assume that a major foundation such as the Gulbenkian or Hoover decides that a comparative history of comparative education would be well worth funding. Apart from establishing an Advisory Board with such senior scholars on it as Eckstein, Noah, Kazamias, Mitter and Rust, what would we wish our team of actual researchers to make visible as evidence for this putative history so that our material for writing that history became denser and denser?

Almost certainly it would be necessary to review the history of other fields of study including comparative study (Schriewer, 2006). It would be necessary to make women visible – they are there in history but they (e.g., Ann Dryland, Madame Hattinguais) are not there in our histories. I suspect it will also be necessary to make fuller sense of the meta-epistemic assumptions of a range of comparative educations in a range of countries: for example the effect of structural-functionalist sociology in the USA on American comparative education but the relative lack of effect by the Frankfurt School; the fear of sociology which so characterises the ‘culturalist’ school – though not Lauwerys – in the Institute of Education and Kings College in London in the late 1950s and early 1960s; the sudden lurch in vocabulary which inserts ‘international’ as a qualifier of, or as a juxtaposition to, ‘comparative’; and the reasons for ‘a linguistic turn’ or a ‘post-modern turn’ or even the new vocabulary that implies a ‘geographic’ turn in a number of social sciences, including a hint of it within comparative education.

Also – amazingly – we do not have a really sharp, historian’s sort of account of the life of George Bereday, or Joseph Lauwerys and his work for UNESCO, his links with Piaget, the IBE, with Teixeira and with Hiratsuka in Japan. Both Bereday and Lauwerys linked persons and ideas across cultures and continents and for quite justifiable reasons – including their impact on their own institutions, and on the societies of comparative education and on generations of graduate students as well as their astonishing lecturing skills – Bereday and Lauwerys are well known in the field of study; but they indirectly raise a broader question.

We do not understand our own iconographies. For example, Sir Michael Sadler was clearly a fine public servant and an educational leader and, one suspects, a rather pleasant human being. Fine – but we give him an astounding importance in comparative education even though that famous essay of his (Sadler, 1964) has caused far more confusion than it has ever solved. But he is always in ‘the histories’, which itself becomes a historical problem of the social construction of our iconographies. No doubt a comparative history of comparative education would explore whether such iconographies also have been inserted into the invention of the tradition of comparative education in Japan or Germany or France.

The final paradox of course is that while ‘the evidence’ can be made available, pre-prepared as it were by stabilising and strengthening archives and by making hidden ‘facts’ more visible, the questions cannot.

Somewhere in this first section on the creation and recreation of the field of study, Andreas Kazamias – who is and always has been deeply committed as a historian to doing an immense amount of work on the history of the field of study – has a quotation

from T.S. Eliot. The quotation confirms in a subtle and elegant way one of Andreas' own convictions – that each generation must rewrite its history.

That almost leaves us with a paradox. The propositions of Eliot and Kazamias create the thought that it is the future which determines the past. Yes, I know neither of them said that. But the possibilities are exciting. The quotation from Eliot reverberates. Our contemporary histories of ourselves need revisiting now and will need revisiting again frequently in the future.

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THE MODERNIST BEGINNINGS OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION: THE PROTO-SCIENTIFIC AND THE REFORMIST-MELIORIST ADMINISTRATIVE MOTIF

Pella Kaloyannaki and Andreas M. Kazamias

Introduction

The modernist beginnings of comparative education (CE) as a field of study are conventionally traced to the post-Enlightenment period in the early and mid decades of the nineteenth century, specifically to the pioneering work of Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris and to discourses of educational policy-makers, reformers and administrators in Europe and the United States, such as Horace Mann, Calvin Stowe and Henry Barnard in the United States, Victor Cousin in France and the poet-school inspector Matthew Arnold in England. First, this chapter analyses in some detail Jullien's ideas about CE—its methodology, epistemology and ideology—as reflected mainly in his now famous *Esquisse et vues préliminaires sur un ouvrage sur l'éducation comparée* (*Plan and Preliminary Views for a Work on Comparative Education*), published in 1817, on the basis of which Jullien has been acclaimed as 'the father' of CE. Here Jullien's conception of CE will be referred to as representing 'the proto-scientific humanistic and meliorist motif' in the history of the field. Second, the study examines in lesser detail what may be called 'the reformist-meliorist motif in comparative education', which refers to discourses about foreign education as reflected in the relevant texts of nineteenth-century policy-makers, reformers and administrators like Victor Cousin of France, and Horace Mann, Calvin Stowe and Henry Barnard of the United States.

The Proto-Scientific Humanistic and Meliorist Motif: Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris

The Man, His Work and His Times

Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris was born in Paris in 1775, from highly educated parents in the humanities (philosophy, language, literature and the classics). At a young age and for a short period he served as a journalist for the Jacobins and the French National Convention, and was a diplomat and legionnaire in the service of Napoleon Bonaparte. He travelled widely in Europe, visited England and Scotland and also went to Egypt as a war commissioner in Bonaparte's expedition there. Throughout most of his life

until his death in 1848 he devoted his time to the study of education and pedagogy on which he wrote books, monographs, essays, reports and memoranda. During the years 1819–1830, Jullien founded and directed the journal *Revue encyclopédique ou Analyse raisonnée de productions les plus remarquables dans la littérature, les sciences et les arts* (*Encyclopedic Review or Reasoned Analysis of the Most Remarkable Productions in Literature, Sciences and the Arts*) for which he wrote, among other things, on public education in Switzerland, Belgium and Spain.

Jullien's interest in education began quite early in his life, during the period of the French Revolution, and continued thereafter until his death. According to his biographer R. R. Palmer, Jullien started writing books on the subject in 1805 while he was serving in the French army. As a theorist of education he was especially attracted to the pedagogical ideas of the famous Swiss educators J. H. Pestalozzi and P. E. Fellenberg whose schools he had visited at Yverdon and Hofwyl, respectively, in Switzerland (Palmer, 1993). According to Fraser, in his authoritative edition and translation of Jullien's *Plan*:

Until his death ... Jullien was engaged constantly in scientific and cultural affairs. He founded the Société Française de l'union des nations, and invited international scholars to his home for monthly dinners. He traveled continually, attending international congresses, devoting his time to learned societies, and corresponding with statesmen and educators whose cosmopolitanism sought to evade the confines of nationalism as it consolidated itself in Europe (Fraser, 1964:12).

In Jullien's life and works, one can distinguish certain elements which, in combination with each other, had an effect on Jullien's pioneering ideas in the promotion of the *episteme* ('science') of comparative education. Jullien was also nurtured in the ideas and spirit of the Enlightenment 'paradigm of modernity' with its emphasis on reason/rationalism, empiricism, science (including social science), universalism, secularism, progress and the nation state. Not unsurprisingly, he became interested in the scientific study of education.

Comparative Education as 'Almost Nearly a Positive Science'

Jullien envisaged 'education' and a fortiori comparative education, to be a 'nearly *positive science*' (*science positive*) analogous to comparative anatomy. In the *Plan* he explained:

Education, as all other sciences and all the arts, is composed of facts and observations. It, therefore, seems necessary to form, for this science as one has done for other branches of knowledge, collections of facts and observations, arranged in analytical charts, which permit them to be related and compared, to deduct from them certain principles, determined rules, so that education might become almost nearly a positive science. ... Researches on *comparative anatomy* have advanced the science of anatomy. In the same way the researches on *comparative education* must furnish new means of perfecting the science of education (Fraser, 1964:40–41).

To make comparative education a ‘nearly positive science’ Jullien developed the aforementioned *Plan (Esquisse)*. The *Plan* consisted of two major parts: (a) an introductory statement on Jullien’s critical assessment of the state of education in the different countries of Europe, and his own ideas as to how the ‘incomplete’ and ‘defective’ European education could be improved; and (b) a series of questions which were intended to collect ‘facts and observations’ and ‘destined to furnish material for Comparative Observation Tables’ (Fraser, 1964:31).

Why a Science of Comparative Education?

Like his contemporary French scientific positivist philosopher-sociologist Auguste Comte (1798–1857), Jullien believed that the scientific method could be applied to human and social affairs. As a positive science, therefore, comparative education should focus on objectively determinable and systematically collected facts and observations. A ‘nearly positive science’ of CE, according to Jullien, which in the collection and tabulation of ‘facts and observations’ employed similar methods and techniques/instruments as the positive sciences and the ‘mechanical arts’, would be useful in the reform and improvement of contemporary education throughout Europe. In the introduction to the *Plan*, Jullien averred that both public and private education in the different countries of Europe were ‘incomplete, defective, without coordination ... without harmony with itself in the different physical, moral, and intellectual spheres in which the students ought to be guided’. He attributed the social, political and moral ills of European countries, the corruption and ‘degradation of minds and hearts, which have produced revolutions and wars’, the disorder and the general deterioration of European societies to incomplete and defective education. Consequently, education needed to be reformed and improved. In his own words:

The reform and improvement of education, the true basis of the social edifice, primary source of habits and opinions, which exercise a powerful influence on the entire life, are a need generally felt, as if by instinct, through Europe. It is a matter of indicating the means of satisfying the need in the surest, most efficient, and prompt manner (Fraser, 1964:35).

According to Jullien, the methodological approach by which the defects and weaknesses of education, and generally ‘the condition of education and public instruction in all the countries of Europe’ could be ascertained, would be the drawing up of ‘analytical summaries of information’, collected through a ‘series of questions’—a questionnaire—tabulated in ‘comparative tables of observations’ and classified under ‘uniform headings’ for purposes of ‘comparative analysis’. The responsibility for the collection of such educational facts and observations, for evaluative judgements and for the search of solutions to educational problems ‘would be given to intellectual and active men of sound judgment, (and) of known moral conduct’ (Fraser, 1964:36–37; Kaloyiannaki, 2002:42–43). Jullien articulated this reformative-melioristic value of his ‘nearly positivist’ scientific conception of comparative education as follows:

These analytical summaries of information, on the condition of education and public instruction in all the countries of Europe, would supply successively comparative tables of the present state of European nations in regard to this important aspect. One could judge with ease those which are advancing; those which are falling back, those which remain stationary; what are in each country the deficient and ailing sections; what are the causes of internal defects ... or what are the obstacles to the ascendancy of religion, ethics, and social advancement and how these obstacles can be overcome; finally, which parts offer improvement capable of being transported from one country to another, with modifications and changes which circumstances and localities would determine suitable (Fraser, 1964:37).

A ‘nearly positivist’ scientific perspective in comparative education, as envisaged by Jullien, would also be valuable in other respects. In one respect, it would ‘furnish new means of perfecting the science of education’ (Fraser, 1964:41). In another, it would release comparative study from political influence, the omnipotence of religion, prejudice and despotism (Kaloyiannaki, 2002). And, in still another, it would help in ‘nation-building’, as he argues in the case of a comparative study of education in the 22 cantons of Switzerland. Indeed, according to Jullien, the comparative study of education in the cantons of Switzerland would serve a double purpose: in the first place, it ‘will give birth to the idea of borrowing from one another what they may have which is good and useful in their institutions’; and in the second, it will establish and consolidate ‘the political unity of Switzerland’ by developing ‘a national *Helvetian* mind’ (Fraser, 1964:45–46).

Jullien’s Methodology: The ‘Questionnaire’ and the Indicators of Comparison

Jullien’s comparative methodology could be described as ‘empirico-deductive’ and perhaps ‘qualitative quasi-ethnographic’. It sought to gather data, in Jullien’s words ‘facts and observations’, on education and related questions by means of a questionnaire which consisted of a ‘series of questions’ on six educational areas, namely: (a) primary and common education; (b) secondary and classical education; (c) higher and scientific education; (d) normal education; (e) education of girls; and (f) education, as it related to legislation and social institutions. The collected facts and observations would then be ‘arranged in analytical charts’ or ‘comparative tables of observations’ which would allow for comparative analysis and the deduction of ‘certain principles, determined rules, so that education might become almost nearly a positive science’ (Fraser, 1964:40).

In the *Plan* Jullien identified the educational themes/topics for all six areas for which a series of questions would be posed. However, what he was able to complete was questions for the first two areas, namely, primary and common education and instruction, and secondary and classical education. In each area the questions posed were a set that covered a variety of educational issues, topics and questions. Some of the questions were relatively short, seeking to elicit quantitative data or yes or no answers, while others were relatively long and involved seeking to elicit qualitative

judgements and interpretations. Briefly and selectively, the questions for the first two areas were of the following kind:

1. The first area '*primary and common education and instruction*' included questions on: (a) '*Primary or Elementary Schools*', e.g. number, organisation, maintenance and administration, 'differences among the schools destined for children of different religious faiths', whether they are free or not; (b) *students*, e.g. number, age of admission, enrollment ratios; (c) *directors and primary teachers*, e.g. number, preparation, salaries, possibilities for advancement or retirement; (d) *physical education and gymnastics*, e.g. 'suckling of children, nourishment, clothing, sleep, beds, games, exercises, walks, hygienic care and diet, sicknesses, vaccination, and death rate'; (e) *moral and religious education*, e.g. 'first development of moral sentiments, repression of vicious tendencies, influence of mothers of families, religious instruction whether dry and dogmatic or interesting and appropriate to make a profound impression on the soul, regulations and discipline of primary schools, punishments ... emulation—is it used or not as a necessary motivation?'; (f) *intellectual education*, e.g. 'development of the faculties of the mind, instruction or acquisition of knowledge, first education of the senses and organs, aims and ways of teaching, memory exercises, three principal faculties: attention, comparison, reasoning'; (g) *domestic and private education*, e.g. 'up to what point is the education begun and continued by parents, in the bosom of the family, in harmony or in opposition with the education and instruction given in primary and public schools?'; (h) *primary and common education*—as it is related to secondary education, or to the second stage and with the intentions of children', e.g. 'Is the present organization of primary and common education resting on a basis sufficiently large, solid, and complete to supply children of poor and working classes with all the elementary knowledge indispensable to them to exercise and develop all their faculties?'; and (i) *general considerations*, e.g. 'Is the present manner of bringing up children, up to their seventh or ninth year, the same as in former times? Or rather, in what does the difference consist, between the new and old ways of education?' (Fraser, 1964:53–67).
2. The questions in the second area '*Secondary and Classical Education*' were similar to those in the first. They asked for information about (a) secondary schools (colleges, gymnasia, private institutions and boarding schools), namely, 'number, nature, origin and foundation, organization ... fees'; (b) students, namely, number, age, 'their division into classes', etc.; (c) physical education and gymnastics; (d) moral and religious education, for example, 'Knowledge of God, daily prayers, feeling of benevolence, courage, patience'; (e) intellectual education, for example, 'development of the faculties, acquisition of knowledge or instruction ... teaching aims/methods ... classical books ... exercises to develop the memory, judgment or reason, imagination ... vacations ... letter writing style ... study of laws'; (f) domestic and family education—in its relationship with public education; and (g) 'general considerations and various questions' (Fraser, 1964:67–82).

Jullien's Conception of Comparative Education: A Positive or a Human Science?

Viewed from the vantage point of a positivist empirical-scientific methodology, it could be said, as indeed it has been said, that Jullien's questionnaire is too complex, too long and 'biased' in the sense that 'Jullien's assumptions about the proper goals of education colored the questions he asked' (Noah and Eckstein, 1969:29). Likewise, from the same positivist methodological perspective one might also add that in several parts, the questions in the *Plan* are convoluted and 'leading questions' seeking less to record 'objectively determinable' and systematically collected 'facts and observations', and more to instruct and promote Jullien's own ideas and theories about education. Such evaluative comments would indeed be quite in order, especially on the question of 'biased' and convoluted 'leading questions' which appear quite frequently under the thematic categories of 'moral and religious education' and 'intellectual education'. Here are some selected pertinent examples of such types of questions (Fraser 1964).

Under 'Moral and Religious Education'

- 'Does one restrict religious instruction to teaching and explanation of the catechism, precepts, dogmas, ceremonies, exterior forms? Or does one attempt to penetrate children's souls, give solid internal foundation to their religious belief, to form conscience, to develop and fortify by the double strength of habits and examples, the moral character, true devotion, disposition to *benevolence, tolerance, Christian charity*?'
- 'Does one apply oneself (according to the wise advice of the German philosopher, Basedow) to making children well acquainted with virtue in its beautiful side and with vice in its bad side, so that they may become truly good men and not hypocrites, that is to say, that they not only have their own interests in view, when they do good?'

Under 'Intellectual Education'

- 'What are the aims of education which the children usually receive in primary school? (Does one limit oneself in the majority of schools to reading, writing and arithmetic? Or does one also give a few elementary ideas of *grammar, singing, geometrical drawing, geometry, and land surveying, applied mechanics, geography and history of the country, anatomy of the human body, practical hygiene, natural history applied to the study of land products most useful to men*? All the elements of these sciences, as essentials to each individual in all conditions and circumstances of life, would seem to have to form a part of a complete system of primary and common education, perfectly appropriate to the true needs of man in our present state of civilization.)'
- 'Does one apply the elementary teaching method of arithmetic, practiced with success by M. Pestalozzi in his educational institute; or of any other methods of the same kind, whether in arithmetic, or for other branches of instruction?'
- 'How does one seek to develop and exercise in children, in a progressive and imperceptible manner, first, the power of *attention*, the foremost faculty and

generator of all others; then, the faculty of *comparing* or the simile; finally, *reasoning* (which are the three essential and fundamental faculties of human understanding, according to the distinction established by M. Laromiguiere, in his *Lessons of Philosophy*)?'

If, however, one were to place Jullien's conception of a 'science of education' in the post-Enlightenment broader 'scientific' intellectual historical context, and, further, if one bore in mind (a) Jullien's humanistic cultural background, and (b) as noted above, that Jullien was nurtured in the ideas, spirit and culture of the Enlightenment 'paradigm of modernity', one could perhaps understand his conception of comparative education as 'an almost nearly positive science', i.e. as not a positive science in the strict meaning of the term, as this is shown by the nature of the questionnaire and the indicators of comparison in the *Plan*. Positivism, *stricto sensu*, affirms that 'all knowledge regarding matters of fact is based on the "positive" data of experience', and its all-important imperative is 'strict adherence to the testimony of observation and experience'. As a philosophical ideology, further, positivism is 'worldly, secular, anti-theological, and anti-metaphysical' (http://www.brittanica.com/eb/article9_108682/Positivism). Additionally, according to the *Wikipedia* encyclopedia, as it developed in the second half of the twentieth century, positivism (a) focuses 'on science as a product, a linguistic or numerical set of statements'; (b) insists that at least some of the statements made are 'testable, that is amenable to being verified, confirmed, or falsified by the empirical observation of reality'; and (c) is based on the belief that 'science rests on specific results that are dissociated from the personality and social position of the investigator' (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Positivism>).

Bearing in mind the above, Jullien's conception of a 'science of comparative education' cannot be said to be consonant with the positivistic scientific conceptions of comparative education that developed in the second half of the twentieth century, e.g. that of Harold Noah and Max Eckstein (Noah & Eckstein, 1969). Nor can it be said that it was consonant with other scientific conceptions of the same twentieth-century period, e.g. those of Brian Holmes (Holmes, 1965), George Bereday (Bereday, 1964), the University of Chicago Functionalist School (Anderson, 1961; Foster, 1960), or indeed the Stanford World Systems School of later years (Arnone, 1982). It can, however, still be said that Jullien's conception of a science of comparative education was consonant with what the French and other Europeans, e.g. the Greeks and the Germans, refer to as 'human sciences', which in certain respects are differentiated, in terms of methodology and subject matter, from the positive and the other empirical-statistical sciences. Two years after the appearance of the *Plan* for comparative education, Jullien published a *Sketch for an Essay on the philosophy of the sciences* where, according to Palmer, 'science was taken to mean mental activity of all kinds, including, applied technology, political and economic treatises, imaginative literature, and the fine arts'. In a 'Synoptic Table of Human Knowledge According to a New Method of Classification' in the same *Sketch*, Jullien classified 'human knowledge' under 'first order' and 'second order' sciences. Under 'first order' sciences he included the physical sciences and practical sciences such as 'agriculture, mining, engineering and healing', and under 'second order', he included 'metaphysical, moral and intellectual sciences, relative to

the mind', history, psychology, natural theology, liberal arts, fine arts, practical morality and education (Palmer, 1993:176–178).

Ideologically, as explained below, Jullien could be characterised as an Enlightenment liberal and an international cosmopolitan humanist educational reformer. The purpose of investigating, in a scientific/*epistemic* way, what he considered to be a defective, morally and intellectually, and an 'incomplete' European education, was to ameliorate/improve it by reforming it along what he considered to be the desirable moral, intellectual and physical educational principles. As quoted above, the Enlightenment liberal humanist Jullien considered education to be 'the true basis of the social edifice, primary source of habits and opinions, which exercise a powerful influence on the entire life' (Fraser, 1964:35). He believed that education can exert a decisive influence on the moral and intellectual 'renaissance' of man, on national welfare and on nation-building (Kaloyiannaki, 2002). His comparative method—the use of the type of questionnaire analysed above—sought to do more than merely collect 'facts and observations'. As Noah and Eckstein have pointed out, Jullien 'was ultimately concerned with problems of diffusing knowledge of education, particularly knowledge of educational innovation'. The same authors have added: 'Influenced as he was by the ideas of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, he wished to encourage a practical, child-centered educational methodology that emphasized, among other things, education of the senses and preparation for life in society, all with a humanitarian emphasis' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969:16). Actually, Jullien wished to encourage a multi-prismatic humanistic education, as indicated by his emphasis in the questionnaire on the moral, the religious, the physical and the intellectual education of 'man', who, according to him, is 'the *subject* on which education acts'. Man, Jullien avers, 'is composed of *three* elements: *body*, *heart*, and *mind*, whose culture and development constitute for him the true means of happiness' (Fraser, 1964:48). It would be relevant to add here that Jullien's *Plan* and the questions asked reflected also the humanitarian influence of the German Count Leopold Berchold, a renowned 'traveler and humanist', and of the Frenchman M. Laromiguiere to whom he refers in the questionnaire in connection with an education that cultivates the 'faculties of the soul' (Fraser, 1964:41, 91, 133–147; Kaloyiannaki, 2002). And, further, that some researchers (Gautherin, 1993; Leclercque, 1999) consider that Jullien's work constructs a *polyphonic* human world; for in the *Plan* Jullien goes beyond Europe and refers to '*mankind as a whole*' (*humanité*), to 'all people', to the 'amelioration of the human being' and to the 'love for mankind', thus giving a universal and humanitarian character to his comparative approach and the propositions for reform (Kaloyiannaki, 2002).

A French Enlightenment Liberal: Liberté, Raison, Education

In the preface to his study on Jullien, titled *From Jacobin to Liberal* (1993), R. R. Palmer wrote:

Born in the year when armed rebellion against Britain began in America, he (Jullien) witnessed the fall of the Bastille as a schoolboy in Paris, joined the Jacobin club, took part in the Reign of Terror, advocated democracy, put his

hopes in Napoleon Bonaparte, turned against him, welcomed his return from Elba, became an outspoken liberal under the restored Bourbons, rejoiced in the revolution of 1830, had doubts about the July monarchy, welcomed the revolution of 1848, and died a few weeks before the election of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte as president of the Second Republic (Palmer, 1993:ix).

And in a chapter on Jullien as a ‘theorist of education’, the same author noted: ‘In education, as in other respects, he (Jullien) turned from the Jacobin into the liberal. Where he had once seen education as part of the revolutionary process, he came to see it as a substitute for revolution, or as a means by which revolution could be prevented’ (Palmer, 1993:151).

The Enlightenment, R. Freeman Butts, a noted educational historian, has written, ‘was a reaction against the traditional civilisation of the old regime in Europe—against absolute monarchy, closed economic systems, rigid social stratification, religious authoritarianism, an unscientific world view, the doctrine of original sin in human nature, and the domination of intellectual life by medieval conceptions of knowledge’. And further:

Underlying this protest was a growing faith in the powers of man, in science, and in human reason. This age of reason preached the humanitarian faith in progress that man, by taking thought, could reform his institutions as a means of promoting the general welfare. These currents of thought helped to shape the pervasive liberal and democratic ideals that came to mark the heartland of the West (Butts, 1973:307).

To the above, one should add another basic tenet of the Enlightenment, namely, the concept of ‘freedom’. ‘Freedom’ was emphasised by J. J. Rousseau, the eminent modern political and educational philosopher and an Enlightenment thinker who influenced Jullien, but also by an equally eminent philosopher, the German, Immanuel Kant. According to Kant, ‘Enlightenment is man’s emergence from his self-incurred immaturity. There is more chance of an entire public enlightening itself ... if only the public concerned is left in freedom ... freedom to make public use on one’s reason in all matters’ (<http://philosophy.eserver.org/kant/what-is-enlightenment>). Lastly, and of particular relevance here, it should be made explicit what appears to be implicit in the above, that in the philosophy of the Enlightenment, education, pedagogy, ‘politics’ and ‘nation-building’ were closely related.

Jullien’s *Plan* and his other texts on education (e.g. his *General Essay on Education* published in 1808) as well as his many writings on ‘culture’ and ‘civilisation’ reflect certain of the aforementioned key ideas of the Enlightenment. First, as shown in the *Plan* but also elsewhere, Jullien placed great emphasis on ‘reason’ and the related ‘scientific way of knowing’, which, as indicated above, were cardinal tenets of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. In the first number of the newly launched *Revue Encyclopédique*, which appeared in 1819, Jullien wrote: ‘Our new journal should meet one of the needs of our time. Its object is to set forth, accurately and faithfully, the march and continuing progress of human knowledge in relation to the social order and

its improvement which constitute true civilization.’ And in an issue in 1823, he wrote: ‘Our *Revue* is the first and only work to have executed, by periodical publication, the great *Baconian* idea of the *unity of the sciences*, brought together in such a form as to resemble a *universal Congress*, in an *alliance* truly *holy* for advancement of the human mind toward the same moral and philosophical goal in the infinitely varied spheres where it is destined to operate’ (Palmer, 1993:178–181; Davies, 1996:596–598).

A second element in Jullien’s theory of education, which was consonant with the philosophy of the Enlightenment, was his emphasis on the ‘regeneration and perfection of public education/instruction’ (Fraser, 1964:36). Like the French Enlightenment thinkers and the French and English political liberals of that time, Jullien considered public education to be socially and politically important for the production of enlightened and patriotic ‘citizens’, for man’s ‘renaissance’, for progress and national welfare. As Palmer pertinently has observed:

It is evident why Jullien thought of education as an aspect of political or social science. The ideas expressed were not his alone. They may be found, more piecemeal, in the educational plans formulated before and during the Revolution, including those of Talleyrand in 1791, Condorcet in 1792, and a plan endorsed by the Paris Jacobins in 1793. They resemble the ideas of Jeremy Bentham and the emerging “Philosophical Radicals” in England (Palmer, 1993:154).

Still another Enlightenment element in Jullien’s educational ideological repertoire, which reflected the influence of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, was his emphasis on the pedagogical principle of ‘complete liberty in the development of natural faculties or inclinations and the individuality of each pupil’. After visiting Pestalozzi’s school at Yverdon in Switzerland in 1810, Jullien enunciated the following pedagogical principle: ‘The fourth general principle ... consists in allowing a full development of the original faculties and inclinations of each pupil as they reveal and express his true nature. ... The child grows and in a way instructs himself; the teacher is only the external means of development and instruction. ... Education should make each child capable of rising to all perfection that his physical, moral and intellectual nature allows’ (Palmer, 1993:163–164).

An International Educationist/Pedagogue and a Cosmopolitis (World Citizen)

From the 1940s, when Jullien’s *Plan* was accidentally discovered, till today, comparative educationists have credited Jullien with being a pioneer in the development of comparative education; indeed, as noted above, some comparativists have hailed Jullien as the ‘father’ of this modernist *episteme* (science). Generally speaking, however, comparativists have paid relatively little attention to Jullien’s pioneering ideas about international education (IE), a kindred *epistemic* field.

The term/concept ‘international education’ has been plagued by vagueness and a multiplicity of definitions and interpretations concerning its subject matter (Vestal, 1994:13). In the recent literature on it, there is a distinction drawn between international education and comparative education, but also a recognition that the two

epistemic domains are related to each other (Fraser & Brickman, 1968). This is also witnessed by the fact that in the 1960s, the name of the newly founded American-based Comparative Education Society was changed to Comparative and International Education Society (Jones, 1971:22). When the term is used by comparative and international educationists it usually refers to the following activities and concerns: (a) study of the education of other peoples in other countries; (b) educational exchanges and study abroad; (c) technical assistance to educational development in other countries; (d) international cooperation in educational development through international organisations; (e) ‘comparative and cross-cultural studies in a variety of subjects and disciplines’; and (f) intercultural education (Vestal, 1994:14).

Viewed from such an international education perspective, one could, not unjustifiably, refer to Jullien as being a precursor of ‘international education’. His views about, and criticisms of, the state of education at the time referred to the ‘different countries of Europe’, not just to his native France. Also, as he states in the *Plan*, what was needed for ‘the regeneration and perfection of public education’ in Europe was the organisation of a *Special Education Commission* ‘small in number, composed of men in charge of collecting, through their own means and by corresponding associates chosen with care, the materials for a general work on the establishments and methods of education and instruction in the different European states, related and compared under this report’. With a carefully selected staff of international associates, this special international commission would see that ‘analytical summaries of information’ about ‘the condition of education and public instruction’ in all the countries of Europe were collected through the use of a common method, namely, a ‘questionnaire’. The purpose of collecting such ‘analytical summaries of information’ was to evaluate the state of education in each European nation, to determine and explain the ‘deficient and ailing sections’ in each country, and to make suggestions for improvement. Speaking as a theorist of education, but more so as an international educational reformer and pedagogue, Jullien elaborated:

These analytical summaries of information, collected at the same time and in the same order ... would supply successively, in less than three years, comparable tables of the present state of European nations in regard to this important aspect. One could judge with ease those which are advancing; those which are falling back, those which remain stationary; what are, in each country, the deficient and ailing sections; what are the causes of internal defects ... or what are the obstacles to the ascendancy of religion, ethics, and social advancement, and how these obstacles can be overcome; finally, which parts offer improvement capable of being transposed from one country to another, with modifications and changes which circumstances and localities would determine suitable (Fraser, 1964:36–37).

In the *Plan*, in addition to the organisation of a special international commission, he proposed that a *Normal Institute of Education* and similar institutions be established in different areas for the training of ‘good teachers’. The Normal Institute would publish a multilingual *Bulletin* or *General Journal of Education* which would disseminate information for the ‘perfecting of instructional methods’ (Fraser, 1964:39).

Jullien's internationalism in education and more broadly in 'culture', 'knowledge' and 'civilisation' was reflected in other activities and theoretical treatises. As Fraser, quoted above, has noted: 'He (Jullien) travelled extensively, attending international congresses, devoting his time to learned societies, and corresponding with statesmen and educators whose cosmopolitanism sought to evade the confines of nationalism as it consolidated itself in Europe.' Apropos of Jullien's contacts with eminent international figures, Fraser quotes Thomas Jefferson, the American president, who in a letter in 1810, acknowledging receipt of Jullien's *General Essay on Education*, praises Jullien for his 'devotion to international education' (Fraser, 1964:12–13).

The *Revue Encyclopédique*, of which he was founder and editor, published articles, reports, short notices, book reviews and letters on civilisation/culture (letters, literature and the arts) and the sciences in America, Asia, Africa and Europe. In one of the 'letters' to the correspondents and contributors of the *Revue*, Jullien noted that the journal was 'circulated through all countries of the civilized world', and added:

It is not enough for us to be *encyclopedists*; we aspire especially to be *cosmopolites* (world citizens). We would not think our task fulfilled unless each of our numbers presented, in the most complete and accurate way, the state of sciences, letters, arts, intellectual labors and moral improvement throughout the surface of the globe. (Palmer, 1993:180–181)

Lastly, it would be appropriate to mention here that Jullien, the internationalist and the *cosmopolitis* (world citizen), does not only merit Palmer's characterisation of 'apostle of civilisation', he could also, quite justifiably, be called 'apostle of peace'. Perturbed by what he perceived to be 'the dissolution of all religious, moral, and social bonds, extreme corruption, degradation of minds and hearts, which have produced revolutions and wars', Jullien stressed the need for the improvement of education, nationally and internationally, for international cooperation and for peaceful coexistence (Kaloyiannaki, 2002). He became a member of the London-based 'Association of Friends for Peace', and in 1833 in *A Letter to the English Nation*, he wrote:

Our illustrious and learned CUVIER, whose recent death was a loss as keenly felt in England as in France, had rightly judged, in his lofty meditations, that only *comparative anatomy* and *comparative geology* could advance the sciences of anatomy and geology which remained so long in their infancy. Similarly, only *comparative civilization* can speedily advance our present civilization, which still preserves, despite its brilliant and imposing wonders, the deep and afflicting traces of the old barbarism. (Palmer, 1993:205)

Given his views about the value of a reformed European education and pedagogy in the regeneration of European societies and the amelioration of the human condition in general, in the *Letter* quoted above, Jullien could easily have added *comparative education* next to *comparative civilisation* as being of equal significance in the advancement of 'our present civilization'. This ameliorative element, which is salient in Jullien's own 'lofty meditations' as well as in his proposals and activities for the

advancement of 'civilization' and 'comparative and international education', merits additional comment.

A 'Scientific Humanist' Reformer and a Meliorist Comparativist/Internationalist

Historical accounts of comparative education as a modernist *episteme* ('science') have placed Jullien's conception of this *epistemic* area in the first phase of its course of development, which has been characterised as the phase of 'borrowing'. Other nineteenth-century observers of European education who have been placed in this 'borrowing' category of 'comparativists' are the American and European educational reformers mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, namely, Calvin Stowe, Victor Cousin and Horace Mann, about whom more will be said below. The emphasis of 'borrowing' in the nineteenth century, according to Bereday, 'was on cataloguing descriptive educational data; comparison of the collected information was then undertaken in order to make available the best practices of one country for transplantation to others' (Bereday, 1964:7). And, according to Noah and Eckstein, Jullien's *Plan* 'is a prime example of work in comparative education motivated by a desire to gain useful lessons from abroad' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969:15, 21). Behind the idea of 'borrowing', of 'transplantation of best practices' and of 'gaining useful lessons' was the meliorist ideology of improvement.

In the *Plan*, Jullien uses the word 'borrowing' as a likely benefit of comparative analysis, when he talks about applying his 'instrument' and 'observation charts' first to the cantons of Switzerland. In his words: 'The bringing together and comparison of cantons in these respects will give birth to the idea of borrowing from one another what they may have which is good and useful in their institutions' (Fraser, 1964:46). In the same text, Jullien also uses the word 'transpose' in the sense of transferring what is found through comparison to be an improvement in one country, to another. In such a case, however, 'modifications and changes which circumstances and localities would determine "suitable," would have to be made'. So, one could say that behind his notions of 'borrowing' and 'transfer' was one side to Jullien's meliorist ideology which was similar to that of the aforementioned nineteenth-century reformers.

But there was another side to Jullien's meliorism that differentiated him from the other 'borrowing comparativists'. This, simply stated, was that Jullien had definite ideas about the type of education and pedagogy that was needed for the regeneration of European man, civilisation and society. This is patently evident by the types of questions he included in the *Plan*, some of which are quoted in the relevant section above. The regeneration of human society, Jullien averred, could only be accomplished through a 'moral and religious education' as well as an 'intellectual education'. A believer in 'faculty psychology', the dominant psychological theory of the time, Jullien called for an education that would develop 'attention, comparison and reasoning', the 'three principal faculties of the mind'. More important, Jullien implies in the questionnaire, would be moral and religious education, specifically: 'first development of moral sentiments ... religious instruction, dry and dogmatic or interesting to make a profound impression on the soul ... knowledge of God, daily prayers, feeling of benevolence, courage, patience' (Fraser, 1994:60, 63, 71). And in the introductory part

to the questionnaire, he unequivocally declared: ‘It is through the return to religion and morality, it is through a reform widely contrived, introduced in public education, that one can reinvigorate men . . . , it is time to give to the prosperity of nations and to the broad foundation of politics the necessary stability of religion and morality’ (Fraser, 1964:34–35).

Epilogue: Jullien as a Comparative and International Educator

We have no evidence that Jullien’s comparative methodology or his ideas and proposals about comparative and international education as presented in his *Plan and preliminary views for a work in comparative education* were adopted or had any significant influence in the subsequent development of the two related *epistemic* domains. As historians of comparative education, we concur with what Stewart Fraser in his authoritative edition and evaluation of Jullien’s *Plan* wrote back in 1964. Agreeing with the historical judgement of Franz Hilker, Isaac Kandel and Nicholas Hans, three twentieth-century pioneer comparativists, that Jullien ‘was unable to influence the development of comparative education to any great extent’, Fraser added:

While Jullien may not necessarily qualify as the principal instigator or exponent of comparative pedagogy in the nineteenth century his *Plan* remains one of the most important artifacts in the science. Technically, and in fact, Jullien never developed a thoroughgoing comparative methodology in education, nor did he live to see his ideas for institutes of international education become established, but he has been widely identified as one of the first to consolidate these useful ideas into a preliminary draft of such potential magnitude that he cannot be ignored today (Fraser, 1964:117).

The Policy-Oriented and Administrative Meliorist Motif in Comparative-International Education: Victor Cousin of France, and Horace Mann, Calvin Stowe and Henry Barnard of the United States

Jullien’s *Plan* and his other writings that dealt with comparative and international education were among very few such discourses that appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Jullien’s *Plan* was rather unique insofar as ‘comparative education’ was concerned. But, as William Brickman, a noted historian of ‘international education’ has noted, by 1900, the ‘meager literature’ on ‘foreign education’, what in German has been referred to as *Auslandspädagogik*, was transformed into a ‘flood of books’ and other writings, e.g. reports, travellers’ or visitors’ observations, journalistic reportages and the like (Fraser & Brickman, 1968:19). This was especially true of the United States, but a heightened interest in *Auslandspädagogik* (education in ‘other lands’) was also manifested in European countries, particularly in England and France.

The period following the French Revolution was one of portentous political, social, cultural and economic changes. According to the already mentioned historian Freeman

Butts, by the middle of the nineteenth century there was a ‘transmutation in the heartland of Western civilisation’ from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’ ideas, socio-economic and political institutions, and values (Butts, 1973:295). Central to the ‘modernity project’, to use Jurgen Habermas much discussed characterisation of this transmutation, also referred to as ‘modernisation’, was the Enlightenment ideas of reason and the ‘reconstruction of the public sphere in which reason might prevail’, as well as the ‘rational organisation of everyday social life’, of ‘objective science’, of universal ‘morality and law’ (Habermas, 2007).

An important element of the Enlightenment ‘modernity project’ was the reform of education. The rational organisation of ‘national/public education’ was seen as a necessary condition in the reconstruction of the public sphere—the emerging political formation of the ‘nation state’—and the rational organisation of social life (Butts, 1973:301–302). As was the case with Jullien’s interest in comparative education, nineteenth-century European and American reformers, in their capacity as educational administrators and policy-makers in their respective countries, showed an interest in ‘foreign/international education’, mainly, however, for the purpose of what in the aforementioned historical accounts of the development of comparative education has been referred to as ‘educational borrowing’ (Bereday, 1964:7; Noah & Eckstein, 1969:16–21). Jullien’s interest in comparative and international education, as noted above, was partly melioristic in the ‘educational borrowing’ connotation of the term, but purportedly it was also ‘scientific’: the systematic collection of comparative ‘facts and observations’ through a questionnaire, which would permit the comparativist-internationalist ‘to deduct from them certain principles, determined rules, so that education might become almost nearly a positive science’ (Fraser, 1964:40–41). To illustrate this ‘non-scientific’ melioristic, in the sense of ‘borrowing’ international/foreign educational discourses and practices, we have chosen to present the ideas of Victor Cousin of France, Horace Mann, Calvin Stowe and Henry Barnard of the United States.

The French Discourse: Victor Cousin—‘If it is Prussia I Study, it is Always of France that I Think’

Victor Cousin (1792–1867) was a contemporary of Jullien, and like Jullien, an Enlightenment liberal intellectual, but there is no evidence that the two collaborated or communicated with each other. Cousin, according to Palmer, was mentioned as ‘subject’ in Jullien’s *Revue Encyclopédique*, but not as a contributor (Palmer, 1993:180). In his professional career as philosopher-teacher at the Sorbonne, Cousin was attracted to German philosophy, particularly to Hegelian idealism, which, according to Walter Brewer’s authoritative study *Victor Cousin as a Comparative Educator* (1971), Cousin introduced into French philosophy (Brewer, 1971:23–24). It was not, however, only German philosophy that Cousin held in high esteem and sought to introduce into France. Like other contemporary European and, as we shall see later on in this chapter, American thinkers and reformers, Cousin held German public education to be very successful, and worthy of study for the purpose of emulating some of its

characteristics and practices. So, soon after his transformation from philosophy professor to philosopher cum administrator and educational policy-maker during the July Monarchy of Louis Philippe (1830–1848)—he served as a member of the Supreme Council of Public Instruction in Guizot’s ministry and in 1840 for a short time as Minister of Public Instruction—Cousin travelled to Germany to study the German educational institutions and practices. The result of his German tour was his influential report *Rapport sur l’état de l’instruction publique en Prusse* (Report on the state of public instruction in Prussia) (1831) which, according to the American historian E. W. Knight, ‘is among the most important of all the reports on educational conditions in Europe during the second quarter of the nineteenth century’ (Knight, 1930:117–118).

Cousin’s Report on Prussian Public Instruction

The main part of Cousin’s report dealt with aspects of Prussian education that Cousin considered appropriate to his purpose, which was expressed in these words: ‘if it is Prussia I study, it is always of France that I think’ (Brewer, 1971:50). Most of what Cousin considered appropriate for his purpose, he found in a legislative proposal by Privy Councilor Johann Wilhelm Suvern, which he called the ‘Law of 1819’. Cousin commented on the following aspects of the Prussian public system of primary education: the organisation and administration or ‘the government of public instruction’; the training, appointment, promotion, emoluments and ‘punishment’ of primary ‘schoolmasters’; the ‘duty’ of parents to send their children to the primary schools, and of each parish ‘to maintain a primary school at its own cost’; the ‘different gradations (or stages) of primary instruction’, i.e. elementary schools (*Elementarschulen*) and burgher schools (*Burgerschulen*); and the content of school curricula (Knight, 1930).

The Suvern ‘Law of 1819’ could be interpreted as being part of the politico-social side of the already mentioned European ‘modernity project’. As Brewer has written, ‘it was among the last in the series of political and social reforms that were designed to modernize and strengthen the State after the disasters of 1805–1806 had left Prussia dismembered and prostrate at the feet of the French Imperial Army’ (Brewer, 1971:44). The Enlightenment liberal reformer Cousin, like his contemporary Prussian reformers, considered the establishment of a national system of public primary schools as being a basic desideratum necessary for the development of a modern French nation state. In the Germanic-Prussian system of primary education and in the Law of 1819, which he described in glowing terms in his 1831 report, Cousin, then a high-ranking policy-maker, saw a framework for the restructuring of French education and the formation of a national system.

In his report, Cousin identified and commented on several aspects of the legal and institutional framework of the Prussian educational system in the ‘Law of 1819’, which, according to him, could be profitably transferred to France. Among these, three received special attention. One, to which he devoted considerable space, had to do with the provisions and mechanisms, which Cousin called the ‘machinery’ and ‘government’ of public instruction, for the formation of a national system. Specifically, he commented on: (a) the ‘national’ obligation of parents to send their children to the primary schools; (b) the ‘duty of each parish to maintain a primary school at its own

cost'; (c) a decentralised administrative structure, whereby, according to the 'Law of 1819 ... every primary school, in town or country, shall have its own particular management, its own special committee of superintendence'; and (d) maintenance 'in a just and reasonable measure' of the 'ancient' and beneficial union of popular education with Christianity and the church, but 'always under the supreme control of the state, and of the minister of public instruction and ecclesiastical affairs' (Cousin, 1930:130–155, 189–198).

Another aspect of Prussian education, embodied in the 'Law of 1819', that impressed Cousin was the organisation of schooling at a national level. The law provided for 'two stages or gradations in primary instruction, i.e. elementary schools (*Elementarschulen*)' for the 'lower classes' and 'burgher schools (*Burgerschulen, Stadtschulen*)' for the middle-class tradesmen and artisans, followed by a third-stage gradation, the 'gymnasia', for those who wanted 'to enter on a course of practical studies in ordinary life, or scientific, superior and special, or professional, studies at the universities' (pp. 155–156). Cousin also referred to, and commented—rather positively—on, the detailed provisions of the law that pertained to the content of the curricula of the elementary and burgher schools. He noted that both types of schools were to provide a general curriculum consisting of religion and morals, the German language, history, geography, mathematics, physics, gymnastics, drawing and singing. The burgher schools, in addition, were to teach Latin. The gymnasia, on the other hand, were to provide exclusively 'a classical and liberal culture' (pp. 155–164).

The third aspect of the Prussian system of education that received special attention by Cousin was the training of primary 'schoolmasters' and their 'mode of appointment, promotion and punishment'. Here again, Cousin quoted in detail the provisions of the 1819 Suvern Law, emphasising what he did with the aforementioned other aspects of the Prussian system, namely, the care and active role of the state in education (pp. 167–188).

Translated into English and published in England and the United States, Cousin's report on public instruction in Prussia impressed the English and American educational reformers, who in the second quarter of the nineteenth century were actively involved in the development of a national state system of elementary schools (Brewer, 1971:54–57). In America, according to Knight, the educational historian: 'The report served to emphasize the importance of state control of education and the training of teachers in normal schools supported by the state. Its influence is widely apparent, especially in Michigan and Massachusetts.' In England, Knight added, '[t]he *Foreign Quarterly Review* viewed Cousin's report as an incontestable proof, "by the solid and substantial argument of complete practical success", that a system of national education was not visionary, not merely a chimera, "not a phantom of the brain, imagined by dreaming philosophers; but a mode of insuring the elementary instruction of all children, which may be established and maintained not less than any army or navy"' (Knight, 1930:116–119).

The influence of Cousin's report in England and the United States lay more in providing a legitimising force for the educational reform efforts of the times, which sought to establish a national state system of elementary/primary schooling. In his native, France, on the other hand, Cousin's report not only provided a legitimating

rationale for the reform of primary instruction, it actually influenced the enactment of the famous Guizot Law of 1833, which in large part was written by Cousin himself; it was based on his report, and it laid the foundation for the development of a French national system of elementary education (Knight, 1930:116; Brewer, 1971:36; Halls, 1965:20). It should be noted here that Guizot and Cousin, both liberals, became high-ranking political figures and educational policy-makers under the new monarchy—the July Monarchy of Louis Philippe (1830–1848). ‘To liberals’, according to the European historian J. M. Roberts, ‘Louis Philippe was attractive because he reconciled the Revolution with the stability provided by the monarchy’ (Roberts, 1996:352). To Cousin, the post-Revolutionary liberal intellectual, who characterised himself as an ‘eclectic’ thinker, a Louis Philippe constitutional monarchy would combine the best qualities of both monarchy and democracy. As an ‘eclectic’ liberal political ideologist and policy-maker during the July Monarchy, he was to found a philosophy of the middle-of-the-road that meant to offend neither Catholic nor atheist, that would be liberal, proclaiming the principles of the French Revolution, but would be opposed to republicanism, a philosophy that was an apologia for the rule of the ‘upper bourgeoisie’ (Brewer, 1971:30). Cousin’s discourse on education—his policy talk and policy practices—reflected his ideological ‘eclecticism’.

An ‘Eclectic’ Political Liberal and Educational Reformer

Cousin’s ‘eclectic’ liberal educational ideology is reflected both in his discursive text on Prussian education and in the policy text of the Guizot Law, reputedly written largely by Cousin. As noted in the discussion above on Jullien, one of the basic doctrines of the European Enlightenment and the ‘modernity project’ was the reform of political and sociocultural institutions, notably the ‘state’, i.e. the machinery of government, and public education as an ideological mechanism of the state. Cousin, the eclectic liberal of the July Monarchy, advocated that for national regeneration and nation-building, the French state should take a more active role in broadening the popular base for education. As Brewer has written:

He [Cousin] argued that the right to educate was neither the natural right of the individual, nor of a group of individuals sharing a special creed, nor was it a private industry; “it is a public resource”. ... Organized society—the State—by providing a school has the right and the duty to insist that certain conditions obtain: this is the State’s right of supervision (Brewer, 1971:16).

In his report, Cousin lauded the Prussian experience of state-building and the state’s active involvement in the development of a national system of elementary education. After quoting profusely from the Law of 1819, which specified the state’s ‘care’ and involvement in the organisation and provision of public instruction, he eulogised: ‘This law ... omits no topic of interest, and is the most extensive and complete law on primary instruction of which I have any knowledge. It is impossible not to be struck with its profound wisdom ... the Prussian law of 1819 appears to me excellent’ (Cousin,

1930:205–206). It was the 1819 Suvern legislative proposal that Cousin recommended to the French Minister of the Interior that it form the basis for the reform of French primary education (Brewer, 1971:44).

The Guizot Law of 1833, whose objective, as stated by Guizot himself, was ‘the greatest good to be derived from educating the people’ (Brewer, 1971:17), was indeed based on Cousin’s report and the Suvern proposal. It reflected the liberal ideology of both Cousin and Guizot, two active liberal educational reformers during the July Monarchy of Louis Philippe. The main provisions of the Guizot Law, which are relevant for us here, were the following: (a) every commune (and there were more than 30,000) was obliged to open an elementary school to which children from poor indigent families would be admitted free; (b) every *department* was required to establish a normal school to train primary school teachers; (c) elementary education was to be organised hierarchically into two levels, i.e. (i) lower primary level schools—similar to the Prussian *Elementarschulen*—to teach the 3 Rs, French and religion, and (ii) upper/intermediate level schools, similar to the Prussian *Burgerschulen*, for the middle classes, to train for commerce and industry; (d) religious and moral instruction was to be included in both levels of schools; (e) the administrative structure of the system was to be decentralised after the Prussian pattern; and (f) the (liberal) principle of *la liberté d’enseignement* was to be recognised by sanctioning the opening of non-state, i.e. private, institutions (Brewer, 1971:58; Halls, 1965:20; Bowen, 1981:315).

Cousin’s ‘eclectic’ liberalism was also reflected in his views about secondary education and his conception of the ideal school system. In this connection it should be noted that Cousin also inquired into the secondary schools of Prussia and Holland and made some comparisons with the French secondary *collèges*. Among other things, Cousin called for the increase in the number of such schools and the removal of barriers to the establishment of private secondary schools. He suggested that the principle of *la liberté d’enseignement* be adopted for secondary education as it had been adopted in 1833 for primary education, and that private secondary schools, like private primary schools ‘shall be subject to the supervision of the special authorities of public education in all matters that concern morals, discipline and studies’ (Brewer, 1971:89). As to his ideal school system, Cousin, as quoted by Brewer (1971), envisaged a selective class system of post-elementary schools: primary elementary schools for everyone, ‘advanced elementary schools’ for the ‘middle class’, lower-level secondary schools for ‘young people of the middle and upper classes’, and selective upper secondary schools for the ‘upper ranks of society’ (p. 95).

Cousin was a humanist intellectual and a cultural educational reformer. He had a classical humanistic formal education and, as noted above, he was a professor of philosophy who was attracted to German thought, particularly Hegelian idealism. In his report on Prussian public instruction he lauded the provision in the Suvern Law that ‘primary instruction shall have for its aim to develop the faculties of the soul, the reason, the senses, and the bodily strength’, and ‘it shall comprehend religion and morals’ (Cousin, 1930:159). And in the same report, which was addressed to the French Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs, Cousin declared: ‘Thank God, Sir, you are too enlightened a statesman to think that true popular instruction can

exist without moral education, popular morality without religion, or popular religion without a church. Popular education, ought therefore to be religious, that is to say Christian' (p. 223). Elsewhere in the report, Cousin talked about the programme of studies in the French secondary schools, the *collèges*. Again addressing the Minister, he expressed his 'zeal for classical and scientific studies', and added: '[N]ot only do I think that we must keep up to the plan of study prescribed in our *collèges*, and particularly the philological part of that plan, but I think we ought to raise and extend it.' He further advised the Minister that the French 'endeavour to rival Germany in the solidity of our classical learning', because 'classical studies are, without any comparison, the most important of all'. And speaking as a humanist, he reasoned: 'for their [classical studies] tendency and their object is the knowledge of human nature, which they consider under all its grandest aspects ... classical studies keep alive the sacred tradition of the moral and intellectual life of the human race' (p. 213).

Cousin's observations and reports about foreign education were not limited to primary education in Prussia. He extended his observations to secondary education in Prussia and Holland, and at the same time he made comparisons between the French and the Prussian secondary schools. In one report, a 'memoir on secondary instruction in the kingdom of Prussia' (1837), he referred to the curriculum of the Prussian *Gymnasien* where there was an 'alliance of scientific with literary studies'. And although, in the report on Prussian primary education, as shown above, Cousin emphasised his zeal for 'classical' and 'philological' studies, in the 1837 Memoir on secondary education, he advised that in the *collège* there could be a 'redistribution and an extension of time' so that 'the ancient humanities and the modern languages, mathematics, and natural sciences would be studied' (Brewer, 1971:91–92). As a corpus of knowledge and a mode of intellectual discipline or a means of training the mind (Cousin, like Jullien, adhered to the psychological theory known as 'faculty psychology' and the associated idea of 'mental discipline'), Cousin's conception of the content of the curriculum of the secondary *collèges*—a general education that combined humanistic with scientific studies—could be interpreted as foreshadowing the ideal of *culture générale* which subsequently dominated French educational thought for a long time (Halls, 1965:2).

Victor Cousin and Comparative-International Education

In historical accounts of the modernist course of comparative education that appeared in the 1960s, Cousin is cited as belonging to a period or 'phase' in the development of the field, which has been conceptualised and interpreted in such terms as 'borrowing' (Bereday, 1964), 'educational borrowing' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969) or 'selective cultural borrowing' (Holmes, 1965; Jones, 1971). Similarly, Brewer in his detailed study *Victor Cousin as a Comparative Educator* (1971) described Cousin's report on Prussian secondary education 'as an example of judicious borrowing' (p. 97). There is indeed evidence to justify such a historical periodisation in the modernist course of comparative education. And in the case of Cousin, in his report on Prussian education, as quoted by Brewer (1971), he averred: 'The true greatness of a people does not consist in imitating nothing from others, but in borrowing everywhere what is good and in perfecting it while appropriating for oneself' (p. vii).

The American Discourse: Horace Mann, Calvin Stowe and Henry Barnard

Interest in European education, particularly in German/Prussian, English and French education, was conspicuously evident in nineteenth-century America. It was salient in the first half of the century, and in the case of elementary schooling during the active period of the common school reform in the second quarter of the century. During this period, many American scholars and educational reformers travelled to Europe in search of ideas and practical lessons that could be helpful to them in their efforts to reform and improve education at home. In this study, we have chosen to write about three well-known and influential educational reformers: Horace Mann, Calvin Stowe and Henry Barnard. Mann was a liberal social and educational reformer, a religious humanitarian, and he served as Secretary of the Board of Education of the state of Massachusetts; Stowe was a professor of classical Greek and sacred literature, and an educational thinker who showed great interest in the reform of education in Ohio; and Barnard was a superintendent of schools in Connecticut, who served as United States Commissioner of Education and for many years published the *American Journal of Education*.

Mann, Stowe and Barnard were actively involved, through word and deed, in the common school movement, itself an integral part of the post-revolutionary republican ideal of education. 'In the century of republican education [from the 1760s to the 1860s]', R. F. Butts, the historian, has written: 'Americans eventually chose the common school, control and supported in common, and embracing a supposedly non-sectarian religious outlook ... their primary concern was to design a universal, free comprehensive system of public schools that would promote modern republican [democratic] institutions' (Butts, 1973:408).

As with the Frenchman Victor Cousin, the three Americans were motivated to study European education primarily for 'melioristic' purposes: to see whether they could learn something that would be useful to them in their reformist efforts to improve American education, particularly primary/elementary schooling. Stowe, for example, was commissioned by the state of Ohio to collect, while in Europe, 'such facts and information as he may deem useful to the State [Ohio] in relation to the various systems of public instruction and education' (Knight, 1930:248). And, as R. B. Downs, one of Mann's biographers, quoting Mann has written: 'the celebrity of institutions in foreign countries had attracted his attention, filling him with "an intensive desire of knowing whether, in any respect, those institutions were superior to our own; and if anything were found in them worthy of adoption, of transferring it for our improvement". ... Of first importance to Mann was to find "beacons" to terrify as well as lights to guide' (Downs, 1974:88). Also, as with Cousin, the Americans had high praise for the German/Prussian common school education, particularly the active role of the state, and the governance of schooling. All three were especially impressed by the Prussians' success in their efforts to establish a system of what Barnard called 'true national education' (Barnard, 1872:365). All three also commented favourably on the Prussian teachers and the internal pedagogical aspects of schooling. Mann, especially, was impressed by the methods of teaching, the school discipline and generally by what he felt was a humane

classroom atmosphere in the Prussian schools (Downs, 1974; Holmes, 1965). Stowe praised the non-Republican government of the ‘unostentatious’ monarch Frederick William in that it ‘repeatedly and strenuously insisted in all the laws pertaining to education, to awaken a *national spirit*—to create in the youthful mind a warm attachment to his native land, and its institutions’ (Knight, 1930:255). And, like Jullien and Cousin, all three Americans made special reference to the emphasis the Prussian schools placed on moral and religious instruction.

The American Liberal Republicanism/Reformism and the Comparative-International Education Melioristic Discourse

From a political ideological standpoint, Horace Mann, Calvin Stowe and Henry Barnard could be characterised as liberal democratic-republican thinkers and social activists who espoused the principles of nineteenth-century ‘liberal republicanism’ also referred to as ‘classical liberalism’ with its emphasis on freedom, liberal democracy and popular education. Referring specifically to Horace Mann’s republican ideology and its relationship to public education, Lawrence A. Cremin, the distinguished American historian, has written:

Mann understood well the integral relationship between freedom, popular education, and republican government. ... A nation cannot long remain ignorant and free. No political structure, however artfully devised, can inherently guarantee the rights and liberties of citizens, for freedom can be secure only as knowledge is widely distributed among the populace. Hence, universal popular education is the only foundation on which republican government can securely rest (Cremin, 1957:7).

Unlike Jullien’s, the American discourse was only tangentially about comparative education, and like Cousin’s, it was more about foreign education, or to use Fraser’s and Brickman’s terminology, it was *Auslandspädagogik* (Fraser & Brickman, 1968:19). Like the francophone discourse (Cousin’s and what Jullien wrote about foreign education in the *Plan* and elsewhere), the American discourse was descriptive, reportorial, ‘ahistorical’ and for the most part non-comparative, non-systematic and non-analytic, except with some qualifications in the case of Henry Barnard’s studies.

The comparative educational historian cannot but be impressed by Barnard’s comprehensive account of the history, organisation, administration, studies, curricula, teachers and pedagogy, discipline and statistics of public schools of every grade and for all classes, as well as other institutions of general education, in different countries (Barnard, 1872). In his commentary on Barnard’s approach and studies, Holmes has observed that ‘unquestionably’ Barnard’s ‘approach to comparative education was largely historical and descriptive’, and his aim to produce an ‘encyclopaedia of education ... was virtually achieved’ (Holmes, 1965:14). Noah and Eckstein have also commented on Barnard’s encyclopedism, but they were more critical of his approach than Holmes. According to them, Barnard ‘saw merit in the indiscriminate and even unsystematic recording and republication of *all* that was available’ (Noah & Eckstein,

1969:25–26). It is appropriate to characterise Barnard's approach as being descriptive, but in our interpretation, it is inappropriate to characterise it as 'unsystematic' or 'indiscriminate reporting'. It would also be appropriate to characterise Barnard as a good 'chronicler' or a good 'educational narrator' or 'educational ethnographer', rather than a good 'educational historian'; his historical accounts of education in the several European countries lacked the elements of historical interpretation and contextual explanation, two basic desiderata of any historical *episteme*/science. Nor can Barnard, and we might add Mann and Stowe, strictly speaking, be described as 'comparativists', as Holmes as well as Noah and Eckstein have argued (Holmes, 1965; Noah & Eckstein, 1969). Barnard, in several of his studies of education in European countries, always wrote about the 'history' or the 'historical development' of education and instruction in the particular countries, or about the 'educational history' of each state, e.g. Prussia (Barnard, 1872:335). But his historical accounts lacked the element of interpretation and contextual explanation, which are basic desiderata of any historical *episteme* ('science'). Barnard's historical accounts can at best be characterised as historical narratives or 'chronicles'. One, however, should not underestimate the value of good descriptive chronicles or narratives in studying foreign education even today, and in our judgement Barnard's 'educational histories' deserve high praise, especially when one considers the times when they were written.

Coda—on Meliorism

Finally, there were two other elements in the nineteenth-century American 'comparative-international discourse', as examined above, which differentiated it from the European, as was exemplified by the aforementioned francophone Victor Cousin and even Marc-Antoine Jullien. The first, simply stated, was that the Americans were more disposed to look critically at the European educational experience than the Frenchmen. The second, which is worthy of some additional comment, pertained to their 'meliorism', an overriding consideration/purpose of all the nineteenth-century precursors of 'comparative-international education', and one we may add which, *ab initio*, has been, to a degree more or less, germane to what may be called the 'comparative epistemic *problematique*'.

Meliorism, from the Latin *melior* (better), can be understood as inquiry with the objective of improvement. As indicated in this chapter, the 'objective of improvement' was germane to all the nineteenth-century inquiries into foreign, in this case European, systems of education. We noted that Jullien talked about collecting 'facts and observations' that would help in the reform of education for the betterment of European societies and, internationally, of the human condition; Cousin, Mann, Stowe and Barnard talked about the improvement of national education in their own countries. We have also noted that well-known comparativists like George Bereday, Harold Noah and Max Eckstein in the United States, and Brian Holmes in England have characterised all of the nineteenth-century French and American observers and students of European education, mentioned here, as belonging to the 'borrowing' or 'selective cultural borrowing' phase in the development of comparative education. According to these later comparativists, the nineteenth-century precursors were motivated 'by a desire to gain

useful lessons from abroad' and to 'borrow', transfer or 'transplant' useful ideas and practices for the purposes of educational improvement (Noah & Eckstein, 1969; Bereday, 1964). The 'borrowing' aspect/dimension of meliorism is clearly evident in Jullien and Cousin. But it is not as clear in the case of the American nineteenth-century meliorist reformers. It is, of course, the case that, like the Europeans, the American policy-makers and administrators were motivated 'by a desire to gain useful lessons from abroad', but not for the purpose of 'educational borrowing' or 'transplantation' as understood by Jullien and Cousin. It would be more accurate to say that the American meliorists sought 'lessons' from abroad to use as legitimating rationales for the reform of national public education in the United States.

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FORGOTTEN MEN, FORGOTTEN THEMES: THE HISTORICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL-CULTURAL AND LIBERAL HUMANIST MOTIF IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Andreas M. Kazamias

The Historical-Philosophical-Cultural and Liberal Humanist Comparative Discourses

Historical accounts of the development of Comparative Education (CE) as a field of study trace its beginnings to several discourses—policy talk and policy practice—in Europe and America in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century (in 1817), the Enlightenment Jacobin-turned into liberal thinker Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris (Palmer, 1993: 151) published his *Esquisse et vues preliminaries d'un ouvrage sur l'education compare* (*Plan/Sketch and preliminary views for a work on comparative education*), often taken to mark the beginning of CE as a modernist *episteme*. In this short book, Jullien sought to construct an empirically based 'positive science' of CE, one that would provide 'non-arbitrary' and 'non-capricious' knowledge for 'the reform and improvement of education' (Fraser, 1964: 40–41). In the ensuing years—by the middle decades of the century—another type of comparative discourse became dominant that was quite different from that of Jullien, in a number of reports on education in continental Europe, written for the most part by educational administrators, educational policy-makers or policy-advisers, social thinkers and social reformers, e.g. Horace Mann, Calvin Stowe, John Griscom and Henry Barnard from the United States, Joseph Kay and Matthew Arnold from England, and Victor Cousin from France. In observing and studying continental European systems of education, e.g. the German/Prussian, the French, the Italian and the Swiss, the overriding consideration of these 'comparative educationists' was 'lesson learning' and 'borrowing': to see what useful lessons could be drawn from such observations in order to press for educational reforms at home (Jones, 1971: 45). In general, as we have noted elsewhere, these early comparative education discourses were: (a) mostly 'reportorial-descriptive'; (b) they were governed by a lesson-learning utilitarian-instrumental purpose in order to reform education at home; and (c) they were melioristic in that the authors were mainly concerned with the improvement of education based on certain *a priori* values as to what a good educational system is (Kazamias & Massialas, 1965: 2).

In the second half of the nineteenth century comparative education discourses began to take a different epistemic form/trajectory. Beginning in mid-Victorian England with

Matthew Arnold—the poet, the literary critic and the apostle of Eurocentric humanistic culture—and in the United States with William T. Harris—the Hegelian philosopher-educator and US Commissioner of Education—and culminating in England with Michael Sadler—Eurocentric classical humanist, historian-comparative scholar and liberal educational reformer, one observes the adumbration of what may be called the ‘historical-philosophical-cultural and liberal humanist’ motif in CE that came to dominate the field until the middle decade of the twentieth century. In the Anglo-Saxon world, the ideas of Matthew Arnold and more so those of Michael Sadler exemplify best the nineteenth century nascent ‘historical-philosophical-cultural’ CE discourse.

Matthew Arnold and, as we discuss in the sections that follow, Michael Sadler, both nurtured in the nineteenth century hegemonic classical humanistic *paideia*, were critics of the Victorian polity, society and culture. Arnold, in particular, was a caustic critic of the Victorian ruling aristocracy, the uncultured ‘barbarians’, and the undemocratic political ideology of laissez-faire liberalism—with its emphasis on individualism, voluntarism and non-state interference—which he called the creed of the Philistines, the people who did not possess ‘sweetness and light’ or ‘culture’. Liberalism, according to him, connoted ‘democratic equality’ or ‘social liberty’, rather than the cult of individualism or the rule of one class. Culture, his favourite word, and the object of education, could not be achieved without the intervention of the State, which he interpreted as ‘the representative acting power of the nation; the action of the State is the representative action of the nation’ (Nash, 1966: 78; Kazamias, 1966: 103). In continental Europe, particularly in France, Arnold saw liberal democracy as ‘the growing power’ which he attributed to ‘the action of the French State’ (Nash, 1966: 61).

State action and control, according to Arnold, were responsible for the great development of popular/primary and secondary education in continental Europe, particularly in France and Germany. And he had high praise for the French Lyceea, the secondary schools that were founded and maintained by the State since the days of Napoleon. In his famous essay ‘A French Eton’, Arnold commented favourably on the Lyceum of Toulouse paying particular attention to the ‘programme of studies’ which, in addition to the heavily classical content (Latin and Greek), included ‘some instruction in natural science’ and modern subjects (e.g. history, geography and modern languages), and the study of French ‘the mother tongue’ (Nash, 1966: 113–115).

As with the comparative discourses that preceded him, Matthew Arnold, as Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools, examined continental educational systems to see whether he could learn something that would help solve educational problems at home. But, unlike the mainly descriptive discourses of the nineteenth century educational administrators and policy-makers, Matthew Arnold’s educational observations were contextualised in the sense that they were interpreted by being placed within the national political and cultural contexts of the European states. Viewed from this perspective, Arnold’s comparative approach could be described as quasi-historical, liberal-humanistic and cultural, a harbinger of the twentieth century ‘historical-philosophical and liberal humanist motif of CE that was associated with Michael Sadler, Isaac Kandel, Nicholas Hans, Robert Ulich, and Friedrich Schneider, to name its best-known exponents, and with V. Mallinson, P. Sandiford, A. H. Moehlman, J. F. Cramer and G. S. Browne (Mallinson & Sandiford, 1918; Moehlman, 1963; Cramer & Browne, 1956/1965).

The Historical-Philosophical-Cultural and Liberal Humanist Motif in Comparative Education: Michael Sadler, Isaac L. Kandel, Nicholas Hans and Robert Ulich

There were commonalities as well as variations in the historical—philosophical and liberal humanist approaches to the comparative study of education as represented by Sadler, Kandel, Hans and Ulich. As analysed below, both the commonalities and the variations can be attributed to these comparativists' disciplinary/*epistemic* and socio-cultural background, the times and places in which they lived, their professional activities and the types of questions they asked. In the sections that follow I shall first identify the elements that are common to all these comparative scholars. Subsequently, the variations will be brought out as I analyse in greater detail the thought of each of these doyens of comparative education.

Epistemological, Ideological and Methodological Commonalities

- (a) Comparative education is not an empirical or a positivistic 'social science'. It is a 'human science' in the broad meaning of the term 'science' as signified by the German word *Wissenschaft* and the Greek equivalent *Episteme*. As interpreted by Hans, Kandel, Ulich and I may add, Schneider, the term comparative education (CE) was nearer to the German *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* than the French *Education Comparée* or the American comparative education. It was analogous to such studies as Comparative Religion, Comparative Law and Comparative Anatomy in that 'comparisons were not limited to contemporary actual situations but were extended to the study of the origin and evolution of present systems of law, religion or language'. Also, according to Hans, the German usage included the philosophy of education as well (Hans, 1959: 443). And again: 'Comparative Education as an academic discipline is just on the border line between humanities and sciences and thus resembles philosophy, which is the formulation of both' (Hans, 1959: 299).
- (b) Comparative Education is an explanatory/interpretive *episteme*, that aims at 'understanding' and 'interpretation' of how national systems of education developed to be what they are, not a predictive or a policy-oriented or practical/applied social science. Kandel, Hans, and Ulich wrote about or narrated past events, but more significantly, they searched for forces and factors (political, social, economic and cultural) which, in their judgement influenced, produced, 'caused', or 'determined' problems, similarities and differences in national systems of education, or aspects of it (structures, policies, practices, etc.). Generally they sought to show that national systems of education were the outcome of particular and 'unique' constellations of social, political, economic and cultural forces, factors and traditions. As such, they were concerned less with generalisations and 'theories' and more with interpretation/explanation of temporally and spatially located particular educational phenomena. As Kandel averred in his *Comparative Education* (1933): 'The chief value of a comparative approach to such problems [of education] lies in an analysis of the causes

which have produced them, in a comparison of the differences between the various systems and the reasons underlying them, and finally, in a study of the solutions attempted' (Kandel, 1933: xix).

- (c) The above should not be interpreted as implying that these comparative scholars envisaged CE to be a pure intellectual knowledge producing *episteme*, without any 'instrumental', 'utilitarian' or 'melioristic' benefits. Although they were primarily historian-intellectuals 'intent on explanation rather than activists in the field of educational policy-making', they were also 'historical-meliorists': they believed that by studying the educational system of other countries, a broad philosophical outlook/attitude and the necessary insights could be developed that would help understand better and improve education in one's own country (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 57; Kazamias & Massialas, 1965: 3).
- (d) The epistemic units of comparative study and analysis are nation states and national systems of education: English, German, French, American, Russian. In their interpretation and explanation of national systems of education the main aim is explaining and 'understanding' how national systems of education developed the way they did, and why they exhibit the characteristics and peculiarities that they do. In their historical explanations and interpretations of variations in national educational patterns and practices, these historically oriented comparativists considered 'nationalism', national traditions, national political ideologies and 'national character' to be 'determining' factors. As Kandel noted in his 1933 study: 'Comparative education would, accordingly, be meaningless, unless it sought to discover the meaning of nationalism as it furnishes the basis of educational systems', and 'each national system of education is characteristic of the nation which created it and expresses something peculiar to the group which constitutes that nation; to put it another way, each nation has the educational system that it desires or that it deserves' (Kandel, 1933: xxiv). Earlier (1900), Michael Sadler had stated: 'A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and of battles long ago. It has in it some of the secret workings of national life. It reflects, while seeking to remedy, the failings of national character. By instinct it often lays special emphasis on those parts of training which the national character particularly needs' (Sadler, 1900). Later (1949), in the same vein, Nicholas Hans declared: 'National systems of education as well as national constitutions or national literatures are the outward expression of national character and as such represent the nation in distinction from other nations' (Hans, 1949: 9). And, according to Mallinson (1957), education 'is a function of national character', which he defined as 'the totality of dispositions to thought, feeling and behavior peculiar to and widespread in a certain people, and manifested with greater or less continuity in a succession of generations' (Mallinson, 1957: 14).
- (e) As an explanatory/interpretive *episteme* and not an empirical social science, its data base and modes of investigation are more qualitative than quantitative. Sadler, Kandel and Hans explicitly eschewed quantitative statistical analyses of educational systems or problems on practical but, more importantly, on epistemological/intellectual grounds. In the opening years of the twentieth century,

Michael Sadler argued against ‘purely statistical inquiries’ in education, because the interpretation of educational data must be made ‘in the light of the value system of each country’ (Holmes, 1965: 16). In his seminal text *Comparative Education* (1933), Kandel wrote:

There are at present time two outstanding trends which can be distinguished in the study of education. The first is the attempt to make education scientific and objective by the application of statistical methods—all education must have an affirmative value which can be proved and verified statistically.... Assuming that the methods of statistical tests and measurements have become sufficiently established to be reliable, all that can be claimed for them is that they can measure results, but they cannot define aims and purposes of education; they may formulate norms, and that only in a limited range of activities, but they cannot set up qualitative standards (Kandel, 1933: xxiii).

Writing in the 1950s, Hans noted that in the United States during that period, researchers employed statistical methods in their comparative investigations of certain aspects of the educational system of the 48 states (e.g. financing, salaries of teachers, compulsory attendance, percentage of college students in an age group, and teacher/pupil ratios). Americans also widely used the method of quantitative comparison ‘based on psychological tests and IQ’ to compare ‘various “racial” groups of immigrants by their IQ with the inevitable conclusion that Nordic groups are more desirable than the Slavs or Italians’. As to the first type of investigation, Hans noted that ‘within the limits of one country, where the terminology is identical and social conditions do not greatly vary statistical methods may be employed with profit and may lead to some valid conclusions’. But when this method is used for international comparisons ‘we meet with so many difficulties that it is doubtful whether we can arrive at any valid results’. Commenting on the value for Comparative Education of both methods—the statistical and the psychological—Hans concluded that they both ‘need a careful revision and standardization before providing a sure guide for Comparative Education’. Until this was done ‘comparisons should be mainly concerned with quality of education’ by which he meant ‘not so much efficiency or curriculum as the whole atmosphere and structure of the school system’ (Hans, 1959: 447).

- (f) Sadler, Kandel, Hans, Ulich, Mallinson, and we might here add Matthew Arnold, their intellectual predecessor, were all nurtured in the European classical humanistic educational tradition and liberal humanist values. Ideologically, they were all internationalists and ‘liberal democratic humanists’, not laissez-faire liberals. Not only could Comparative Education be a positive force for the improvement of education and the fostering of ‘internationalism’; it could also be a positive force for the development of ‘liberal democracy’ and ‘democratic citizenship’. Their work was infused with ‘Eurocentric’ and Western liberal democratic ideas and liberal-humanist values about the polity and the state-system of education, about the nation state and civil society, about the role of the individual and the State and about ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’. And in the spirit of the ‘Enlightenment project’, all of them had an abiding faith in the

idea of progress through enlightenment and education. Speaking about Sadler and the other university men involved in the University Extension work that had to do with the ‘labouring classes’, the historian Brian Simon wrote: ‘All shared a liberal-humanist outlook: education was good for its own sake, the workers deserved all that the university could offer in the form of extra-mural teaching; education would spiritualise their lives. This implied a desire to provide a broad, humane, comprehensive, above all, an impartial education, one rising above, and so enabling students to rise above the ephemeral and material struggles of the time’ (Simon, 1965: 305).

- (g) Generally, these historically oriented comparativists were predominantly ‘idealists’; they paid more emphasis on the power of ideas, ideals and forms in their historical explanations of educational systems and problems. Clearly they were not Marxists, in any ideological and intellectual meaning of the term. Although they included economic considerations among their historical explanatory ‘forces and factors’, the relative emphasis they assigned to them was less than the emphasis they place on cultural, intellectual, valuational, religious, ‘spiritual’ and ideological considerations. ‘What do we compare?’ Kandel asked in 1956, to which he responded: ‘The answer should be the comparison of ideas, ideals and forms’ (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977: 154–155).

Epistemological, Ideological and Methodological Variations

Michael Sadler: Historical-Cultural Comparativist, Liberal-Humanist Reformer

Michael Sadler was a pioneer of what we have called the ‘historical-philosophical-cultural and liberal humanist motif’ in CE. Intellectually, ideologically and methodologically he personified all of the aforementioned characteristics of this motif. But in Sadler the intellectual historian can also detect some interesting particularities/variants, both of which—commonalities and particularities—as shown below, can be illuminated by looking at his educational background, his professional career and the historical context of late Victorian England.

Sadler was nurtured in the classical humanistic literary tradition of Rugby Public School and Trinity College, Oxford. As I had noted in an earlier study, this type of education left a lasting imprint on his educational ideology as an educational reformer: ‘In his reports written after 1902 on behalf of various local education authorities, it is clear that Sadler considered a humanistic literary type of education as the distinctive characteristic of liberal education and *mutatis mutandis* of secondary schools’. According to Sadler, I further added: ‘the dominant aim of secondary education should be first and foremost to humanise through the real and vivid teaching of the humanities, and then to impart efficiency for life as it has to be lived’ (Kazamias, 1966: 140–141).

Sadler’s intellectual and reformist activities can be illuminated further by looking at the state of England—English polity, society and culture—vis-à-vis continental Europe and the United States, and the prevalent intellectual and ideological currents at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. During

the heyday of laissez-faire liberalism in the nineteenth century, England was 'the forge of the world, the world's carrier and the world's entrepot' (Knowles, 1921: 139). In the eyes of their European rivals, the English had discovered the secrets of economic prosperity, political stability and the 'philosophy of happiness'. But by the end of the century, all this had undergone significant transformations. Germany in Europe and the United States of America had challenged England's industrial and commercial supremacy. Similarly, by that time England's 'utilitarian philosophy of happiness', associated with Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, and laissez-faire liberalism had ceased to occupy the intellectual position it did earlier, or to furnish the legitimating rationale for political, social and educational reforms. Instead, the eyes of British thinkers, statesmen, social and educational reformers had turned to Europe, and especially to Germany, which at that time was dominated by the 'idealist' philosophy of Kant and Hegel. At Oxford, T.H. Green, reputed/considered to be the most influential teacher at Oxford since John (Cardinal) Newman, had inaugurated an 'idealist' philosophical tradition that went by the names of 'Neo-Kantism', 'Neo-Hegelianism', 'Idealism' or 'Neo-Idealism', and which, in addition to Green, included such other influential thinkers as F. H. Bradley, B. Bosanquet and J. M. E. Mc Taggart. Drawing their inspiration from Plato and Aristotle, as well as from Kant and Hegel, these British 'idealist philosophers', unlike the utilitarians and the 'laissez-faire liberals', conceived of freedom, not in abstract negative terms, but in more positive terms, and of the State as a positive actor in society (Kazamias, 1966: 108–109).

The significance of the above for us here is that Sadler, the historian-intellectual and educational reformer, was influenced by the German-inspired Oxford idealist philosophy, and he attributed the phenomenal commercial and industrial expansion of Germany to the efficient organization and administration of the German system of education, the nature/content of instruction, and generally to the 'spirit' that gave it 'a life', the 'intangible, impalpable, spiritual force' which upheld it and accounted for its success and 'practical efficiency'. Apropos of the above, as an educational reformer Sadler deviated ideologically from the laissez-faire individualistic social philosophy that characterised Victorian England and was nearer to the New Liberalism that developed in the late Victorian period. Although 'freedom' had remained the essential ingredient of the Liberal creed, the New Liberals, like the aforementioned English idealist philosophers interpreted 'freedom' not entirely in negative terms as 'freedom from constraint', but in more positive terms. In matters of social and educational policy the positive conception of freedom meant 'state interference' in social, political, economic and educational reform. Although he would not sacrifice the freedom and individualism of the English educational system to the 'large measure of State control' that obtained in Germany, Sadler sought to explore, in his own words, 'that debatable territory between Individualism and Socialism' (Sadler, 1898: 95).

Like the other historical-cultural and liberal humanist comparative scholars, e.g. Kandel, Hans and Ulich, Sadler was a 'historian-intellectual' and a meliorist. But unlike them he was also an educational statesman, and an active educational reformer. His reports/studies on foreign systems of education (European and American) prepared on behalf of the newly created Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, an 'educational intelligence office', as Sadler its director called it, were 'historical' and 'comparative,

as he understood the intellectual and methodological contours of the two *epistemes* to be in the waning years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth century. In his studies of Prussian and German secondary education, for example, he explicitly stated: ‘The present results have been obtained by the labour of several generations. Their full significance can only be understood in the light of their history’ (Sadler, 1898: 246; also see Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 45). And in his comparative essay ‘The Unrest in Secondary Education in Germany and Elsewhere’ (1902) he wrote:

Educational thought all over the world is taking much more account of social environment in its analysis of the functions of schools in national life. Hence there is much more sympathy with the customary English view of education. But ‘social environment’ includes not merely material conditions of domicile, food, clothing, etc., but spiritual, moral, and intellectual surroundings, and the power of tradition. (Sadler, 1902: x–xi)

And like the other ‘historian-intellectual’ comparativists, in his own historical-contextual studies Sadler also included such explanatory cultural forces as ‘national temperament’, ‘national sentiments’, ‘national traditions’, ‘national aims and ideals’, and ‘national character/characteristics’. Thus, in these studies of foreign systems of education, Sadler was consistent, intellectually and methodologically, with his dicta in the famous Guilford lecture of 1900 that ‘in studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside’ (Sadler, 1900/1964: 310). But in addition to these non-school contextual-explanatory social-cultural factors, Sadler also talked about the ‘inner life’ of a national system of education and about ‘intangible, impalpable spiritual forces’, which differentiated his approach from some of the other ‘historian-intellectual’ comparativists that followed in the twentieth century. In his own, often-quoted words:

[E]ducation is not a matter of schools or book learning alone. Therefore, if we propose to study foreign systems of education...we must also... try to find out what is the intangible, impalpable, spiritual force which, in the case of any successful system of Education, is in reality upholding the school system and accounting for its practical efficiency... A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties, and ‘of battles long ago.’ It has in it some of the secret workings of national life (Sadler, 1900/1964: 309–310).

Another Sadlerian particularity was that Sir Michael was what may be called an ‘English new liberal humanistic educational reformer’. As early as 1884 he engaged in a successful campaign for the development of adult education through University Extension; he served as an active member on the famous Royal Commission on Secondary Education (the Bryce Commission) of 1894–1895 and was reputed to have been ‘the chief author of the report’; he was instrumental in setting up the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports of which he served as Director from 1895–1903; in

some of the reports on foreign systems of education and those written on behalf of various English local education authorities, he included recommendations for reform; from 1911–1923 he served as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds; and in 1907 he published his plan for ‘A Bureau of Education for the British Empire’ (Kazamias, 1966: 28–29; Jones, 1971: 49–50). It is patently clear, therefore, that as J. H. Higginson, one of his biographers has pointed out, Sadler viewed comparative education, not only as a scholarly intellectual activity, but also as ‘an agency of reform’. Although in his Guildford lecture he stressed that ‘the practical value of studying... the working of foreign systems of education is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and to understand our own’, and that such study will in turn enable us ‘to enter into the spirit and tradition of our own national education’, as the Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports 3 years later he wrote:

The chief work of an educational intelligence office... is to collect, summarise, and publish various kinds of educational experience, with a view to (1) getting what is sound and true from a number of discrepant opinions; (2) informing the nation how it stands in regard to educational efficiency as compared with other nations; and (3) promoting, as far as possible, general consent and agreement as to the wisest and most fruitful line of development in national education (Higginson, 1961: 289).

These intellectual, ideological and methodological elements Sadler bequeathed, to a degree more or less, to the historical-cultural and liberal humanistic twentieth century comparative education scholars, and notably to his student Isaac Kandel, who dominated the field until the middle decades of the twentieth century.

Isaac L. Kandel: Historian, Philosopher, Humanist Comparative Educator

In 1933, Isaac Kandel, a European Jewish intellectual and a product of the Eurocentric liberal humanistic culture, who emigrated to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, and as a university professor in the United States attained international reputation as an educational historian-philosopher-comparativist, published an educational book entitled *Studies in Comparative Education/Comparative Education*. It was a seminal text in a new educational *episteme*, in which Kandel sought to define the epistemological, methodological and ideological contours of comparative education, to identify its subject matter, and to discuss its value in the modern world. *Comparative Education* was destined to become a landmark and in the ensuing years Kandel became a dominating figure in this fledgling/new educational discipline. In the mid-1950s, Kandel published a sequel to this pioneer study, entitled *The New Era in Education* (1955), in which he re-iterated his approach to comparative education as well as its subject-matter and value.

In the 1960s, the fast-growing field of CE developed in different epistemological and methodological directions, and Kandel’s approach was criticised by, among others,

the present writer (Kazamias, 1959, 1961, 1965), and by some it was considered to be *passé*, bordering on ‘mysticism’ or, at best, ‘non-scientific’ (Holmes, 1965; Noah & Eckstein, 1969; Epstein, 1970: 313, 314). Nevertheless, Kandel continued to be widely cited and read, and revered as the grand pioneer of this modernist educational *episteme* (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977). In ‘memorials’ to Kandel, when he died in 1965, George Bereday, at the time editor of the *Comparative Education Review* and a leading figure in the revival and reconstruction of the field, eulogised: ‘The passing of Professor Isaac L. Kandel has cast a sombre shadow over the field of comparative education...Professor Kandel belongs to the generation of universitarian humanists who will not be easily reproduced in our age of more technological, more rushed, more narrowly specific applications. Nothing can match the towering stature of that passing generation and the inspiration they evoked’ (Bereday, 1965: 249).

And quite perceptively, Bereday had this to say about Kandel’s epistemological identity:

He [Kandel] was a humanist...he was neither a scientist nor a semantic pedant. He believed in intuition...He was a humanist, a man of letters, a cultivated European-American...He was unmistakably a Jew. His Judaism was of the finest and the staunchest... Now he is gone, a towering landmark, an ivory tower perhaps, but better a beacon in what by efforts of others has become a surging tide... We mourn him for we are his children and grandchildren. (Bereday, 1966: 147–150)

Kandel conceived the study of comparative education to be ‘an interdisciplinary study’ and ‘like the history of education, may, in fact, lay greater emphasis on the ancillary studies than on education’. As such, ‘...so far as methodology is concerned, comparative education may be considered a continuation of the study of the history of education into the present’ (Kandel, 1959: 273). Echoing Michael Sadler, his mentor, Kandel explained further his historical approach:

...the comparative approach demands first an appreciation of the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system; the factors and forces outside the school matter even more than what goes on inside it. Hence the comparative study of education must be founded on an analysis of the social and political ideals which the school reflects...In order to understand, appreciate, and evaluate the real meaning of the educational system of a nation, it is essential to know something of its history and traditions; of the forces and attitudes governing its social organization, of the political and economic conditions that determine its development (Kandel, 1933: xix).

An Idealistic Philosophical Humanist

As noted above, and as Kazamias and Schwartz had elaborated in an earlier study (Kazamias and Schwartz, 1977), Kandel was an ‘idealist’ intellectual. What we compare, according to him, was more ideals, aims, ideas and ‘forms’. He conceived of

comparative education as a branch of the philosophy of education, and in terms of its methodology and value, as an inquiry into the history of ideas and 'forms'. He wrote:

The chief contribution, then of the study of comparative education is that, if properly approached, it deals 'with fundamental principles' and fosters 'the acquisition of a philosophic attitude' in analyzing and therefore stimulating a clearer understanding of the problems of education. The study makes the education better able to enter the spirit and tradition of the educational systems of his own nation (Kandel, 1955: 12; Kandel, 1933: xx).

It would be important here to clarify Kandel's previously mentioned notion of understanding, appreciating and evaluating 'the real meaning of the educational system of a nation'. As an idealist, he was more concerned with 'form' than with the details that make up an educational system. Beyond the study of the history and traditions, the social, political, cultural and economic 'factors and forces outside the school', or the 'political, economic, and cultural context in which it [the educational system] functioned', Kandel, like Sadler, stressed that the comparative approach demands 'an appreciation of the intangible, impalpable spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system'. And, in contrast to the approach and language of the 'empirical scientists,' Kandel, on occasion, talked about 'hidden meanings', 'real meanings', and 'essence' (Kandel, 1933: xix). Clearly, 'his intellectual orientation was that of contemporary philosophical humanists' (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977: 156).

A Liberal Democratic Individualist

In a previous study, Kazamias and Schwartz characterised Kandel as a liberal individualist' and a 'passionate devotee of Western democracy' with its basic principles of 'liberty, equality and fraternity'. He saw the contemporary political world in terms of two competing political 'ideals' and 'states,' namely, liberal democracy and the liberal democratic state (as exemplified by England and France, but most of all, by the USA), which he praised, and totalitarianism and the centralised, autocratic and dictatorial state (exemplified by fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and communist Russia), which he abhorred. In this connection, we also noted that Kandel's liberal ideology 'bore strong similarities to traditional British liberalism with its emphasis on "limited state interference in social policy"'. Clearly, therefore, he would be against welfare statism, social engineering, or social reconstructionism' (Kazamias and Schwartz, 1977: 156–157).

It is pertinent here to comment on the preeminent role Kandel assigned to the political factor, specifically to the 'state' in the operations of society, particularly in education. In his 1933 classic text he stated that CE was a branch of politics, and more pointedly, that 'every state has the type of education that it wills' and 'as is the state so is the school'. He elaborated:

The specialist in comparative education should have a knowledge of varying political theories, especially as they bear on the relations of the state and the individual...[both Plato and Aristotle] early enunciated the principle which was

later expressed in the phrase ‘as is the state, so is the school’ or ‘what you want in the state, you must put in the school’ (Kandel, 1933: 274–75).

This element in his approach differentiates Kandel from the other historical-cultural and liberal humanist comparativists. The political dimension of education has been an *epistemic* concern of most modern comparativists. But Kandel was the first comparativist to use the ‘state’ as a contextual explanatory variable in the comparative study of education. Stripped of the ideological biases and the melioristic preconceptions, noted below, Kandel’s examination of education from the political prism of the state was, in my judgement, an important epistemological and methodological insight. Subsequently, in the 1970s and 1980s, the ‘state’, although interpreted/approached differently from that of Kandel, was brought in as a crucial variable in comparative education studies (Carnoy; Carnoy and Samoff; Dale).

Kandel’s important insight on the role of the state in the comparative study of education was vitiated/marred by at least three weaknesses/flaws: (a) First, his categorisation of contemporary states into two ‘ideal types’, namely ‘totalitarian’ and ‘democratic’; (b) Second, his bias, on the one hand against non-Western polities, especially Soviet socialism, and on the other, in favour of Western ‘liberal democracies’, especially the Anglo-Saxon variety (e.g. UK and USA); and (c) Third, his compounding of the ‘normative’ with the ‘descriptive’ in his conceptualisation of the state; he saw in the actual states (democratic, totalitarian) what he theorised such states ‘ought to be like’, rather than what they were. Kandel never really probed into the actual distribution of power in liberal democracies, a notable omission at a time when it was quite obvious that in advanced liberal industrial capitalist democracies, class differences, conflicts, racism and inequalities were the subject of much socio-political and educational discourse as well as much activism.

A Historical-Philosophical Meliorist

In an earlier study (Kazamias, 1961), I wrote that one important element in Kandel’s historical-philosophical approach ‘may be termed the *melioristic purpose*’. I explained further:

In both his 1933 and 1955 works, Kandel exhibits great concern for the improvement of education in the world. He hoped that by studying other systems as well as his own, the student of comparative education would develop a more desirable philosophical approach that would ultimately result in the improvement of his own system, and in fostering the spirit of internationalism. This purpose has led Kandel to assume a certain body of values, e.g., democratic systems of education are better, centralization is bad, education should aim at the total development of man, and such beliefs as progress, individual responsibility, and so on (Kazamias, 1961: 91).

There were several sources of Kandel’s meliorism. In the first place he agreed with the diagnosis of the need for ‘educational reform and reconstruction’ which many

leaders in all walks of life made during the years following the two major world wars. 'The new social, political and economic conditions and the cultural and intellectual unrest engendered by these', he wrote in 1933, 'gave an added stimulus to the movements for reform in England, Germany and France' which had been gathering strength for several centuries (Kandel, 1933: xvi). In the second place, Kandel saw clearly that the militaristic nationalism and xenophobia of the first quarter of the twentieth century were becoming anachronistic. He hoped that the comparative study of education might lead to the 'development of an internationalism based not on emotion or sentiment, but arising from an appreciative understanding of other nations as well as his own' (Kandel, 1933: xxv). He feared the destructiveness and anti-individualism of 'a dictatorship of personal power and authority or of a dictatorship of an idea' by types of government which he saw spreading in his lifetime. He hoped, through education, to encourage the development of 'cultural nationalism', as opposed to 'political nationalism' (Herzog, 1960). In short, as I stated in an earlier study, Kandel's meliorism was shown by '(a) the belief in certain values concerning how men should live and how they should educate their children; (b) the view that the study of comparative education should be governed by a reforming zeal; and (c) that education, in the Kandelian sense of formal schooling, can indeed improve society and guide man's destiny' (Kazamias, 1963: 385).

Nicholas Hans—the Historical-Humanistic Approach: A 'Factorial Interpretive Framework'

Nicholas Hans, an Eastern European émigré to England, acknowledged his intellectual debt to both Sadler and Kandel (Hans, 1952), but of all the 'forgotten' historical-philosophical and liberal humanist pioneers in comparative education, he was the most systematic in his acknowledged historical approach to the study of educational problems in different countries. Unlike Sadler, Kandel and Robert Ulich, Hans sought to explain and illuminate educational phenomena and systems from the perspective of a specified conceptual framework. As Tretheway has pointed out:

Hans' contribution, therefore, was not in supplying a transatlantic version of Kandel's method, though their work did have much in common. His particular contribution was in developing a framework for comparative study comprised of factors which he believed represented immanent and permanent forces which shaped nations and their educational systems. The value of such framework lay in the order or structure it imposed on a potentially unmanageable quantity of relevant data and, of course, in the usefulness of the studies applying it (Tretheway, 1976: 63–64).

A key concept in Hans' framework is the term 'factor', hence one could describe his approach as 'factorial analysis'. The essence of comparison, according to Hans, is (a) the identification of a set of factors which make up/form/constitute the 'physiognomy' or the 'character' of a nation-state, and (b) the comparative analysis of

the functional relationship between these factors and education or the influence of these factors in the 'creation' of national educational systems. The main purpose of comparative education is the 'analytical study of these factors from a historical perspective and the comparison of the attempted solutions of resultant problems' (Hans, 1949: 10–11).

In his classic text *Comparative education: A study of educational factors and traditions* (1949) Hans explained further:

...national systems of education as well as national constitutions or national literatures are the outward expression of national character and as such represent the nation in distinction from other nations. If we could separate and analyse the factors which historically were active in creating different nations we should get a long way to a definition of the principles which underlie national systems of education (Hans, 1949: 9–11).

The pre-determined key factors in Hans' historical approach were classified in three groups: Group I-Natural factors, e.g. Race, Language, and Environment; Group II-Religious factors, e.g. Catholicism, Anglicanism, and Puritanism; and Group-III Secular factors, e.g. Humanism, Socialism, and Nationalism. To these 'key factors', Hans added: 'To Part II we add an introductory chapter on religious influences in general and to Part III we shall add a concluding chapter on Democracy and Education' (Hans, 1949:16).

An illustrative example of Hans' historical-factorial-functional analysis is his use of 'nationalism', a factor that was also important in Kandel's historical-philosophical approach. First, Hans identifies 'nationalism' as a significant universal 'secular' movement, and in language similar to that of Kandel, as the 'natural expression of national character'. After clarifying the terms 'nationality' and 'nationalism' he refers to the thought of the 'prophets' of nationalism, namely, the German J. G. Fichte and the Italian Giuseppe Mazzini. This is followed by a reference to Slavic nationalism, which in turn, leads to a more detailed description of the 'fascist phenomenon' in the thought of Giovanni Gentile and the policies of Benito Mussolini, and in the Nazism and racism of Hitler's Germany. Paralleling the description and explanation of the 'fascist phenomenon', Hans refers to those aspects of national educational systems which, in his analysis, were related to or were influenced by the nationalist movements. From Hans' historical perspective, the educational system of Italy during the hegemony of Mussolini and Gentile could be illuminated by examining it within the context of Italian fascism, while that of Germany within the context of German national socialism, i.e., Nazism (Hans, 1949: 215–234).

Another example of Hans' factorial analysis, which again reminds us of Kandel, is his comparative analysis of education in different countries from the political-ideological perspective of 'democracy'. Hans avoids Kandel's classification of contemporary politics/political systems into 'democratic' and 'totalitarian', and, unlike Kandel, he does not conceptualise uncritically liberal democracy. He distinguishes between the Anglo-Saxon concept of democracy—represented by England and the USA—with its emphasis on 'political freedom', and the Socialist—represented by the Soviet Union—with its emphasis on social equality. But both types of state/polities are called 'democracies'.

Like Kandel, Hans considers the Soviet state and existing kindred socialist systems as not conforming to the democratic principles of equality and freedom to the same degree as the American and the French states/polities. Nevertheless, neither the political-liberal democracy of England and the United States, which he favours, nor the socialist democracy of the Soviet Union, when taken separately, 'can safeguard the freedom of cultural development and the equality of educational opportunity, which are declared by both to be their goal'. He then elaborates on this theme and concludes: 'From these examples it appears that neither the Anglo-Saxon interpretation of democracy as political freedom nor its Soviet interpretation as social equality have resulted in practice in establishing a true equality of educational opportunity for all citizens of their countries. We cannot escape the conclusion that both interpretations of democracy as practiced at present are defective' (Hans, 1949: 236–237).

To a greater degree than the other forgotten historically-oriented comparativists, Hans envisaged comparative education to be also an 'applied subject'. Unlike comparative anatomy and comparative religion, according to him, 'the purpose of Comparative Education is not only to compare existing systems but to envisage reform best suited to new social and economic conditions ... thus our subject has a dynamic character with a utilitarian purpose'. However, he went on to say that being an applied subject it depends largely 'on conceptions and aims of education supplied by philosophy of education and on the data supplied by the history of education, and by sociology and economics' (Hans, 1952: 57).

Robert Ulich: A Humanist Historian

Unlike Kandel's and Hans', Robert Ulich's approach to the study of education in different nations was more historical than comparative. Its title notwithstanding, his book *The Education of Nations: A comparison in historical perspective* (1961), is really a cultural and intellectual history of the West. In it he first examined the cultural movements (Medievalism, Renaissance and Reformation, Rationalism, Science and Technology), which, according to him, characterised the history of the western world and western culture. He then provided historical accounts of the development of the educational systems of France, England Germany and Russia. In the end, he formulated certain generalizations about educational problems in the 'new nations', through which, he averred, the older nations had gone.

Ulich's historical analysis of the stages of development of western culture/civilization is both scholarly and insightful. But the comparative aspect is truncated. As I have commented shortly after Ulich's book was published: 'The reader must make the comparisons himself based on the assembled historical facts and interpretations' (Kazamias, 1963: 387).

Robert Ulich was German. Though he held high academic and administrative positions in his native land, at the age of 44 he left Nazi Germany and emigrated to the United States rather than compromise his social democratic beliefs with the fascist Nazi regime. Like Sadler, Arnold and Kandel, he was nurtured in the Eurocentric classical humanistic intellectual and cultural tradition, and as a university professor and

researcher in America, he attained national and international reputation as a scholar, an educational philosopher, a cultural historian and a comparativist.

In an 'In Memoriam' note on Ulich, titled 'A humanistic gift from Europe', shortly after his death in 1977, Paul Nash, one of his students and friends at Harvard, characterised Ulich's 'contribution to comparative education' as quintessentially 'humanistic' (Nash, 1977: 147). In Nash's assessment, there were four 'dimensions' to Ulich's humanistic approach. First, there was Ulich's 'determination to keep the human being firmly at the center of the educational picture; for Ulich, the person was always central, rather than the curriculum, the discipline, the field, the institution, or the research'. Second, Ulich's approach was 'unapologetically and thoroughly historical; he believed that it is impossible to comprehend the nature of the educational process without understanding its historical context'. The third dimension of Ulich's humanistic approach, according to Nash, 'lay in the human relevance he saw in comparative education for the education of teachers'. In this respect, Nash added: 'He [Ulich] viewed without enthusiasm the development of comparative education as a recondite activity for scholars and researchers who produce analyses, graphs, tables, and theories that are of interest only to one another (and sometimes only to themselves)'. Lastly, in Nash's assessment, 'Ulich's humanistic approach was marked by a strongly political value system ... he was a lifelong social democrat' (Nash, 1977: 148–149).

As a postscript to this intellectual profile of Robert Ulich, I should like to add a personal note. I too was Ulich's student at Harvard at the same time as Nash, who was a close friend. With Henry Perkinson, another of Ulich's students and a friend, Nash and I co-edited a book entitled *The Educated Man: Studies in the History of Educational Thought* (1966), which was dedicated to: 'Robert Ulich' with the appropriate added appellation 'An Educated Man' (Nash *et al.*, 1965). Ulich was indeed a classical humanistic scholar in the best sense of the German tradition that also included, among others, Werner Jaeger, his contemporary, who wrote the three-volume classic *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* (Jaeger, 1939/1939). Robert Ulich was also an inspiring teacher. Strictly speaking, he was not a 'comparativist' but a humanistic historian and a philosopher, but he inspired some of his students, specifically George Bereday and myself, to become historically-minded comparativists.

Forgotten Men, Forgotten Themes: A Reassessment

In the 1960s, comparative education as a cognitive *episteme* went through a major identity crisis. Partly as a consequence of political, economic and intellectual developments, namely, (a) the emergence of 'new states' bent on building both viable polities/nation-states and viable economies, (b) the emphasis on re-constructing the 'old nations' along more welfare-state democratic principles, and (c) the dramatic developments in technology, the natural sciences and the empirical social sciences, education as a political, economic and socio-cultural mechanism was given top priority in the re-shaping and re-construction of the new political, economic and socio-cultural *cosmos*. The new political, economic and intellectual climate had a determining influence on the epistemological, methodological and ideological orientations of the new

generation of comparative educationists, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States.

During this period a new generation of comparative educationists and a new generation of comparative education discourse emerged in the United Kingdom and North America. At the same time, there was a regeneration of comparative education as an academic field of study with practical and melioristic extensions; a professional society—the US-based Comparative Education Society, later the Comparative and International Education Society—was organised; and a scholarly journal—*The Comparative Education Review*—was launched in the United States. In this contextual milieu, the new player-comparativists, many of whom were educated in more modernist *epistemic* approaches and traditions, searched for new intellectual frameworks and methodological approaches in their study of foreign systems of education and in making ‘inter-national’ comparisons.

In such a political and intellectual atmosphere, the value of the historical-philosophical-cultural and liberal humanist generation of comparative discourse, examined above, was discussed and judged to have noteworthy limitations. If the inspirational deities of the old player-comparativists were history, philosophy and ‘humanistic culture/*paideia*’, those of some influential modernist ‘scientific’ parvenus were ‘science’ and the ‘scientific method’, ‘empiricism’, ‘instrumentalism’ and ‘technocratic rationalism’.

In the many texts on the nature and scope of comparative education that appeared in this transformative period of the 1960’s, the critical comments and observations about the historical-philosophical humanist comparativists discussed in this chapter were of the following kind:

- (a) They [‘the historian comparative educationists’ to Holmes’ characterisation] were ‘humanists’ not ‘scientists’, insightful but ‘qualitative’ not ‘quantitative’, subjective not objective. Commenting on the ‘historical approach’ as used by comparativists, the scientifically-oriented methodologists Noah and Eckstein, in their often-cited text *Toward a Science of Comparative Education* (1969), noted critically that ‘their conclusions rely largely on the private insights of their authors, not only regarding which categories are valid and which data are relevant, but also on the matter of what quantity and quality of evidence constitute proof of a particular assertion’ (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 188). In their historical account of the development of the field, Noah and Eckstein placed such historically-oriented comparativists as Kandel and Hans in the ‘pre-scientific’, so-called ‘forces and factors’ phase of the field’s evolution. Kandel’s approach, according to them, ‘provided no way of judging their [the factors’] importance relative to each other.... Nor was there apparent any criterion for the inclusion of some factors in the analysis and the exclusion of others, except on the basis of “self-evident truth”’. And further: ‘What appeared in Kandel’s work s persuasive conclusion are in fact important hypotheses remaining open for testing’ (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 51).

In England, Brian Holmes, a contemporary exponent of the ‘scientific approach’ to the comparative study of educational problems, also assessed

‘historical comparative education’ as being no substitute for ‘scientific comparative education’ whose hallmark was ‘prediction’ rather than ‘explanation’. Comparative education, according to Holmes, must be a ‘generalising science’ and comparative educationists must be ‘social scientists’. And in the same text: ‘invaluable as historical research and related analyses are, educational reformers are primarily interested in the consequences of their actions, not in the causes of their present dissatisfaction’; and, rather gratuitously, he added that history could be of pragmatic value in ‘illuminating present problems’ or it ‘can ... contribute to that practical knowledge which gives directive or predictive power—namely, science’ (Holmes, 1965: 19–21).

- (b) Some were ‘historicists’, in Karl Popper’s meaning of the term (Popper, 1961) in that they searched for or espoused absolute, final and inexorable laws of development; others that were ‘historicists’ in C. A. Anderson’s and Philip Foster’s meaning of the term (Anderson; 1961; Foster, 1960) in that they did not generalise or they dealt with particular events that were temporally and spatially located and, therefore, quite unique.
- (c) They were mainly concerned with ‘explanation’ and ‘understanding’ not with ‘prediction’ or ‘reform; as such, they were ‘backward’ not ‘forward’ looking; they searched for ‘antecedent causes’ for ‘forces and factors’. As Noah and Eckstein asserted: ‘They (e.g. Kandel, Hans and the other “historian comparativists” were primarily intellectuals intent on explanation, rather than activists in the field of educational policy-making’ (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 57). And, in a similar critique, ‘understanding’, according to Holmes, ‘comes through successful prediction rather than through the discovery of antecedent causes’ (Holmes, 1965: 30).
- (d) In 1970, commenting critically on Sadler’s historical approach, one however that was also espoused by Kandel, E. Epstein wrote: ‘The Sadlerian emphasis on intangible, impalpable, spiritual forces borders on mysticism and in its extreme leads to unwarranted conclusions about the nature of education’. He added: ‘The premise that comparative education is basically a humanistic activity—because the fundamental explanatory concepts that pertain to schools refer to unempirical forces—is a call for scholars to describe the external manifestations of the structures of school systems, and to speculate loosely on the rest or leave it to spiritual revelation’ (Epstein, 1970: 45).

It would be quite in order here to point out that as a member of the postwar new generation of students of comparative education, who were actively engaged in the redefinition and reconstruction of the field, I was one of the first comparativists who commented critically on Kandel as a historian and a comparativist, as well as on Kandel’s methodology and his intellectual/epistemic orientation. At the same time, I made some general critical remarks on the historical approach of the other historical comparative educationists. In 1961, commenting specifically on Kandel I wrote that Kandel’s methodology was governed by at least three major purposes: the *reportorial-descriptive*, the *historical-functional*, and the *melioristic*. Referring specifically on Kandel’s historical approach, I criticised his tendency to blend the descriptive, interpretative and explanatory elements

of his historical analysis with the melioristic, the ‘what is’ with the ‘what ought to be’. ‘The historian’s task’, I explained, ‘should be to describe and illuminate certain phenomena, not to prescribe’ and added: ‘Any historical treatment that is governed by considerations for improvement tends to lead to what Herbert Butterfield called ‘Whiggism’...In short, the historian should view phenomena in their contemporary context regardless of whether this might lead to future improvement of practices or ideas’ (Kazamias, 1961: 90–91).

Another element in Kandel’s historical approach, and, I might add, in the approach of other contemporary historically-oriented comparativists (e.g. Sadler, Hans, and Vernon Mallinson) that I criticised, was his propensity to theorise about society and to explain the nature of educational systems in terms of the concept ‘national character’. In the same text, I pointed out that Kandel’s observation that ‘English education is characterized by lack of system’ (Kandel, 1933: 94) could be explained by the alleged national English psychological character trait that ‘the Englishman dislikes to think or formulate plans of action’ (24–25), could not be considered as a creditable historical interpretation that was based on historical or other kind of creditable evidence. Moreover, as Joseph Lauwerys, whom I quoted, pointed out ‘in the end “national character” could be made to explain anything and everything’ (Lauwerys, 1959: 285–287). Another example of Kandel’s use of ‘national character’ to explain differences in national systems of education, that can be questioned, was the following:

If the Englishman is a man of action whose progress is marked by empiricism rather than by theory, the Frenchman is a man of ideas who enjoys to think for the sheer pleasure of thinking and generally without much concern for the outcome of thinking in action. Orderliness, logic, planning, which appear to be absent as the characteristics of English life and organization, are by contrast the outstanding features of the French (Kandel, 1933).

In commenting on Kandel’s approach to comparative education—his comparative methodology—I was quick to make the additional point that my criticisms referred specifically to certain elements in Kandel’s version/variety of history. Such elements included, *inter alia*: his meliorism, his political and educational ideological predilections and biases, the Olympian scope in his examination of national systems of education, his use of the rather nebulous social-psychological concept of ‘national character, and the predominant role he assigned to the state in his ‘historical functional analysis’. However, I also entered the important caveat that my criticisms were not aimed at the historical method as such in the comparative study of education. I stressed then and elaborated in subsequent statements on the same theme, that ‘history has a valuable place in comparative education’. At the same time, I criticised those contemporary comparativists, e.g. Noah and Eckstein and Brian Holmes who saw little value, if any, in historical comparative education in that it was not a ‘science’ or a ‘generalizing science’. I also commented on Philip Foster’s and C. Arnold Anderson’s critical observation that in so far as history essentially dealt with unique phenomena with an ineradicable temporal and spatial locus, its value for comparative education was at best limited. Since comparisons could not be made of unique events or phenomena, Foster and Anderson had argued, the comparative educator’s task differed from that of the

historian and became identical to that of the ‘social scientist’ who searched for repetitive patterns and regularities in social relationships (Foster, 1960; Anderson, 1961).

In my comments on the ‘unscientific’ nature of history and the other criticisms leveled against the historically-oriented comparative educators I sought to clarify certain misconceptions and counter some of the criticisms made by the 1960 new generation of ‘scientifically-oriented’ comparativists. I pointed out that the criticism that historical comparative education was ‘unscientific’ was itself based on the restrictive interpretation of the English term ‘science’, which, more often than not, refers to the epistemology and methodology of the natural sciences or the empirical positivistic social sciences. But, I argued, the word ‘science’ might also refer, as indeed it does in other languages, to the ‘human sciences’ or to the systematic study of social, cultural and human phenomena, the strategies of knowing or the knowledge derived therefrom. The German term *Wissenschaft* and the Greek word *episteme* denote intellectual systems that apply to both the arts and the sciences. If ‘science’ is interpreted in the broader sense of *episteme* or *Wissenschaft*, then Sadler’s, Kandel’s, Hans’ and Ulich’s versions of historical comparative education could legitimately be called ‘scientific’. Indeed, as quoted above, Hans’ characterised comparative education, which of course included his own historical version, as *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft*, and further, as an academic discipline that ‘[it] is just on the border line between humanities and sciences and thus resembles philosophy, which is the formulation of both’ (Hans, 1959: 299).

Turning to the assertion made by Foster and Anderson that history deals with unique phenomena that are temporally and spatially located and consequently its value for comparative analysis which presupposes abstraction, generalisation and regularity is questionable, I argued that such a claim has been refuted by several writers, including historians. In 1963, I wrote:

As Crane Brinton [the eminent comparative historian] has shown, it is quite possible to categorize or classify historical phenomena and compare them for the purpose of making generalizations. Although such generalizations may be of a limited rather than a universal nature, they may in turn be used as working hypotheses to be tested in other similar situations in order to illuminate them. In other words, from an examination of the specific, the concrete and the particular, the historically-minded comparative educator may induce a generalization and then use it in order to illuminate another particular event or form.

And I added: ‘The concern for the general and the particular is to be found in both the social sciences and in history, and the difference is one of emphasis and objectives of research rather than kind and method’ (Kazamias, 1963: 396).

In a reassessment of the historical-philosophical-humanist discourse in comparative education, I wish to emphasise that Sadler, Kandel, Hans, and Ulich, four of its most noted exponents, approached education not just from the narrow sense of ‘schooling’ but from the broader sense of *paideia/culture*, and comparative education as a ‘humanistic *episteme*’ whose major concern should be with the ‘human being’, the *anthropos* (‘man’). As such, it should therefore be *anthropocentric* (‘man-centred’); it should

be pervaded by a ‘humanistic’ philosophy, and it should be concerned with the great problems—political, social but also ethical—which ‘mankind’ faces.

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THE SCIENTIFIC PARADIGM IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Dimitris Mattheou

The Changing Educational Context and the Quest for a New Paradigm in Comparative Education

Comparative Education as an academic field of study was born in the aftermath of the establishment of state systems of education; in an era when the humanities dominated the school curriculum in Europe, when *Bildung* in Germany, *Culture Générale* in France, Liberal Education in England or *Klassiki Paedeia* in Greece had basically the same ultimate aim; the preparation of intellectually, morally and aesthetically cultivated individuals, allegedly capable and willing to provide good service to their country and to mankind.

Natural sciences, which had only recently (by the second half of the nineteenth century) managed to find a place in the curriculum, were still struggling to prove themselves in terms of their contribution to the development of human faculties, such as discipline, accurate observation, critical analysis, etc. (McLean, 1995; Lawton, 1976; Whitfield, 1971; Mattheou, 2006). Science as a form of knowledge had undoubtedly won a name for itself (Davies, 1997: 790–794); its achievements could hardly be overlooked. On the contrary, there was a ‘general conviction that scientific methods could and should be applied to the study of human as well as natural phenomena’ (Davies, 1997: 794).

And it was in this intellectual climate that Comte, one of the fathers of modern sociology, introduced scientific positivism in the study of society. Yet, despite these developments and the thorough criticism of people like Herbert Spencer, many intellectuals, educators, educational authorities and members of the leisure class remained firm in their point of view; for all its weaknesses, drawbacks and failures humanistic education embedded in the classics continued, to their way of thinking, to constitute the cornerstone of education, the complete system of timeless values and eternal verities (cf. the views of the 1864 Clarendon Commission in England, Matthew Arnold, 1869, Wilhelm von Humboldt, 1961, etc.).

This humanistic spirit prevailing in education at that time had certainly exerted an influence on the nascent cognitive domain of Comparative Education. The founding fathers of the field, among them M. Sadler, I. Kandel and later on N. Hans and R. Ulich, approached the study of foreign systems of education with a melioristic, holistic and idealistic outlook (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977; Noah & Eckstein, 1969).

Convinced that ideas and ideals fundamentally influence men's actions, they looked for 'the intangible, impalpable spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system' (Kandel, 1955: xix) and which, therefore, potentially contribute to the betterment of society. As genuine humanists they turned to history and to philosophy for help. Moreover, the international circumstances during the first half of the twentieth century, especially during the mid-war years, favoured this attempt: 'at a time when economic depression, rising nationalism, the emergence of modern authoritarian ideologies [threatened peace]... the problems of the democracies preempted the attention of educators all over the world' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 50) and consequently shaped the priorities of comparative educators. They looked into the 'forgotten struggles and difficulties' of the past and into 'battles long ago' (Sadler, 1964), into the educative influence of religious and secular factors – democracy, humanism, nationalism and socialism (Hans, 1958) – in an attempt to understand the dynamics of educational development that would in turn allow policy makers, if they so wished, to improve human condition.

By the end of the Second World War, circumstances had changed. Faith in humanistic studies had diminished: not only had educated elites failed to prevent atrocities, but on several occasions they had played a leading role in the abhorrent war drama: 'militarism, fascism, and communism found their adherents not only in the manipulated masses of the most afflicted nations but amongst Europe's most educated elites and its most democratic countries' (Davies, 1997: 899). The post-war 'Dark Continent' was in search of 'blue-prints for the golden age' (Mazower, 1998: 185). Education for economic development and democratisation – presumably a key element for individual and social improvement – became a central theme of the educational discourse of the time (Adams & Farrell, 1967; Sobel, 1982). Policy making and successful reform had consequently come to the forefront, and both politicians and academics were trying to find ways to respond to the new demands.

In comparative education, a new generation of comparativists felt increasingly unhappy with the historical approach. They maintained that the prevailing historical approach was too macroscopic in its perspective, too ambitious in its orientation, too qualitative in its approach, heavily melioristic and in any case irrelevant to the pressing needs of education which at the time had to cope with the problems posed by the pursuit of reform (Noah & Eckstein, 1969.; Kazamias, 1961; Mattheou, 1997; Holmes, 1965). The climate for a change of paradigm in the field was thus quite favourable.

Impressive developments in the natural and the social sciences were already pointing to a most promising paradigmatic alternative. Actually, the 'growing respect for science ... affected all branches of study. The social sciences [in particular]... exerted a profound effect on all the older disciplines' (Davies, 1997: 1076). For instance, in sociology and economics the refinement of measurement techniques and of the statistical processing of data had generated great hopes that objectivity in the study of social phenomena could be achieved and that the laws governing their course could be expressed in a mathematical form (Kerlinger, 1965; Cohen & Nagel, 1934). For many comparativists the strengths of the scientific method, its explanatory and prognostic power, its accurate observational techniques, its systematic and thorough empirical

testing of hypotheses, its precise measurements, and its probing and fact-finding approach could hardly be ignored (Noah & Eckstein, 1969; Anderson, 1961; Holmes, 1965). Equally confident and optimistic for the strengths of the scientific method, a host of technocrats, technical advisors, bureaucrats and politicians were involved in the scientific planning of reform, believing that this was the only safe means to overcome socio-economic difficulties (cf. the work of the International Institute for Educational Planning).

The Scientific Paradigm: The Question of Aims and Laws

In this context of optimism and wishful thinking it is not strange that by the late 1950s comparative education was in search of a new 'scientific' identity. A fundamental prerequisite for the field to acquire scientific status was, according to the critics, the abolition of impressionism, subjectivity, speculation, intuition and predisposition, generically linked, with its qualitative and value-laden character, as this had been nurtured by the historical and philosophical work of its forefathers (Templeton, 1958; Epperson & Schmuck, 1963; Clayton, 1972). Yet, transformation was far from easy. Firstly, established schools of thought or paradigms, according to Kuhn (1970:7), never die out silently and voluntarily, as their exponents are ready to defend them. Secondly, consensus as to what actually constitutes science was far from being unanimous, especially in terms of the study of society. Hence, comparative education literature during the late 1950s and mainly during the 1960s was intensely occupied with questions of aims, content, theory and practice and most significantly of methodology in comparative education.

One way to follow these debates is to make use of a classificatory system based on the elements that constitute the Kuhnian paradigm, namely goals and subject matter, theory and exemplary practice, research rules and standards, application and instrumentation (Kuhn, 1970: 10 ff).

In what follows the discussion focuses on the question of 'aims and laws' – the latter being also an essential part of the 'subject matter' and by the same token closely linked with 'theory' – and on 'epistemological and methodological issues' pervading both 'research rules and standards' and 'application and instrumentation'.

A significant paradigmatic shift concerned the aims of Comparative Education. In the new paradigm the field retained its ambitious aim to understand and to explain the workings of education and its relationship with the broader social context. Yet understanding and explanation should not be based any longer on the intuitive, cultivated and sensitive mind of the comparativist but on a hard-core scientific theory, comprising laws and verifiable quantitative hypotheses that would stand exhaustive empirical test.

The position of Bereday, who served as a bridge between the historical and the scientific paradigm, is characteristic in this respect. While his first three steps aimed basically at understanding and explaining specific educational phenomena, his ultimate aim remained total analysis; an exercise, i.e. which 'deals with the imminent general forces upon which all systems are built' and which lead to 'the formulation of 'laws' or

'typologies' that permit an international understanding and a definition of the complex interrelation between the schools and the people they serve' (Bereday, 1964: 23–25). Establishing laws, as the mature sciences did and as some social sciences – especially economics – aspired to do with significant probability of success, became a dominant methodological discourse for comparative education.

Agreement on the necessity of formulating laws did not however imply consensus as to the character of these laws. C. A. Anderson, as a sociologist, for example, would speak of 'patterns comprising abstracted social systems, exploring relationships of essentially undated and often timeless nature' (Anderson, 1961: 4), while in the same vein Foster would refer to the invariant relationships that exist 'between educational institutions and the institutional matrix in which they function' (Foster, 1960: 116). Although 'the perennial difficulties of sifting out generalities from the maze of institutional particularities' were recognized, C. A. Anderson – echoing the optimism and perhaps an element of positivism inherent in functionalism, a dominant theory in sociology at the time – appeared to be certain that the 'continued pursuit of comparative education' in this direction 'has great promise' (Anderson, 1977: 415–416). Clearly, his confidence as to the scope and purpose of comparative education was based on the assumption that such timeless and universal generalisations do exist and can be revealed through sociological research, provided that proper use of ever-improving research methods and techniques would be made.

On their part, Harold Noah and Max Eckstein seemed also confident that the ultimate aim of comparative education is to provide well-tested and refined generalisations. These generalisations were seen as 'functional relationship(s) between dependent and independent variables' expressed in propositions that preferably take the mathematical form of 'as x changes so y changes' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 93). Like structural functionalists, they too looked for universally valid explanations of how things are and how they actually function instead of searching for antecedent causes. Being aware however of the difficulties of such a project and of the pitfalls inherent in covariational relationships they were at pains to underline that 'a statement of a functional relationship ... need not necessarily refer to causal relationships', that 'it may not reveal the direction of influence from one factor to another' and that '...the precise mechanism by which x causes y may still remain unstated' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 96). They stressed the need for an unceasing refinement of explanatory propositions, every time that comparative evidence would divulge that these propositions constitute an ad hoc and a 'simplistic explanation of the phenomena' under consideration (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 120). Finally, all these elucidations may explain why they did not give the status of 'laws' to their universal explanatory propositions.

This was not the case for Brian Holmes, another prominent adherent of the scientific approach in comparative education. Trained originally as a physicist he was imbued with the notion that the world, physical as well as social, is governed by laws; that 'God does not play dice', as Einstein had once said. Consequently, the student of comparative education had to start his work by appreciating the existence of laws governing the educational world.

Following the Popperian critical dualism, Holmes drew however a distinction between normative and sociological laws; 'between the man-enforced normative laws or

conventions and the natural regularities which are beyond his power'. Normative laws 'are man-made and can be accepted, rejected or changed by man' (Holmes, 1981: 77), he argues. 'Representing man's beliefs, [they] are part of the context in which schools are run', and hence 'they must be known if we hope to understand how schools function'. Accordingly, 'the establishment of ... normative laws for particular nations represents ... one of the most important of the many tasks a comparative educationist should tackle' (Holmes, 1981: 78). On the other hand, sociological laws, like the laws of physics, 'are man-made statements', that 'apply to the functioning of societal institutions' both inside the school system and outside it (Holmes, 1981: 80). They are 'hypothetical, and if they are to be scientific, [they] should be refutable'. Finally, 'sociological laws are not universally valid: they are contingent', in the sense that, although they constitute 'universal or general statement(s)' they are dependent on 'the conditions under which [they are] to be applied' (Holmes, 1981: 78).

Clearly the Holmesian perception of laws that govern education differ in many respects from those of his American colleagues (e.g. C. A. Anderson and Noah and Eckstein). In the first place, his laws are diversified into two distinct types which actually codify and bring together two different intellectual traditions or schools of thought: the anthropocentric, expressed through man's freedom of the will that pervade normative laws, and the structural functional, inherent in the sociological laws. Second, sociological laws are contingent and hence they are neither a-historical nor unconditionally valid. Prevailing traditions, circumstances and conditions determine the validity and the application of these laws. The influence of relativity theory in physics is obvious in Holmes' perception of sociological laws and overtly stated.

The contingency of sociological laws indicates, among other things, that the aim of scientific comparative education is not the ultimate formulation of either a grand educational theory based on thoroughly tested hypotheses or of absolute and unconditional laws; in this sense, contingency might even pose the question of comparability among substantially different social and educational contexts.

The role Holmes reserves for comparative education is less ambitious. To his way of thinking, comparative education should focus on the study of a specific educational problem with the aim to analyse it in context, to understand and to explain it. Through contextual analysis the 'pure' comparative educationist is expected to formulate refutable hypotheses (i.e. 'hypotheses on which planned reform in education rests' (Holmes, 1981: 78)), extrapolate from them all rationally anticipated consequences or, in other words, proceed to probable predictions as to what the outcomes of policy implementation are likely to be. To the extent that predictions are verified, the problem has been solved/explained, the hypothesis has been tested and has provisionally acquired the status of sociological law. Impressed by the striking success of relativity theory to predict phenomena that had only much later been empirically established (and explained), Holmes inaugurates prediction as the demarcation criterion of science, thus opening up a debate on the method of science in comparative education.

Irrespective of their differences concerning the aim of comparative education as an academic field of study, all three versions of the 'scientific schools of thought' tend to agree on the pragmatic dimensions of the field, on its potential to provide sound advice to policy makers. 'As "pure" scientists', Holmes argues, 'we should attempt to

formulate alternative policies to carefully analysed problems and eliminate those we think will be less successful in particular countries. As ‘applied’ scientists we should be prepared to see how far we can help those responsible for policy to implement adopted policies...’ (Holmes, 1981: 54). After all, hypotheses/sociological laws are, to Holmes’ way of thinking, identical with education policies.

‘Although explanation is’, for Noah and Eckstein, ‘the ultimate goal of all scientific (and hence comparative) work in education’, they also readily appreciate the practical contribution of the field; the help ‘provided to planners trying to improve the effectiveness of educational system’ (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 187). And of course, many comparativists’ involvement in several technical assistance programmes for Third World countries (e.g. World Bank Projects, AID Programmes) or in national policy-making committees testify to the truth of their intention to treat comparative education as a policy-oriented field of study. This renewed emphasis on policy making on the part of scientific comparative education, which clearly runs against the humanitarian tradition of the founding fathers’ ambition to appreciate ‘the intangible, impalpable spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system’ (Kandel, 1955: xix) and to grasp ‘the hidden meaning’ or the ‘real meaning’, or the ‘essence’ of things, certainly reflects the developmental priorities of the time, both economic and social. This emphasis also reflects faith on the part of political authorities in the effectiveness of rational central planning (cf. 5-year plans, in vogue during the 1950s and 1960s in many countries) which in turn was encouraged by economists’ and other social scientists’ reassurances that science (basically social sciences) was by then in a position to guarantee with a substantial measure of probability the success of the planned, i.e. of the desired predicted outcomes of educational policies (cf. Parnes, 1962; Harbison & Myers, 1964).

Epistemological and Methodological Issues

It would not be unreasonable to infer that optimism was to a large extent based on the impressive record of success in physical sciences (atomic fission and fusion, transistors, etc.) during the war and after it, and of the remarkable advances in social and behavioural sciences as well. As a matter of fact success stories or ‘finished scientific achievements as they are recorded in the classics ... from which each new scientific generation learns to practice its trade’ (Kuhn, 1970: 1) have always contributed to the development of an ‘image of science [which is] persuasive and pedagogic’ (Kuhn, 1970: 1) in the sense that it usually evokes the quest for a ‘more esoteric type of research’ which in turn constitutes ‘a sign of maturity in the development of any given scientific field’ (Kuhn, 1970: 11). By mid-1950s comparative education seemed to have reached this stage. Bereday was among the first to realize it. He insisted that ‘the discussion of methods of comparative education is perhaps the most urgent task which those who research and teach comparative education must face’ (Bereday, 1957: 13). Without rejecting the historical-philosophical approach altogether, he subscribed to the circumspect use of the scientific method. He retained ‘a basic concern with the concepts and data of the social sciences, especially sociology and political science’

(Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 65). Other comparativists too, like Kazamias, agreed that 'comparative education needs to be infected with a more rigorous scientific method' (Kazamias, 1961: 96).

Although unanimous in criticising the traditional historical approach, the new generation of comparativists retained substantially different views on fundamental epistemological and methodological issues.

Each provided a different answer to questions like 'what is science'; 'should comparative education develop its own characteristic methodology or should it borrow from other sciences, and if so, which science should serve as the prototype'; 'is the method of science inductive or deductive'; 'should it be strictly empirical and quantitative or could it be more theoretical and qualitative'; 'what should be the role reserved for history'?

Most would agree that comparative education was by definition an interdisciplinary field, at least in the sense that its interests were overlapping with those of almost all other social sciences, and was hence dependant on their methodologies – comparativists were actually 'shameless borrowers' of other social scientists' approaches (Farrell, 1979). Some, like Edmund King, would even argue that comparative education was itself a method of 'getting at "the truth" of a situation' (King, 1976: 18) rather than an independent field of study.

Yet, each had his own preferences. According to Bereday, comparative education was an interdisciplinary area of study centered around a geographical perspective of education: 'Its specific task', he argued, 'is to bring several of the concerns of the humanities and the social sciences together in application to a geographical perspective of education' (Bereday, 1964: x). On their part, C. A. Anderson and Philip Foster of the University of Chicago Comparative Education Center envisaged comparative education essentially as a branch of sociology. Holmes' preferences lay basically with the physical sciences whose elaborate and efficient methodology he tried to transfer to comparative education by adopting critical dualism which, to his mind, constituted a productive analytical framework for the study of collective human behaviour and of law-like regularities related to the functioning of social institutions.

Preferences of comparativists for certain scientific fields were influenced by their training and occupation as well as by prevailing trends in their academic field of expertise and led to the adoption of different methodological approaches. Bereday had studied at the London School of Economics, Anderson was a sociologist, Foster, a social anthropologist, had studied in the London School of Economics as well as in Chicago under Anderson, Holmes was a physicist and Noah was an economist. As sociologists working in the United States in the 1950s Anderson and Foster followed for the most part the prevailing orthodoxy of structural-functionalism. They investigated both intra-educational and educational-societal relationships, 'of essentially undated and often timeless nature', by isolating and controlling variables, carefully collecting relevant data, empirically testing hypotheses of a covariational character, giving emphasis to measurement and quantitative techniques in an attempt to objectify research, by eliminating the subjective views, beliefs and prejudices of the observer. Noah and Eckstein too appeared to be confident that post-war developments in social sciences, 'the rise of quantitative empirical research', 'the greater availability of

numerical data, an improved technology for storing, manipulating and retrieving data, and the widespread use of new statistical techniques' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 58), had improved the scientific character of the social science approach in 'dealing with problems of bias, tendentiousness and even caprice and willfulness' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 90); hence their call for the accession of comparative education into the realm of social sciences, especially as it concerns the adoption of 'empirical and quantitative methods of inquiry' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 113).

Criticism of this unilateral perception of the scientific method with all its undue emphasis on co-relational, empirical, quantitative and objective character came from many quarters. Kazamias for example, who had advocated a synthesis of history and social science, would not accept as scientific and explanatory covariational studies that failed to make their theoretical basis explicit (Kazamias, 1963; Kazamias & Schwartz, 1970). Other critics like Toulmin (1961) and Barber (1972) would not accept that there was a single method of science utilised by working scientists and that this method provided a guarantee for objective knowledge, which, on top of that, could be universally valid. Interestingly, criticism of this mode of science came also from proponents of the scientific method in comparative education.

Brian Holmes too was not ready to accept that co-relational studies, no matter how skillfully carried out, could ever lead to general propositions of universal validity and he was therefore not ready to accept that these propositions could serve as a reliable basis for valid predictions and trustworthy policy proposals. His first reservation came from the hypothetico-inductive character of the empiricist approach. Carefully collected data on the basis of an intuitively formulated hypothesis – normally involving preconception and bias – could at best lead to its verification only within its frame of reference; this was, according to him, a limitation inherent in the inductive method, which parenthetically was not anymore accepted as the method of (physical) science. His second reservation came from the recognition of the fact that in empirical studies 'too little attention is usually paid to conceptual analysis prior to operationalising variables', as it is assumed that 'unambiguous and meaningful indicators can be identified and operationalised' (Holmes, 1981: 68) without due consideration of the different meanings, different ideologies and value systems they endow concepts with. Finally, according to Holmes, emphasis on empirical testing and measurement, on variables that can easily be quantified, leaves no room for an account of important national or cultural peculiarities; of the Sadlerian 'living spirit' or of the ideological whims of policy makers that have on so many occasions played a central role in decision taking.

To address the limitations of the empirical approach Holmes proposes a different comparative method. He starts by limiting the scope of his investigation. He refuses to get involved in the unfeasible task of discovering universal laws, but prefers to deal with the analysis and resolution of a specific problem, preferably of a 'technical' problem, which exists under certain characteristic and identifiable circumstances and which is of significance to policy making. His immediate reaction, in his problem-solving approach, is to proceed – after the careful analysis of the problem and the appreciation of the 'initial' conditions (the context within which the problem exists and its policy solution will be implemented) have been completed – to the formulation of a hypothesis/policy proposal that would best solve the problem. This proposal

is only tentative, problem-specific and context-specific, refutable and open to testing only through comparing anticipated results, logically deduced from it, with the actual outcomes from its implementation. Holmes' attempt to apply to comparative education the hypothetico-deductive method which, according to him, is the method of physical science is plainly clear. His conviction on the issue and on the plausibility of transferring and incorporating it to comparative education led him to the extensive exploration of relevant epistemological and methodological issues and to the utilisation of various theoretical perspectives from scholars such as Popper, Dewey, Weber, Myrdal, etc.

From all his theoretical stances, prediction as the demarcation criterion of science attracted perhaps the most severe criticism. He was reminded that prediction in human and social affairs is an unfeasible task, given the complexity and uncertainty of society and man's freedom of the will (King, 1967); a criticism to which he responded that prediction is not equivalent to long-term prophecies and in any case it is not about extracting certainties but rather probabilities, a situation that has not prevented people from organising systems of public transportation or from calculating insurance premiums (Holmes, 1981: 79). The heat of the debate had actually inflated the issue of prediction out of its normal proportions.

On the other hand, reflecting perhaps the influence of the English (and European) humanistic tradition in comparative education, the problem-solving approach reserved a place for history (Mattheou, 1993). The use of 'normative patterns' at the cross-national level – this highly internalised set of values and norms inherited from the past, codified in ideal-typical models based on the work of historically renowned thinkers (e.g. Plato, Dewey, Marx) and responsible for human behaviour – is indicative in this respect. The same is true for the 'pattern of mental states' at the national level; those 'lower valuations' or 'mores' which 'constitute, if you will, Sadler's "living spirit", or Mallinson's "national character"' (Holmes, 1981: 83). Thus, in a way, the Holmesian scientific approach came, in my judgement, closer to satisfying Kazamias appeal for a synthesis of history and social science (Kazamias, 1963; Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977).

The eclecticism of the problem-solving approach in comparative education prevented its use in actual comparative research. On the other hand, research financiers and policy makers are sceptical of methodological approaches that do not lead to clear-cut proposals, that are not supportive to ideologically preconceived policies and that do not provide reassurances for their success within their own term of office. So, the scientific method that finally prevailed was that of the American functionalist and empirical school of thought in the social sciences. Major comparative research projects like the IEA studies, followed the empirical-quantitative road.

On the other hand, the scientific methodology that finally prevailed seemed to be compatible with and well-suited to the needs and priorities of educational policy at the time. To some extent one could argue that comparative research of economists and human capital theorists interested in Third World development played a substantial part in laying down the political agenda for education policy making and certainly in providing arguments to educational reformers. Exponents of development education (Harbison & Myers, 1964; Adams, 1977; Anderson & Bowman, 1965) and modernisation theorists (like Wiener, 1966; Levy, 1966) with all their reassuring evidence were the cornerstone of reform almost everywhere, with policy makers prompt to call

upon the hard facts of scientific research. In this sense social science had become a convenient alibi and/or a legitimising means for the prevailing political orthodoxy in education. Educational expansion and hence increased funding of the educational sector were argued on the basis of human capital theory (Schultz, 1963; Bowen, 1964) and of the utilisation of the latent pool of talents. The comprehensive school movement drew support from sociological research findings (Halsey *et al.*, 1961). Technical assistance programmes to Third World countries were also given the blessings of technocrats and several academic experts prior to their approval (UNESCO, 1972; Adams & Bjork, 1971).

The Decline of the Search for an All-Embracing Paradigm

By the mid-1970s the scientific approach of the 1960s to comparative education lost its momentum. Developments in the real world and in academia may be held responsible for the decline of its appeal.

In the first place, many promises – social justice and mobility, uninterrupted economic growth, elimination of underdevelopment – were not kept: ‘scientific’ research and planning had failed to live up to their reassurances as to the righteousness and the effectiveness of their policy proposals (Húsen, 1982). The hard facts of life had in practice rendered unreliable all the grandiloquent statements about the objective, infallible and positive character of the scientific approach, thus undermining the very foundations of its reputation. Scientific comparative education was not in this sense better suited for the job than other alternative methodological approaches. This explains perhaps why so many different approaches and perspectives found a place in comparative education during the following decades.

A second reason for the decline of the supremacy of the scientific method in comparative education should be sought in the changing epistemological pattern in the natural sciences. The quantum mechanics paradigm in physics was suggesting that god might eventually play dice; uncertainty and perhaps chaos rather than the rule of law might be the order of the day in nature. And if this was true for physics, then social sciences (and comparative education) could not hope for anything more. The scientific method could not claim supremacy on epistemological and practical grounds over other alternative approaches.

In addition, the post-modern climate, the devaluing of grand theories into grand narratives, favoured in the social sciences the development of new cognitive domains, new theories and new approaches; despite their more qualitative, participatory or subjective character, these approaches were given an equivalent academic status. Thus, comparative education itself saw the emergence of new approaches and methodologies that were disputing and negating the dominance of the scientific paradigm of the 1960s; academics’ inclination to explore new regimes of truth had certainly played its role. Already by the 1980s one could rightfully suggest that ‘there are now many schools of thought in comparative education and none has dominance’ (Altbach, 1991: 493); consequently it would be more accurate to speak today about comparative educations rather than about comparative education (Cowen, 2000).

The decline of 'scientific' comparative education does not certainly imply that it has lost all its influence or its adherents. After all, 'there are always some men who cling to one or another of the older views' (Kuhn, 1970: 19). This is even more true for those past paradigms that had served their stakeholders well. In this sense, the covariational, quantitative and empirical sort of comparative education has consistently served politicians well. They have repeatedly relied on it for the legitimation and promotion of their preconceived policies. The longevity of the IEA studies and the influence programmes like PISA have on policy making bear witness to this fact.

Coda

Referring to the development of national systems of education Hans had argued that every system corresponds to a complex edifice of various architectural styles, each related to the historical period its different apartments were built (Hans, 1958: 10).

The metaphor seems somehow appropriate for the development of comparative education too. Its forefathers had discovered a privileged site for educational study amidst the marshy land of nineteenth century educational borrowing. They had decided to build an edifice on it that would contribute to the utilisation of its fertile ground; to a better understanding of the interplay between society and education through history. When later on difficulties arose, their successors, equipped with new 'scientific technologies', built a new and presumably stronger estate. Ever since, new buildings have been erected, each following different architectural styles and contributing to an allegedly better utilisation of the land.

From the very beginning some of those buildings were occupied by tenants related to policy making. Yet the rest remain in the hands of the academic community and are still being expanded. Fortunately enough, they constitute the habitat of criticism, innovative thinking and creativity; the place where *episteme*, the art of endless, laborious but intellectually rewarding search for truth resides.

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THEORIES OF THE STATE, EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION, DEVELOPMENT, AND GLOBALIZATIONS: MARXIAN AND CRITICAL APPROACHES

Liliana Esther Olmos and Carlos Alberto Torres

Introduction

Education has in modern times been situated within the nation-state. It has been shaped by the demands within the state to prepare labor for participation in its economy and to prepare citizens to participate in the polity. This approximate congruence of nation-state and formalized education becomes problematic as globalization processes place limits on state autonomy and national sovereignty, affecting education in various ways.

The twentieth century has been marked by the expansion of educational opportunities worldwide. It has been the century of education, and the role of the state in the promotion of public education has been decisive. Yet, at the millennium's turn efforts to diminish the role of the state were rapidly changing education, especially in terms of its role in democracy.

Theories of the state, the nature of the state, and the nature of public policy have substantive importance for an understanding of the political nature of education and public policy formation. Defining the "real" problems of education and the most appropriate (e.g., cost-effective, ethically acceptable, and legitimate) solutions depends greatly on the theories of the state that underpin, justify, and guide the educational diagnosis and proposed solutions. There is, however, a permanent challenge here. As Martin Carnoy (1992) has argued, most analyses of educational problems have implicit in them a theory of the state but seldom are the fundamentals of that theory recognized or spelled out in educational research and practice. Becoming self-reflective about our own assumptions seems to be a precondition for solid scholarship.

Therefore, this chapter briefly reviews classical theories of the relationship between the state and education, in particular neoliberal theories, and Marxist critiques of these formulations. Obviously, any analysis of the relationships between education and the state should take into account the multilayered, complex, and dynamic nature of these relationships, revealing the multitude of tensions and contradictions that emerge out of the historical and social force buffeting political and educational institutions. This comment is due to the weaknesses of some theories, which often tend to assume a single causal factor of educational expansion, and ignore the importance, which the state,

operating under concrete structural, political, and historical constraints, attaches to the contribution that education might make to its functions in the area of accumulation and legitimation. Further, most of these theories lack rootedness in specific historical context of particular educational systems and their development, a historical sensitivity which is indispensable for the formulation of sound theoretical explanations of educational expansion. On the other side, the type of criticism represented by Marxism is unique in that it includes a self-critical concept since Marxism is a theory of history, which in turn, tries to offer a history of theory. P. Anderson cited in Amadeo (2006), page 53.

Finally, to draw attention to the sort of questions concerning education and the state which are brought into focus by the argument presented here, the analysis is placed in the context of the globalization of economies, and cultures, using as a case in point the educational experience of the last decades within Latin American societies.

Educational Expansion and the State

We have argued elsewhere against grand theories explaining educational expansion, whether they are functional or world system theories. The approach we attempt to develop concentrates on the historical circumstances of capital accumulation and political legitimation in specific countries, and their influences on educational growth. This approach explains how various Third World countries have developed dual educational systems—one for the wealthier group, and the other for the subordinate ones. We exemplify our approach by the Latin American experience of social change and educational expansion. Yet, the conclusions we draw and the further research questions we pose are applicable to many countries.

In the last 30 years educational expansion has attracted considerable attention from Weberian, Functionalist, and Marxist scholars alike. Although these analyses have focused largely on the European and North-American experience, some attempts have been made in more recent years to examine and explain patterns of educational expansion in countries of the so-called Third World.

This latter line of inquiry has been guided by a primary concern with the impact of the world system of which each nation-state in the contemporary world is a constituent element.

In conceptualizing the world as a single social system, it is argued that its organizational and cultural milieu penetrates the various structural characteristics of all countries. The key elements of this shared culture are: (1) common national economic development goals; (2) an educated citizenry seen as a prized asset from all political perspectives; (3) the belief that individuals and countries are not static but improvable; and (4) that in the context of a capitalist world economy “development means success in economic competition.” The causes of this universal educational expansion are therefore seen to lie in characteristics of the contemporary world system, which affect all nations simultaneously in similar ways.

However, this particular argument and body of literature suffer from a number of problems. It simply postulates the existence of a world historical transformation which

gave rise to it, and why it is that one is justified in treating educational systems and their recent development as being autonomous of or discontinuous with their prewar legacy. It is as if some sort of a “Big Bang” brought into being a unique world system and the associated patterns of educational developments. The causes and consequences of educational expansion prior to 1945 are treated as irrelevant for explaining later developments. Likewise, educational reform in societies undergoing rapid social transformation has attracted the attention of scholars (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990; Torres, 1991; Ginsburg, 1991).

Capital Accumulation and Educational Development

It is true that most “Third World” societies, including those which have achieved independent nationhood in the wake of postwar decolonization, have been subjected to the historical experience of underdevelopment and, thus, share certain structural characteristics relative to the constraints inherent to their economic development and the process of capital accumulation. Yet, it is questionable whether they share, along with the advanced capitalist nations of the world, a common organizational and cultural milieu.

We argue in this chapter that, analytically, it is more fruitful to approach the study of educational development in these societies in relation to the global process of capital accumulation, to which they were subjected under the historically concrete conditions of capitalist expansion and/or colonization. Colonial and postcolonial eras represent two different sets of conditions for capital accumulation and educational development or expansion. While postcolonial expansion of education has been taking place in changed domestic and international context, it is conditioned in important ways by the patterns of educational growth during the colonial period. The study of educational expansion or growth in relation to the process of capital accumulation, as it proceeds at the national and global levels, calls for a political economy framework of analysis. This should systematically explore the historical linkages between the pre- and post-war developments, by focusing on the dynamic interaction between the state, capitalist accumulation and educational expansion.

Political economy’s starting premise is that we can come to know a society’s key structures and understand its diverse and specific social practices by examining the way in which the members of that society produce and reproduce the conditions of their existence. In this perspective, schooling in contemporary societies is treated as a distinct institutional complex with its own diverse and distinct social practices and purposes, but one that is shaped by both the dynamics and contradictions of the capital accumulation process and the power relations between different economic, political, and social groups. Because power relations among groups are expressed in increasingly important ways through a society’s political structures, and more specifically the state, any political economy analysis of the educational system must be based on some implicit or explicit analysis or theory of the purposes or functioning of the democratic state.

The modern state refers to a complex of institutions, such as the government—which means the bureaucracy, the military, the judiciary, and representative assemblies—including provincial and municipal institutions of government. According to the

traditional approach, the liberal democratic state must perform two basic but often contradictory functions: to foster capital accumulation and social harmony and consensus. These “functions” refer to what are merely tendencies at work within the capitalist state. Whether the state meets these requirements, and the manner and the extent to which it is able to do so, is not preordained in the state structure, but is conditioned by the historical specificities attendant upon its operation. While this model of the dual functions of the state might be theoretically adequate for analyzing democratic state, this is not so with respect to policies of the colonial state or, in many cases, the post-colonial one. The colonial state, because of its inherently unrepresentative and coercive character, has been much less concerned with the so-called legitimation function. It follows, therefore, that educational expansion policies pursued by the colonial state cannot fruitfully be interpreted in terms of the contradictory demands of capital accumulation and legitimation. Capital accumulation functions, and minimal requirements of constructing the state apparatus with adequate administrative-coercive capacity, have historically weighed far more heavily in the development of the educational policies of the colonial state.

Indeed, it is necessary to identify different phases in the development of the capitalist accumulation process on a global scale, and then analyze the dynamics of educational expansion nationally, in relation to the timing and mode of insertion of particular societies into the global system. The time and mode of insertion of historically distinct national political economies into the global accumulation process, the legacy of educational systems which predated such insertion, and the social and cultural specificities of their social structures, are the three sets of factors which have been and continue to be crucial in shaping the structure and growth of their educational systems.

Marxism as a Critical Theory

In order to examine such decisive features as the ones developed in this chapter, a brief but necessary explanation about the reasons we have to privilege the Marxian theoretical corpus is required here. Furthermore, how do we understand the significance of going back to such fundamental and irreplaceable source of critical thinking as Marxism? And, if the matter of returning is at hand, why was it that so many of us chose to distance ourselves in the first place and are now coming back to it?

First, the destiny of Marxism as a critical theory—or, in paraphrasing Jean-Paul Sartre cited by Boron, A. *Por el necesario (y demorado) retorno del marxismo*, as the indispensable critical horizon of our time, has been indifferent neither to the changes generated by socialist revolutions nor to the highs and lows of popular wars fought in the twentieth century. We are convinced that a theory of history such as Marxism which in turn offers a history of theory, has survived as an intellectual and political tradition due to two principal factors that are not the only ones but appear to be the most important. The first factor is capitalism’s constant incapacity to confront and resolve the problems and challenges that originated through its own being. As long as the capitalist system proceeds to condemn the growing sector of modern societies to exploitation and all forms of oppression—such as poverty, marginalization, and social

exclusion—and creates nonstop damage to the environment through its brutal commercialization of water, air, and earth, the conditions to pursue an alternative vision for society along with a practical methodology to end these effects will always be present. J. P. Sartre, cited in Boron (2006), page 35.

The second factor is that this theory has demonstrated an unusual capacity to deepen itself in accordance with the historical developments of societies and the struggles for emancipation of those who are exploited and oppressed by the system. Yet, it cannot be ignored how Marxism is negatively affected by the lack of strategic dialogue in terms of a political project capable of unifying and combining the energies, which is one of its central problems that must be resolved if Marxism wants to be retransformed into a philosophy of praxis.

To conclude, we would like to bring back Sartre's analysis of Marxism. This still possesses vigor. In *Questions de Méthode*, the French philosopher affirmed that a philosophy will continue to be efficient as long as the praxis through which it was engendered and sustained remains alive. Once everyone has access to a margin of real freedom from the production of life, Marxism will disappear and a philosophy of freedom will emerge in its place. However, we are devoid of any intellectual tool or concrete experience that would allow us to conceive of this freedom or philosophy. For these reasons, Marxism continues to be the unsurpassable philosophy of our time, as the circumstances that engendered it have yet to be overcome (Amadeo 2006).

Education and the State

The concept of the state has become one of the very few in contemporary social sciences endowed with the capacity to foster a rich theoretical and methodological debate, not to mention the inflamed political controversy raised by its practical existence. It has regained recognition as a key concept in the history of political research. Discussions about theories of the state acquired new vigor in the early 1970s, as a result of debates concerning the Marxist political theory of the state and the work of Antonio Gramsci, and in the 1980s, in mainstream political science discussions of the autonomy of the democratic state. Now, why is the notion of the state so important in an understanding of educational policies and practices? The literature shows that the answer to this question should be drafted in the context of the relationships between education and government, education and the economy, and education and citizenship building. This is in view of the fact that educational systems and practices are sponsored, mandated, organized, and certified by the state, therefore their analysis cannot be separated from role, purpose, and functioning of the government.

However, the relationships among education, politics, and the state cannot be discussed only from the perspective of mainstream political culture. Despite what those advocating “technocratic” or “technicist” views of educational research, curriculum, and educational policy would like to believe education is neither politically neutral nor technically “objective.” As Paulo Freire has consistently claimed in his work, there is an inherent “politicity” of education that has epistemological, analytical, and ethical implications. This politicity relates foremost to the explicit but also the subtle linkages

between education and power. At the same time, it is related to the political nature of the state and public education as contested arenas and sites for exchanges of goods and services and competition involving political-economic projects (Freire, 1994). In summary, prevailing notions of the state held by policymakers and researchers influence the dominant research agenda, the analysis of educational problems, and policy prescriptions. Theories of the state also influence educational research *per se*. At a concrete and practical rather than abstract level, theories of the state held by government coalitions and educational bureaucracies will influence not only research but also the planning and operation of educational systems. Discussions about theories of the state and education encompass a broad range of theories regarding the relationships among education, the state, and civil society. By implication, theories of the state define the nature, purpose, and role of educational research, policy, and practices.

Theories of the state give substance to the range of moral and ethical dimensions (and roles) attributed to education and schooling in the process of cognitive socialization and construction of cultural identities. Moreover, theories of the state (and their precepts regarding the linkages among power, state, and society) will guide the constitution of national, regional, or local educational policies of schooling, including job training programs, and the knowledge that is deemed legitimate and official.

Liberal, Neoconservative, and Neoliberal States

Liberal-pluralist theories of the state conceive this as a political system, as an autonomous political institution independent from the system of production and class structure. The state appears, then as a neutral referee overseeing and regulating the clashes between interest groups and eventually elites competing for resources conflict with the general interest of all citizens or when the state, pursuing independent activities, attempts to modernize society. The liberal view suggests that the state is the collective creation of its individual members, providing a set of common social goods, including defense, education, a legal system, and the means of enforcing that system to all the majority of citizens and legal residents. At this point, we would like to posit the following question: are there any connections between the conservative and the neoliberal state? Taking a world system approach based on Wallerstein's work, the distinction of metropolitan, semiperipheral, and peripheral countries plays an important role in designating the nature of the state. Neoconservative political economy has emerged, partly, as a reaction to welfare states in metropolitan state formations. Many of these state formations have been characterized as industrially advanced societies or late capitalism. Indeed, the majority of neoconservative experiences have taken place in states that have not been historically subject to colonization. Moreover, with few exceptions, these states have not been colonized themselves, profiting from colonizing regions of the world later identified as Third World states.

The notions of neoliberalism and the neoliberal state appear to be "exported" from the center to the periphery and semiperiphery. The point can be illustrated with a discussion of Latin America and regions of the South in the last few decades. No doubt, a neoliberal ideology and narrative are consolidated in the central countries. Given the

implications of the liberal past of metropolitan societies, the specific debates within the political parties and the influence of neoconservative economics in globalization, the notion of neoliberalism in central countries appears almost interchangeable with the notion of neoconservatism in political economy. Lomnitz and Melnick (1991) argue that, historically and philosophically, neoliberalism has been associated with structural adjustment programs. Structural adjustment, in turn, is usually described as a broad range of policies recommended by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other financial organizations. Although the World Bank differentiates among stabilization, structural adjustment, and adjustment policies, it acknowledges that the general use of these terms “is often imprecise and inconsistent” (Samoff, 1990).

Neoliberalism offers similar prescriptions. The politics of neoliberalism, when transported to the countries of the periphery, constitute a set of proposals that refer to the conditions of the countries of the South in the international context, particularly in the division of labor. Neoliberalism strives to pass the cost of educational services to clients through user fees, increasing the participation of the private sector in education (i.e., privatization), and promoting decentralization of educational services as a means of redefining the power and educational relations among federal, provincial, and municipal governments. These standard policy prescriptions overlap heavily with neoconservatism (Torres, 2007).

Changes in state formation entail a change in the production of hegemony and commonsense interpretations of everyday life and, particularly, a change in the political alliances controlling the state, from liberalism to neoconservative and neoliberalism. Replacing the role of the state with the logic of the market in determining educational policy is criticized as a class strategy in the neoliberal state (Ball, 1993). A similar argument is made about the withdrawal of state investment in public education in Latin America and how that would affect the constitution of citizens as pedagogical subjects (Torres & Puiggrós, 1995). Changes in the labor process relate to the move away from a mode of production defined as the transformation of Fordism to a post-Fordist model (with implications for the process of skilling and deskilling of the labor force and the logic of technical control in curriculum) (Apple, 1982).

From the Nation-State to Globalizations: A Critical Perspective

Despite their increasing historical specificity, and because of their normative and analytical orientations, critical perspectives have, by and large, focused on the nation-state as the locus of politics and education. The notion of globalization, however, has transformed the debate, raising the stakes of emancipatory politics in education.

Globalization has been defined as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Held, 1991). Among other things, Held suggests that globalization is the product of the emergence of a global economy, expansion of transnational linkages between economic units creating new forms of collective decision making, development of intergovernmental and quasi-supranational institutions, intensifications of transnational communications, and the creation of new

regional and military orders. The process of globalization is seen as blurring national boundaries, shifting solidarities within and between nation-states, and deeply affecting the identities of national and interest groups. Neil Smelser (1993) captures the spirit of this theme quite well.

A convenient starting-point for depicting the world situation is to consider the status of the nation-state. Once commonly supposed to be the natural and sovereign focus of the loyalty and solidarity of its citizens, this idea of the state has recently been challenged with respect to all of these constituent elements. The international boundaries of the state have become permeable through the greater globalization of production, trade, finance, and culture with a resultant loss of control of all states over their own fortunes. The sovereignty of states has been further compromised through shifting patterns of regional political federations and alliances. At the sub-national level, the state has found itself challenged by the efflorescence and revitalization of solidarity groupings with multiple bases—regional, linguistic, religious, ethnic, gender, and solidarity. All of these compete with the state for the loyalties of peoples and sometimes for jurisdiction over territory. In a word, the contemporary state has been pressured from both above and below by contested boundaries and shifting solidarities.

The capitalist state, although territorially defined, was born and develops a loose network of interrelated and overlapping jurisdictions. The regulatory framework for corporate capitalism which emerged from the last part of the nineteenth century was based on the nation-state but involved emulation and transplantation of forms, as well as international coordination; and it facilitated international ownership of capital through the transnational corporation which became the dominant form in the twentieth century. Transnational corporations have favored minimal international coordination while strongly supporting the national state, since they can take advantage of regulatory differences and loopholes. Processes of international coordination of states relying on national legitimation, have taken the form of bureaucratic-administrative bargaining through a motley network of informal structures as well as the more grand organizations. The growing globalization of social reactions has put increasing pressure on both national and international state structures (Ruccio et al., 1991)

The growing internationalization of the state is still an open quo terms of its scope and dynamics. Likewise, the implications of this internationalization and globalization for educational policies, textbooks, and curriculum are hitherto lacking empirical and theoretical research. There are exceptions. In an eight-country study of reforms of teacher education, Popkewitz and Pereyra (1993) argued that international organizations, such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); and the European community are playing crucial roles in promoting changes in regulations governing teacher education.

The role of international organizations in the process of globalization and the nation-state has been aptly discussed by Joel Samoff, who studied the World Bank's logic of lending in education. By his account, the World Bank is one of the most prominent regulatory agencies of the capitalist system. Samoff argues persuasively that the World Bank is a major player in an intellectual and financial complex pursuing the transnationalization of knowledge and expertise, using a community of experts for hire in a process where there is a strong confluence of research and educational financing. The world is seen as having a pivotal role in the network of power and

decision making in education worldwide, influencing in peculiar ways research and policy-making in developing countries as well as influencing the international discourse in education by different means. First and foremost is the commissioning of long-term research with abundant budgets. This terminology, as presented in most of the World Bank's documents, is based mostly on a neoclassical economy of education, human capital theory, and a theory of the firm applied to education. Through its financial weight and operational reach, the World Bank also influences the methods of analysis considered appropriate and legitimate (e.g. cost-benefit analysis, input-output analysis, and rate of return), defends a technocratic instrumental rationality rather than a politically and historically informed policy orientation, and confers legitimacy to hypotheses and research findings that its experts deem useful and necessary for educational investment and development. Samoff (1992, 1993) would agree that there is a diversity of theoretical perspectives within the ranks of the World Bank's researchers. But he points out that the organization's logic is implacably applied in the context of its lending and that the workings of its managers in charge of lending are distant from the theoretical and empirical analysis of its researchers. The World Bank's logic of analysis cannot be characterized as pluralistic. Although not free from tensions and contradictions, the organization is quite monolithic (Samoff, 1992, 1993). Similarly, in studying the influence of the World Bank in higher education throughout the world, Daniel Schugurensky has argued that the World Bank plays a role at an international level similar to the one played by the Business Roundtable in the United States with its agenda for educational reform. In short, there is an elective affinity between the policies promoted by the World Bank and the many neoliberal and neoconservative proposals emanating from the Business Roundtable (Schugurensky, 1994)

The State and Education in Latin America

We offer here a brief account of historical and theoretical context for a discussion on the state and education expansion in the Latin American region. The nineteenth-century liberal state, and the diverse state models that emerged in the wake of the struggles of the 1920s and the depression of the 1930s, granted to public education systems a major role in the integration and legitimation of the political systems and the modernization of Latin American countries. As part of its development policies the state extended social benefits to vast sectors of the population, particularly in Argentina, Costa Rica, and Mexico. Education played a key role in these social programs, because mass schooling was viewed as a means of building a responsible citizen, skilled labor, and increasing social mobility. In the early 1960s, human capital theories and educational planning justified educational expansion not only as a good investment in skill training but also as a prerequisite for liberal democracy.

The Latin American educational expansion during the early phase of industrialization in the 1960s accounts for the highest rates of educational growth in the world. Between 1960 and 1970, the indices of growth for higher education and secondary education were 247.9% and 258.3%, after which it grew by only 167.6%, while the illiteracy rate remained more or less constant in most countries of the area. One

study of the late 1970s shows a fundamental continuity in this pattern of educational development. Ernesto Schiefelbein has argued that in the last four decades of the last century, Latin America made significant progress toward democracy by “(i) expanding access to education for most the children reaching school age; (ii) extending the years of schooling; (iii) improving timely entrance to school, (iv) providing early care to an increasing number of deprived children, and (v) increasing the provision of minimum inputs and eliminating tracks for social levels.” However, changes took place against this background, and were perhaps the result of a new global economy which was emerging and operated in very different ways from the former industrial economy. The old economy was based on high volume and highly standardized production with a few managers controlling the production process from above and a great number of workers following orders. Because of advances in transportation and communications technology and the growth of service industry, production has become fragmented around the world. The new global economy is more fluid and flexible, with multiple lines of power and decision making thus, while the public education system in the old capitalist order was oriented toward the production of a disciplined and reliable work force, the new global economy seems to have redefined the goals of public educations in development. The new roles for public education (and for many, the future of public education) is at stake in the current debates about education policy.

From a political economy of education perspective, the performance of the economy is a major issue underpinning educational policies. The question is to what extent the prescribed recipes of structural adjustment as a cure to the economic malaise will help or hinder educational expansion, quality of education, and equality of educational opportunity in the region. This is the bedrock underscoring the political behavior of the main actors concerned with educational services in Latin America today, particularly teachers’ organizations, the neoliberal state and its agencies, and the role of international organizations, particularly the World Bank.

It is imperative to situate the national and regional educational policies of Latin America within the context of global economic, political, and social changes of the past years. The current regional context was affected by innumerable changes including the rise of the newly industrialized countries in Asia and the Pacific rim, and its impact on the models of economic development in Latin America; the promise of consolidation of regional economic markets (European Economic Commission, NAFTA, and MERCOSUR); the intensification of competition among the major industrial powers of Germany, Japan, and the United States; the opening of Eastern Europe; and the resurgences of regional ethnic and religious conflicts. These changes and contradictions were increasingly related to the process of globalization of economies, cultures, and societies, showing how very powerful are structural forces involved in education at times of severe crisis and re-structuring of policy priorities and systems.

State Corporatism and Theories

Public education plays a major role in the legitimation of the political systems and the integrations and modernization of countries in Latin America in the context of corporatism

and dependency. Although the “dependency perspective” should be placed in the context of broad schools of development as modernization, postimperialism, and interactive local political economy perspective among others, it focuses on the structure of international capitalism and the lack of availability of capital for autonomous expansion of a less developed economy. Modernization focuses on the nature and characteristics of the social structure of less developed countries as causes of underdevelopment. Postimperialism theories attempt to explain underdevelopment as part of a process of transnational class formation in the developing world. Finally the perspective that focuses on the interaction of social domestic forces using a modern political economy emphasizes that the complex interaction of domestic socioeconomic and political trends determine policy outcomes, insisting on the centrality of economic pressures by domestic socioeconomic actors in the determination of policy options and outcomes.

Political economists of education and political sociologists from a dependency perspective have helped to identify the institutional identity of the state as crucial in understanding the role education has played in development and social change. The theory of the “conditioned states” in the Third World, expanding upon and clarifying the notion of the dependent state, argues that the state is conditioned “by the nature of the peripheral role that its economy plays in the world system and the significant (post-feudal) elements in its own political system”. Therefore, Latin American “conditioned states” have not been able to carry out their public functions properly for a number of reasons. On the one hand, the fragility of local economies made local dominant groups unwilling to allow the pluralist participation of the masses in the selection of the state bureaucracy. On the other hand, since the state historically has been identified by the popular sectors more as a pact of domination by the dominant classes, or a surrogate state, it has not been seen as an independent state working on behalf of the citizenry.

Another question is the ability of the state to consolidate the nation and the market. Since the boundaries of the market are externally defined by the presence of external powers and multinational corporations, the definition of the nation is continually and historically re-elaborated by a complex matrix of exogenous-endogenous processes. More often than not the conditioned state has little control over its own political economy dynamics.

While the notion of dependency, dependent-development, and the conditioned state set the tone for a discussion on the nature of the state in Latin America, drawing from the tradition of political corporatism, the notion of state corporatism from the political sociology of education has been employed to study the peculiar characteristics of political regimes in the region, in particular educational policy formation in Mexico.

Education has played a fundamental role in the legitimation of the postrevolutionary state, and has contributed to state hegemony in Mexico. It has been argued that the corporatist nature of the postrevolutionary state has deeply conditioned the way educational policy has been organized, implemented, and evaluated, and that education (particularly adult education) in Mexico is part of a comprehensive project of compensatory legitimation. While the Mexican case is perhaps too specific, it could be argued that historical changes in the patterns of relationships between state and society during this century created the conditions for the widespread implementation of corporatist arrangements, and the development of corporatist states.

The role of the conditioned state continues to be problematic for democracy and public education in the region. While we have argued that the institutional identity of the state is crucial in understanding the role education has played in development and social change, the notion of the dependent or “conditioned” state helps to understand not only the contradictions in public policy formation, but also the disparate roles and functions that the Latin American states play in the context of peripheral capitalism. Conditioned by the dynamic of metropolitan capitalism, the significant noncapitalist (although perhaps postfeudal) elements in its own political system, and the political alliance in power, the nature of the democratic state in the region continues to pose serious constraints to the political and economic democratization of civil societies. This is more so when, despite the political shortcomings of the Latin American democracies and their limitations in endowments and resources, the liberal state in the region attempted to develop a system of public education that provided access and permanence to the system of public education that provided access and permanence to the system to vast sectors of the population, including the poor. The policy rationale was clearly synthesized by the premise that the state should “educate the sovereign”. A critical extension but also de-construction of this premise emerged in the 1960s with the notion of a pedagogy of the oppressed, conscientization, and popular education. The current debate in the region is, on the one hand, whether the systematic withdraw of resources from public education under the political economy of neoliberalism has deeply affected the traditional educational role of the states, the performance of the systems vis-à-vis equality of educational opportunity and quality of education, and by implication the nature of the democratic pact. On the other hand, the prevailing theories and methodologies and the political–technical rationale for educational planning, are seen as subsidiary to the main goals of neoliberalism. These goals were expressed by international institutions like the IMF and World Bank with their political economy of conditionalities and policy references, but were also accepted and graciously implemented by neoliberal states in the region. The question is whether, given the processes of globalization, these internationally induced policies are compatible with fundamental notions of democratic accountability national sovereignty, and community empowerment. The question about the nature of the state and public policy is also a question about the future of public education in Latin America.

Conclusion

Current social, political, and economic changes in Latin America underscore the pace, texture, and scope of educational development, educational quality, and the relevance of education. In this context, educational planners and communities deal with the implications of the lack of economic growth in the 1980s and 1990s, the growing external debt, increasing fiscal constraints, and intended and unintended impacts of structural adjustment of economies and neoliberal states and policies. Alas, the relationships between education and social change continue to be revisited by those seeking educational reform, but the challenges of poverty remain seemingly intractable for public policies—especially education—and democracy.

It is in the framework of this historical dialectical totality where the comprehension of neoliberalism and globalization should insert themselves as foundational phenomena of a new articulation of capitalistic domination, as primogenital forces from an intent of rearticulating the relationships between the economic-technical subsystems and the social-political-institutional sphere with a new qualitative connection among them.

Globalization is a sine qua non condition for the modern day phase of capitalism, given the widespread movement of capital and the necessity to squash/destroy worker resistance throughout the planet. One must remember that globalization is constructed from the pillars of liberalization of the flow of capital, deregulation (flexibilization in the capital-work relationship and liquidation of the social security) and competitiveness—the last one understood as the unrestricted application of the two previous requisites.

The crisis of the neoliberal model does not follow a symmetric rhythm thus, given the particularity of Latin America in historic cycles, it is very likely that this model intends to implant itself in a phase in which it has lost international sustentation. A large spectrum of alliances should be constructed, all of their efforts concentrated, to coincide with the anticapitalist and libertarian character from the construction of an alternative to neoliberalism and exclusionary globalization.

As Daniel Bensaid affirms, Marxist thought flourished as a result of the rigorous research that demonstrates the extent to which the spectrums of Marxism impact the present. The new century appears to be a promising period of creativity for the tradition of this theoretical framework.

The Marxist tradition as a social and political science of emancipation tied with the sciences of current times, as part of a cognitive process of transformation and joint action, is an interwoven praxis which should be recuperated. To reconstruct this critical reason in the face of the growth of cynical reason is essential.

Constructing partial synthesis and successive approximations, reconstructing the dialectic as a method and way of knowing, and associating the “cold” side of Marxism (science) with its “hot” phase (utopia), knowledge and praxis, will be how the creation and revolutionary interpretation of reality develops, so that Marxism continues to be as Gramsci said, a “Philosophy of Praxis.”

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COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN EUROPE

Wolfgang Mitter

Historical Retrospect

Contextualising comparative education in the regional framework of Europe cogently leads to the basic structural principle that has determined the mainstream of European history since the early Middle Ages: the dichotomy between diversity and unity. This basic argument explains that this introductory chapter takes up this theme and uses it as the continuous motif of the present analysis on the whole. It seems that the facts and trends that indicate diversity can be asserted as the *stronger* pole at first sight. This assumption has exercised its significant impact on comparative education throughout the development of this discipline. Consequently, our main attention is directed to the geographical, institutional and thematic *map* of Europe with its distinctive working places, whenever we are invited to investigate events, trends or attainments in any comparative approach: universities, research institutes, documentation centres, academic societies, regional units and, finally, states.

It is this latter kind of territorial limitation that has become the most significant determinant of comparative education from its origin to the threshold of the twenty-first century. May it suffice to trace the history of the discipline back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris designed his project dealing with a plan of comparing state education systems all over Europe within the outer borders of the *Holy Alliance* that claimed to lay the ground for a peaceful order after the Napoleonic wars. (Jullien, 1992; Vandaele, 1993). However, Jullien's idea was overlapped and eventually replaced by the political and ideological *alliance of state and nation*, which should become the focus of comparative educational studies, namely in the configuration of the nation state, as an essential heritage of the French Revolution. It has gradually expanded from its emergence throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The current trends, however, signalise the end of the modern nation state's monopolising *educational sovereignty* in favour of competitors in the regional and global dimensions (Mitter, 2004; Bray *et al.*, 2007).

In accordance with the dominance of Europe in producing the conditions and in setting the norms for the progress of science and technology as well as (institutionalised) education all over the 'rest of the world', the origin of comparative education on that continent has exercised enormous influence on the expansion of the discipline in substantial, methodological and organisational terms. In the course of the twentieth century,

in particular since the emigration of prominent educationists from Nazi Germany and Central Europe in the 1930s, the focal position of Europe in comparative education studies has been continuously contested and finally displaced by rising competitors, the 'counter trend' starting in northern America, where the origins of the discipline date back to the nineteenth century, and spreading to further world regions, in particular to eastern Asia.

Though focusing their attention on the *diversity* pole, embodied by particular features of national education systems, European comparativists have never abandoned their interest in their *commonalities*. Moreover, some prominent figures among them have felt dedicated to the overarching idea of a 'European unity' to be derived from spiritual and material events and developments in pre-modern periods, as well as from contemporary trends in science and philosophy, literature, music and the fine arts. In the history of comparative education this 'European idea' was expressly reflected in the theories of the *driving forces* expressing convergences in the interrelations of national education systems and cultural configurations. Taken as a whole, all those trends have laid the ground for the fundamental tension between universalism and cultural pluralism which we are aware of in the globalising world of today as the modern manifestation of the perennial dichotomy mentioned at the beginning.

The European history of comparative education as an academic discipline (Hilker, 1962) began in London, when Michael Sadler devised his concept of exploring education systems and trends abroad and of comparing them with the education system of his home country. In his considerations Germany was the favourite subject of reference. To implement his concept, he convinced the British government to establish the *Office of Special Inquiries and Reports*. Taken as a whole, his engagement was aimed at providing the educational authorities of his country with advice to improve education and schooling (Higginson, 1979). Sadler's 'European' initiative, however, had been preceded at universities in the United States with Peter Sandiford and Paul Monroe as pioneering researchers and teachers.

Moreover, outlining this *academic* start would be incomplete without its inclusion of the 'preparatory' period of comparative education pervading the nineteenth century. It seems to be useful to refer to these three 'precursors' (Hilker, 1962; Vandaele, 1993):

- (a) Marc-Antoine Jullien's *theoretical* approach which, though incomplete and forgotten for decades, anticipated modern approaches to collecting and comparing data about items of national education systems for the sake of harmonising and improving them on the base of empirical evidence.
- (b) The *policy-oriented* approach materialised by the thorough and reflective reports of 'educational travellers', school inspectors as a rule, who went abroad to study documents and to talk to ministers, administrators, headmasters, teachers and higher education representatives, also served as support for educational reforms, in this case related to their home countries only.
- (c) Wilhelm Dilthey's *philosophical* approach resulted from his reflections on the use of comparing education systems on the base of historical studies and the application of hermeneutic-interpretive methodology.

Jullien's *oeuvre* was theoretically based, insofar as he deliberately devised a consistent and well-structured system of grids as base for his intended inquiries. In this approach he acted as a typical representative of rationalism and enlightenment and an early precursor of what has developed into the positivist model in comparative education. Dilthey, on the other side of the spectrum, paved the way for the humanistic (*geisteswissenschaftlich*) stream of the discipline. Finally, the travellers' projects give insight into a combination of both contrasting approaches. By their method to explore statistical surveys and legal documents they have proved to be Jullien's followers, though limiting their inquiries to two or few national education systems and without knowing his *oeuvre*. With him they also shared the aim of making contributions to the improvement of really existing manifestations of education. On the other hand the analyses of their experiences and their efforts to contextualise them in the socio-political and cultural environments of the education systems explored bear witness of their own academic background in the humanities and their expertise in applying historical and hermeneutic approaches.

Criteria of Analysis

The following set of criteria is proposed as an outline for describing the current state of comparative education, as it has come out of the twentieth century. Focusing on European particularities does not mean, of course, concluding that these selected criteria are meaningful with regard to Europe only. The aforementioned worldwide expansion of the discipline indicates their trans-European validity.

The 'European Map'

The map of Europe mirrors the diversity of extension and strength of comparative education with special regard to the territorial location of universities and research institutes. The following survey cannot, of course, claim any completeness, but is presented to give an exemplary insight into the whole scene (Wilson, 1994; Watson, 1998; Paulston, 1999; Mitter, 2005). As mentioned above, the start was made in *Great Britain*. Michael Sadler's legacy was taken up by the Institute of Education at the University of London whose history has been associated with a good number of prominent scholars: Joseph Lauwerys, Nicholas Hans, Brian Holmes, Janusz Tomiak, Robert Cowen and Martin McLean. Other universities joined that trend: King's College in London (Edmund King), Oxford (William Halls, David Phillips), Cambridge (Witold Tulasiewicz), Reading (Vernon Mallinson, O. H. Dobinson, Keith Watson), Manchester (Raymond Ryba), Leeds (Margaret Sutherland), Hull (Colin Brock), Edinburgh (Nigel Grant), Warwick (Rosemary Preston). In *Germany* as the second focal country, the first period was represented by the individual contributions of Friedrich Schneider and Franz Hilker, while their successors were in charge of university chairs or independent research institutes: University of Hamburg (Walther Merck, Gottfried Hausmann, Neville Postlethwaite, Hans-Peter Schäfer), University of Marburg (Leonhard Froese), University of Heidelberg (Hermann Röhrs, Volker Lenhart), University of Bochum (Oskar Anweiler, Christel Adick), University of Münster (Detlev Glowka, Marianne Krüger-Potratz), German

Institute for International Educational Research in Frankfurt am Main (Walter Schultze, Wolfgang Mitter), Max Planck Institute for Educational Research in Berlin (Saul Robinsohn, Dietrich Goldschmidt). Further universities followed, though restricted to individual chairs where comparative education has been as a component of 'general education' (educational foundations) until today. The reunification of Germany opened new chances for the discipline in the Eastern part, just when the main institutions in the Western part of the country had to cope with structural and financial restrictions or even closings. Consequently, the 'torch' was passed to the East, where the Humboldt University with Jürgen Schriewer as Director of the Institute of Comparative Education and Jürgen Henze as Professor has developed into an exceptional place of comparative education. Corresponding chairs, founded at the University of Leipzig (Wolfgang Hörner) and the Technical University of Dresden (Diethmar Waterkamp) have reinforced this recent start. In this context brief attention should be devoted to efforts that had been undertaken in the former *German Democratic Republic* to establish a 'Marxist-Leninist Comparative Pedagogy' with Werner Kienitz and Hans-Georg Hofmann as leading representatives. Those efforts, however, suffered under continual restrictions due to the changing ideological and political pressures by the communist regime and came to an end with the republic itself.

From the 1960s onwards the developments in Great Britain and Germany were paralleled in other European countries. Here the list should be opened with *France* that had been within the 'inner circle' from the beginning with the *Centre International d'Études Pédagogiques* (Sèvres) as stimulating and hosting institution, above all under Edemée Hatinguingais' directorship. The 1970s and 1980s were characterised by Michel Debauvais' extended activities, succeeded in recent years by Francois Orivel and Jean-Michel Leclerq. Besides Lê Thán Khôi's comparative reflections, based on his comprehensive reference to cultural history and sociology, needs to be mentioned as an independent contribution to comparative education (Lê Thán Khôi, 1981). While, in recent years, comparative education in Great Britain and Germany had to cope with institutional reorganisation and budgetary curtailments, other parts of Europe revealed new initiatives; some of them have definitely made considerable progress during the past decades. As for western Europe, the following list signalises this advancement: *Italy* (Lamberto Borghi, Aldo Visalberghi, Mauro Laeng, Vittorio Telmon, Donatella Palomba), *Spain* (Victor Garcia-Hoz, Juan Tusquets, Ricardo Marin, José Luis Garcia Garrido, Miguel Pereyra), the *Netherlands* (Josep Branger, Elzo Velema, Sylvia van de Bunt-Kokhuis), *Belgium* (Cyriel de Keyser, Henk Vandaele, Willy Wielemans), finally the *Nordic* countries (Thyge Winther-Jensen, Torsten Harbo, Reijo Raivola), on the solid ground of Torsten Husén's comprehensive and creative initiatives in transnational research and co-operation. Among the South European 'newcomers' *Greece* has asserted a stable place (Andreas Kazamias, Dimitrios Mattheou), in this position followed by *Malta* (Ronald Sultana). Comparative education in the Soviet Bloc could not establish itself as a truly scientific discipline because of changing interventions by the ruling party authorities, as was already mentioned in the context of the GDR's contribution. However, a few remarkable initiatives could be observed nevertheless in the *Soviet Union* (Zoya Mal'kova, Boris Wul'fsson), *Poland* (Mieczysław Pęcherski), *Czechoslovakia* (František Singule), *Hungary* (Magda Illés) and *Bulgaria* (Najden

Chakarov). Following the revolutionary changes in the beginning of the 1990s there have been new starts in Central and Eastern Europe, namely in Bulgaria (Nikolay Popov), the Czech Republic (Jiří Kotásek, Jan Průcha, Eliška Walterová), Hungary (Tarrás Kozma) and Poland (Ryszard Pachociński Józef Kuzma). Finally, the discipline might not have reached its current position without the continuous support it has received from the big international world organisations, mainly from UNESCO and its institutes in Paris (IIEP), Geneva (IBE) and Hamburg (UIE, now ILL/Institute for Lifelong Learning). It proved its efficiency on various occasions, in particular with regard to the organisation of conferences and meetings.

Academic Associations

Progress, success and survival of comparative education in Europe must be certainly ascribed to the strategic efforts of active and far-sighted persons and the existence of institutionalised working places (Cowen, 1980). These assets, however, needed reinforcement to be provided by professional associations. The history of the discipline gives evidence of various efforts aimed at constituting, developing and asserting comparative education as well as at representing 'European achievements' to the colleagues and competitors in the 'rest of the world'. On the whole the strategies, however, have been neither equal nor consistent, as regards individual intentions and decisions. Furthermore, they have depended on specific actions and circumstances, according to the fundamental dichotomy between unity and diversity. Surprisingly enough the beginning has been marked by the foundation of the *Comparative Education Society in Europe* as a transnational association in 1961, resulting from preparatory discussions and activities of comparativists from several European countries, supported by colleagues from overseas, in particular northern America. The decision for this comprehensive model, even confirmed by the principle of individual membership and against the alternative of any federal and nation-based structure, may be interpreted by the founding-fathers' preference for an association which should be both independent of political influence and 'elitist' which included hesitation in opening it to a clientèle of 'practitioners'. It is true that both criteria have been loosened in the course of the past decades in terms of membership and openness to practice-oriented persons (predominantly from the areas of educational policy and planning) and themes, but they have not entirely disappeared from the agenda of CESE's policies and may be recognised as a, though modified, trademark of the Society until today. The approaches to surrounding CESE with national *Sections* in Great Britain and Germany, immediately following CESE's foundation did not prove to be solid enough. Both 'off-springs' were, formally transformed into nation-oriented associations. It is only the *Italian Section of CESE* which has remained as a survivor of that organisational type.

Instead, CESE has been increasingly confronted with the constitution of competing societies, mostly based on the principles of nationality, either as independent organisations like in most countries (Bulgaria, Great Britain, Greece, Poland, Russia, Spain and, recently, Turkey), or sections of 'pedagogic societies' (Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary). Alternative strategies have led to the foundation of the regional *Nordic Society* (including Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) as well as linguistically

based associations with transnational catchment areas, such as the *Dutch-speaking Society of Comparative Education* addressing their native speakers in Belgium and the Netherlands and the *Association Francophone d'éducation comparée* (AFEC) with its membership in Europe and overseas. In recent years the region-oriented trend seems to have reached its strongest manifestation by the foundation of the *Mediterranean Society of Comparative Education* with its branches spread over Southern Europe, Northern Africa and the Middle East, thanks to Giovanni Pampanini's exceptional initiative. The local model of the *London Association of Comparative Education* (LACE) has existed only as a temporary organisation (during the mid-1970s), while a new alternative type (*Association française pour le développement de l'éducation comparée et des échanges*) has emerged in France with emphasis on the dissemination of comparative education into the practice-bound area of the education system.

Some of the individual societies have undergone formal changes with regard to name and status. These changes have been connected with definitions of content and range of the discipline within the whole of educational sciences and in relation to neighbouring social sciences to be exemplified by the British and German groupings. Finally, mention should be made about the parallel membership shared by CESE and their individual European counterparts in the *World Council of Comparative Education Societies*. It should be added that this 'duplication' has not affected any conflicts, but, instead, rather strengthened the 'European' position in this world organisation.

Shifts of Theory Paradigm

When looking back to one hundred years of 'true' comparative education in Europe, the observer gets aware of *changes of theory paradigm* referring to

- Key concepts of analysing and interpreting facts and developments in educational reality and discussion
- Impacts on the discipline from neighbouring sciences and humanities

Moreover, these paradigms mirror specific interrelations between socio-political trends and research priorities. Yet, the various historical overlaps and intersystemic references underline the complexity of such changes with regard to the dominance of discontinuity and continuity throughout the single periods, let alone 'survivals' of paradigms which had been considered to have already become obsolete. Concerning the centres of the paradigms, the 'European map' calls our attention to certain local, i.e. university-bound focuses, some of them materialising in 'schools', when specific individual constellations in the form of university chairs or directorates of research institutes are given. Consequently, in most cases such 'schools' have existed as individual centres within a national environment of different academic structure and orientation, and they haven often ended with the departure of the leading figure (chair holder, director, chief of department, etc.). The two following examples are suited to illustrate such shifts. First, the continuous theoretical dedication of the Department of Comparative Education at the University of London could be called 'culturalist', with Nicholas Hans, Joseph Lauwerys and Janusz Tomiak as renowned representatives and reinforced by Edmund King who taught at King's College. However, between the

1960s and the 1980s this focus was challenged by Brian Holmes' concern for positivistic theory and methodology (Holmes, 1965; Holmes, 1981). The Ruhr University at Bochum, to mention the second example, was developed as a centre of Soviet (Russian) and East European Studies by Oskar Anweiler and his associates between the 1960s and the 1980s too. This dedication was not continued by Christel Adick, his successor, who turned to concentrating on the impacts of globalisation and the world system theory on comparative education. As regards the current period, the Humboldt University of Berlin has signalled a new departure, since Jürgen Schriewer's concept of comparative education is distinctly related to the world as a whole, and of applying and modifying the Stanford variant of the world system theory as well as Niklas Luhmann's system theory (Schriewer, 1987; Schriewer, 1999). On the other hand his concept demonstrates that it would be erroneous to regard such 'national schools' as exclusive centres.

On the whole, throughout the twentieth century the trend toward transnational commonalities has never been abandoned. Furthermore, the history of comparative education gives evidence of 'transcontinental' initiatives. In this respect the 'European' influence on the growth of the discipline in the United States before and after World War II is worth mentioning. It is closely associated with the works by the prominent 'emigrants', such as Isaac Kandell, Robert Ulich, George Z. F. Bereday, Harold Noah, Max Eckstein, Andreas Kazamias and Hans Weiler. In the development of comparative education this wave of migration has, in turn, proved to promote transcontinental co-operation in the form of various approaches to reconsidering theoretical and methodological topics. In this context the *Commission* dealing with the observation and development of *theory shifts* within the World Congresses of Comparative Education Societies is worth particular attention. It was initiated by Brian Holmes at the beginning of the 1990s and has been essentially advanced by Robert Cowen and Jürgen Schriewer on the 'European' and by Erwin Epstein and Anthony Welch on the 'overseas' side. Finally, teaching and doing research on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean can be recognised as a reinforcing factor of such co-operation, to be exemplified by Andreas Kazamias' long-year professorships in Madison (USA) and Athens (Greece).

Overall, this analysis of theory positions – offered above – permits the following attempt to structure the twentieth century into a number of periods:

- The decades between the 1920s and the 1950s were characterised by the overarching panoramas composed by Nicholas Hans in England and Friedrich Schneider in Germany, the latter being distinctly influenced by traditional Roman Catholic thinking. They reveal their authors' profound insight into the universal and, in particular, European dimension of educational history and its *driving forces*. Parallel approaches, though after World War II, could be observed in Italy (Flores d'Arcais) and Spain (Juan Tusquets).
- The decades between the 1960s and the 1980s were dominated by the cross-national impacts of the *Positivist dispute in German Sociology* between the adherents of Karl Popper and Jürgen Habermas on content and methodology of comparative education. Besides, neo-Marxist arguments (in various configurations) completed the spectrum.

- The recent period can hardly be ascribed to certain dominating streams, but is rather characterised by competition between converging and diverging theoretical approaches under the universal tension between modernism and post-modernism on the one hand and between universalism (as represented by the world system theory) and cultural pluralism on the other. Besides, the diversified picture gives ample insight into 'new' comparative research areas, such as gender studies, educational planning and politics, lifelong learning, vocational education and, ultimately, the booming field of intercultural education to be resumed in the concluding chapter.

The European mainstream in comparative education has been dominated by 'culturalist' studies until the end of the twentieth century, regardless of its ties to the inherited humanities (*Geisteswissenschaften*) or the advancing social studies. This dominant feature has been complemented by the affiliation with historical studies, beginning with the aforementioned 'grand panoramas' to be exemplified by Nicholas Hans' following comment: 'The first step is to study each national system in its historical setting, and its close connection with the development of national character and culture' (Hans, 1949). The 'contemporary heritage' of that dedication, though rooted in different theoretical roots, is represented by Robert Cowen, Andreas Kazamias, Antonio Nóvoa and Jürgen Schriewer. In contrast to the long-existing and growing trend in the United States, empirical inquiries, in particular those conducted with quantitative methods, remained in the shadow until the last third of the twentieth century. The gap between 'culturalists' and 'empiricists' was even deepened by the independent start of IEA under Torsten Husén's and T. Neville Postlethwaite's leadership which took place in, if at all, only loose connection with the 'established' comparative education centres and associations.

Comparisons in Space

Space has always played an essential role in comparative education (cf. Cowen, 1998). Throughout the twentieth century most studies were based upon the principle of the *nation state* according to the concept represented by Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris as well as by Michael Sadler. That means that, outside the 'pure' theory-bound analyses, the nation state was defined as the dominant, in fact, almost exclusive subject of comparison. Nevertheless the bibliography of the discipline abounds in comprehensive and detailed studies devoted to the description or analysis of *one 'foreign' national education system*. Studies dealing with the comprehension of two or even several national education systems remained to be exceptional until the last decades of the twentieth century. This apparent deficit was, however, qualified by the 'comparative view' inherent in many 'country studies'.

Responding to trends on the macro-level of educational policies, the nation-related range was widened into regional comparisons in the following three exemplary directions:

First, comparative educationists were motivated to establish 'new' institutions and to initiate research projects by the expansion of home-based education to colonies and other dependent territories. Their commitment was strongly reinforced by the fact that the discipline attracted educationists who had worked as school inspectors or teachers in those areas and wanted to apply their experience by scientific exploration. It seems to

be evident that Great Britain and France were the countries where this focus of interest has flourished until today, having survived the end of colonialism in the liberated states which have, to a great extent, inherited the structural and curricular features of their former rulers' education systems. However, for comparative education as an academic discipline this expansion has turned out to be ambivalent, insofar as many of the practice-oriented 'newcomers' realised that the 'old' institutes and chairs of the discipline did not satisfy their desires as they hoped. Consequently, at some universities, such as the University of London, new institutes arose with special focus on studies in the education of developing countries and separated from the 'traditional' centres of comparative education. This trend was also taken up in countries without any (immediate) colonial past, but with distinct commitment to the new challenge. For instance, Hermann Röhrs (succeeded by Volker Lenhart) established 'third world'-oriented research, in this case, however, within the institutional and curricular framework of comparative education at the University of Heidelberg.

Second, from the 1950s to the 1980s, comparativists in Western Germany, under the pressure of the near Iron Curtain and the German partition, were greatly occupied with the impacts of the West-East conflict on education. In this orientation, however, the German comparativists were not isolated at all. Among their European colleagues Janusz Tomiak (London) is especially worth mentioning as a 'foreign' paramount example. It should be added that this orientation was underlined by the descent of some of the prominent representatives from Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. Oskar Anweiler, Leonhard Froese, Wolfgang Mitter, Janusz Tomiak). Their studies were related to the context of the ideological, political and administrative frameworks of the education systems concerned. After the collapse of the communist regimes the authors of those studies were surprised (and satisfied) at being told by their colleagues in that region that their comments and conclusions had been considered as important, sometimes even the only available and reliable sources and therefore attentively read.

Third, beside the comparative studies whose range was limited to communist countries the history also records some projects dealing with region-crossing themes including West and East European education systems. In this respect Saul Robinsohn's comprehensive project (conducted with Frank Braun, Detlev Glowka and Helga Thomas) on *School Reform in the Societal Process* (Robinsohn, 1970/75; cf. Glowka/Braun, 1975) could claim the quality of a pioneer achievement. Unlike parallel German projects initiated in Bochum, Frankfurt am Main and Marburg, its theoretical scope was explicitly conceived from a sociological point of view and focused on comparing societal factors with their impacts on the national education systems. At the same time Edmund King conducted his comparative project on *Post-Compulsory Education* in five West European countries with its focal explorations of the effects the new trends in vocational education had on 'young adults', in particular concerning their entrance into the labour market (King *et al.*, 1974).

Policy-Orientation

Joseph Lauwerys expressly perceived similarity of comparative education with navigation, insofar as both are only aimed at providing the navigator or the policy-maker,

respectively with information on alternative strategies without trying to exercise influence on their decision-making (Lauwerys, 1958). Considering the history of the discipline as a whole, his position entirely contradicted Saul Robinsohn's concept of the direct advisory function of his proposals in immediate reference to his aforementioned project of the 'Grand School Reform' in Germany at the beginning of the 1970s. While these two radical views can be recognised as the poles of a wide range, the middle is occupied by moderate positions. These definitely accept the melioristic function of the discipline and are ready to provide information for political consideration by suggesting alternative solutions with predictable consequences, but refrain from directly influencing decision-making. As 'indirect' influence is concerned, the judgement is, of course, more difficult, due to the 'informal' channels characterising interrelations among researchers and policy-makers (Husén & Kogan, 1984). In contrast to the situation in other countries including Great Britain, the majority of comparativists in Western Germany were rather reserved to engaging in direct policy consultation and therefore came nearer Lauwerys' than Robinsohn's standpoint, which can be called paradoxical with regard to the tense political situation in the divided country. This estimation is legitimate even with respect to an apparently policy-oriented project like *Vergleich von Bildung und Erziehung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* which was conducted under Oskar Anweiler's leadership and finalised just immediately before the collapse of the GDR (Anweiler, 1990).

It seems that in the current period the scenario indicates a fundamental shift. This has been caused by the apparently triumphal progression of the international large-scale assessments achieved by IEA and, much more directly, by PISA. Their spectacular success among policy-makers and the public has been considerably caused by the growing position of an economy-oriented educational policy, as strongly promoted by OECD. Comparative education is entirely involved in this process, the more so as in most countries direct intervention of governmental agencies not only on contents and finance, but also on objectives of research projects is increasing.

Perspectives

Like all over the world, comparative education in Europe has to cope with new challenges. However, in this region these seem to be exceptionally strong, insofar as they are connected with deep changes, as regards tasks and aims of institutions, professional competencies of the teaching staffs and supervising agencies. Moreover one has to consider that these bodies are indirectly, of not directly, subjected to interventions by external – political and economic – agencies, both at national and international levels, the latter mostly represented by the European Union as well as by OECD and the World Bank. Apart from this framework the perspectives of the discipline are dependent on the overarching trends resulting from the *globalisation* processes, among which the following three seem to be worth emphasising.

First, the thematic area is getting broader and broader in geographical terms. There is a need for comparisons across continents or between comparative subjects on different

continents. It has the positive effect of uniting researchers from different countries and regions in the initiation and conduction of comparative projects and therefore of connecting the insider's expertise with the foreigner's distant view qualified by an attitude of estrangement. On the other hand such co-operation presupposes the mastering of language and competence issues, caused by academic training under different national and cultural conditions. Modern traffic, electronic communication and the worldwide trend toward using the English language in the global science and communication systems are likely to minimise these difficulties, although these should not be underestimated for the foreseeable future. Finally, globalisation stimulates comparison between themes of local (national and regional respectively) range with worldwide trends, underlined by the inclusion of the historical dimension.

Second, the traditional concentration of comparative studies and projects on comparing *national* education systems and issues has got powerful competition by the identification of *cultural* configurations as significant subjects of comparative education. It is true that *culture* and *cultural pluralism* had fascinated the minds of all the aforementioned 'pioneers' of the discipline who were considerably interested in the *philosophical* and *historical* concerns of language, religion and ethnicity on processes of socialisation and education as *driving forces* of humankind. The recent trend, however, reveals new features, insofar as the spokesmen of those educationists who have introduced the term *intercultural* as complementary to *international* or even *comparative*, are mainly committed to policy-oriented goals. They want to pay a contribution to integrating members of multicultural societies, and that within and beyond national borders. At the same time they are directly practice-oriented, insofar as their efforts are aimed at ameliorating schooling and instruction, e.g. by providing curricula and textbooks and other learning aids and by promoting intercultural communication projects (among students, teachers, local communities, etc.). The special priorities of their goals explain their preference for 'independent' institutions and also associations. Recent evidence, however, shows that divergences from comparative education are not irreversible which has become manifest in joint organisational and substantial ventures, such as demonstrated in Germany by the re-association of the 'comparativists' and 'interculturalists' who had separated in the eighties. Anyway, comparative education has to continue to cope with this challenge and to include the *interrelation between nation and culture* in its range of *comparative* research and teaching, the more so as the traditional concept of *nation* is undergoing essential changes as a concomitant and corollary of trans-national and trans-cultural migrations all over the world. Living up to this challenge, comparative education can pay a valuable contribution to analysing the essentials of multicultural societies, while at the same time this task can be estimated as enriching the thematic and theoretical dimension of the discipline.

Third, academic debate and practice reveal the continuity of the fundamental question of how to define comparative education as an educational and social science area of research and reflection. In the present paper mention has been repeatedly made of the 'discipline' which was, however, focused on the aspect of institutionalisation (in form of institutions, departments or chairs) and needs to be clarified in this concluding context. As the position of comparative education in the science system in total is concerned, the 'European map' indicates different manifestations. The 'German' model and

its counterparts in a good part of Europe (in particular in Central and Eastern Europe) has been characterised by the descent of the discipline from the philosophically (and before theologically) based ‘general pedagogy’, although Oskar Anweiler, already in the sixties of the twentieth century – though contested in that period – defined it as a “cross-sectional area” in reference to its historical and sociological neighbours (Anweiler, 1967). In this respect he contributed to laying the ground for opening its borders to interdisciplinarity without, however, abandoning its traditional affiliation to ‘general pedagogy’ as its ‘mother-discipline’. The ‘British model’ had never favoured the construction of a ‘general’ education and rather preferred the institutionalised and structural formation of individual education disciplines, among which comparative education could be placed without any effort to undergo ‘problematic’ debates. This traditional duality seems to become more and more obsolete, because the increasing and worldwide trend toward *interdisciplinary* studies has included comparative education all over Europe (and more-over the whole globe) to a growing extent, and this trend will go on.

Finally, the way ahead signals a revival of the *European dimension* in comparative education. In former decades it had been avowedly favoured by Nicholas Hans, Friedrich Schneider and Bogdan Suchodolski, to remember the *oeuvres* of three grand ‘Europeans’. While their thoughts were rooted in idealistic and historical reflections, the current drive rather indicates pragmatism, centred round the political debates within the European Union and the Council of Europe including the domain of educational politics, as practised, for instance, by Colin Brock and Witold Tulasiewicz (2000). Philosophical and historical essays have given way to comparative re-analysis of political documents and empirical inquiries. This ‘new’ European dimension has also caught wide-spread response among comparative educationists at the recent CESE Conferences, beginning with the sixteenth conference in Copenhagen (1994) and, up to the present, ending with its twenty-second successor in Granada (2006) (Winther-Jensen, 1996; Kazamias & Spillane, 1996).

It is just this recent ‘return to Europe’ which, in interdependence with the three aforementioned trends, has opened the perspectives of comparative education. However, this estimation should not be restricted to its *lights*. The observer should not overlook the *shadows* either which are caused by fears that comparative education might lose its specific contours when realising that ‘everybody compares and claims to be a comparativist’. Such claims often lack the requirements of theoretical and methodical training concerning the particularities of the *comparative* foundations of the discipline including the continuity of the efforts to define its epistemological identity. However, comparative education, looking back to a history covering two centuries – including its preparatory stage throughout the nineteenth century – has coped with various challenges which seems to legitimate the prediction of its further progress. It is underlined by the articulate participation of European comparative educationists in the worldwide thematic and methodological debate.

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WORLD-SYSTEMS ANALYSIS AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

Robert F. Arnove

This chapter explores the application of world-systems analysis (WSA) to the comparative study of education systems. Two main theoretical approaches to the study of transnational trends in education are identified: namely political realist and neoinstitutionalist.¹ Following a discussion of their intellectual origins and basic assumptions, the chapter turns to an analysis of the articulation of world-systems analysis with the growing body of globalization research. The interactions between global economic and cultural forces and local contexts are illustrated in representative case studies in the field of comparative and international education. Special attention is given to the impact of major international governmental agencies as well as nongovernmental organizations on education policy agencies. Advances in telecommunication technologies, which compress time and space, are then analyzed with regard to how they shape the nature of work and education system responses. A penultimate section contrasts “globalization from above” with “globalization from below,” the cross-national linking of social protest movements aimed at achieving more equitable education systems and just societies. The concluding section summarizes how different approaches to world-systems analysis, within the more general framework of globalization research, can contribute to theory-building and more enlightened educational policy and practice—principal goals of the field of comparative and international education.

Differing Approaches

Two major streams of world-systems analysis (WSA) appeared in the social sciences and history literature in the late 1960s to early 1970s. One was associated with Marxist-based analyses of the workings of the international capitalist system, beginning with the dependency theories of Gunder Frank (1969), Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Ernesto Falleto (1969), and Theotonio Dos Santos (1970a, b) on Latin America, and Walter Rodney (1972, 1974) and Samir Amin (1970, 1973) on Africa, and culminating in the world-systems scholarship of Emanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989).² The other stream is associated with what has been called the “world culture” theory and the “neoinstitutionalist” approaches of Stanford sociologist John W. Meyer with his students and colleagues.³ The more consensus-oriented approach of Meyer and associates to the workings of a transnational cultural and social system has focused

on the establishment and expansion of schooling around the world, principally in the post-World War II period, and particularly in relationship to the creation of citizens and modern polities. The more conflict-oriented school of researchers has focused on the economic dimensions of the world capitalist system with little, if any attention, to the cultural and educational dimensions of the system. In his 1980 essay Robert Arnove, a former student of Meyer, urged his colleagues in the field of comparative and international education to take up world-systems analysis as the necessary framework for understanding educational trends around the world, from curriculum reform to the language of instruction, and the outcomes of school expansion (Arnove, 1980).

Institutionalist Perspectives

The world culture and society work of Stanford University professor John W. Meyer and associates began with attempts to explain the determinants of the global expansion of education systems. In his earliest study, Meyer (1971) first examined country indicators of levels of economic growth and per capita expenditures on education, type of political regime, and colonial past among others to explain the conditions under which countries were likely to increase access to education. Although his findings indicated that wealthier countries were more likely to expand education at all levels, with modernization-oriented governments tending to expand secondary education, and mobilization political systems (e.g., socialist countries) giving emphasis to primary and higher education, these national-level variables did not adequately explain why education was expanding everywhere at a rapid rate (Meyer, 1971).

In a significant collective work entitled *National Development and the World-System: Educational, Economic, and Political Change, 1950–1970*, Meyer and Hannan (1979) concluded that school expansion during this period could better be explained as “a function of the available population to be educated and the level of education existing in 1950.” The important point for world-systems analysis, however, was this: “Education everywhere expanded independent of the constraints and stimuli that economic, political, and social structures provided in previous times. This universal increase in education has led us to speculate that the causes of this expansion lie in the characteristics of the contemporary world system, since such characteristics would affect all nations simultaneously. We offer these speculations as directions for future research” (Mayer & Hannan, 1979: 53).

Further research by Boli and Ramirez (1992), for example, postulated that the institutionalization of compulsory schooling around the world in relation to widely prevalent norms and an ideology concerning the nature of societal and personal development can be traced to the Enlightenment project that followed the break-up of Latin Christendom. The glorification of God was replaced by the celebration of the human project which, by the late twentieth century, became identified with economic growth; and a preoccupation with the salvation of the soul evolved into the notion of the development of human potential. Boli and Ramirez maintain that formal systems of education represent, according to a universalistic ideology, not only the means by which nations modernize and prosper economically, but also the surest route to

enhancing the talents of individuals. As a mandatory requirement of all children and youth of certain ages and as an institution that is regulated by the state, schooling also becomes the agency for creating citizens with equal responsibilities and rights.⁴ Their findings, based on an analysis of six cohorts of countries in relationship to the time lapsed between political independence or state formation between 1820 and 1990 and the establishment of compulsory education systems, indicate that “mass schooling has become the norm in every region throughout the world” (Boli & Ramirez, 1992: 37). Moreover, those regions most incorporated into the Western model of society or attempting to resist Western domination in modernizing their countries (e.g., Japan 1872–1886) also tended to establish rule-governed schooling earlier and more extensively (Boli & Ramirez, 1992: 38).

According to the neoinstitutionalist theoretical framework, the constitution of institutions, like schooling, as well as the construction of nation-states with citizens, is based on widely held and deeply ingrained norms and expectations concerning the way the world is and should be ordered. Meyer *et al.* (1997) argue that “Diffuse functional models about [e.g., the importance of formal schooling to economic growth] . . . actors, actions, and presumed causal relations, are centrally constitutive of world culture.” They provide an example that dramatically illustrates the workings of contemporary world society and culture. They hypothesize what would happen if a previously unknown island society had been discovered, one that had been totally isolated from contact with the rest of the world:

Our island society would obviously become a candidate for full membership in the world community of national and individuals. Human rights, state-protected citizen rights, and democratic forms would become natural entitlements. An economy would emerge, defined, and measured in rationalized terms and oriented to growth under state regulations. A formal national polity would be essential, including a constitution, citizenship, laws, educational structures, and open forms of participation and communication (Meyer *et al.*, 1997: 173–74)

The basis for universalistic rights and obligations of individuals and an emphasis on the rational ordering of society derive from the persuasive power of contemporary world culture, rather than the imposition of norms based on unequal relationships between nation-states. Here the institutionalists draw a distinction between themselves and the world-systems perspectives of the “realists” (i.e., Wallerstein, and other conflict theorists): “Prevailing social theories account poorly for these changes [in the hypothetical island]. Given a dynamic sociocultural system, realist models can account for a world of economic and political absorption, inequality, and domination. They do not well explain a world of formally equal, autonomous, and expansive nation-state actors” (Meyer *et al.*, 1997: 174). The institutionalists’ emphasis on culture—something which realists tend to downplay—may account for the extension of citizen rights to women, specifically the franchise in 133 countries from 1890 to 1990 (Ramirez *et al.*, 1997) or to improvements in the status of young people (Stanford Center on Adolescents, 2005), but the achievement of fundamental political and human rights may be as much the result of struggles of dispossessed peoples as it is the outcome of a

benevolent worldwide system of entitlements based on universalistic norms.⁵ Levinson, for example, examines changing notions of adolescence and secondary education in Mexico, not only with regard to external norms but the response of the Mexican state to pressures from the global economy and various political groups that contest governmental education policies they view as eroding the ideology of the 1910 Revolution (Levinson, 1999).

Realist Perspectives

The assumption of the institutionalists of an international system of autonomous nation-states being able to simultaneously achieve comparable levels of development is precisely what dependency and “realist” world-systems theorists challenge. By the late 1960s, Wallerstein, and his associates questioned the basic assumptions of prevalent theories in the social sciences as well as in international aid agencies concerning the causes of underdevelopment throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia. It was not lack of capital and expertise that was holding back these countries, but the very unequal relationships that existed between these countries in the “periphery” of the world economy and the “core” industrialized countries of North America and Europe. The longer the contact between the “core” and “periphery” in an unequal exchange of goods, if not exploitive colonialism, the more likely the country or region was to be underdeveloped—classic cases being the impoverished Northeastern Region of Brazil (Frank, 1969; Cardoso & Falleto, 1969), or Haiti, once the richest colony in Latin America and the Caribbean and now the poorest country in the region.

Wallerstein (2000: 3), who had written his dissertation “comparing the Gold Coast (Ghana) and the Ivory Coast in terms of the role voluntary associations played in the rise of the nationalist movements in the two countries,” had spent a decade living in and writing about Africa as a political sociologist. In his quest (Wallerstein, 2000: 1–4) for “an adequate explanation of contemporary reality, so that . . . [he] and others might act upon it,” he eventually came to the conclusion that “all analysis had to be simultaneously historic and systemic. . . .” In adopting this analytical framework, he was attempting to provide more adequate descriptions of the worldwide upheavals that were occurring in the late 1960s, and why they were likely to fail without radical structural change in the world capitalist system.⁶ At the same time, he was endeavoring to reframe the very nature of the social sciences by bridging the gap that existed in the social sciences “between ideographic humanism and nomothetic science” (the divide between human agency in particular contexts and normative laws of society and nature),⁷

By analyzing vast stretches of history and various cycles in the world economy from the emergence of a capitalistic Western Europe between 1450 and 1600 (the “long century”), he was building on and refining “dependency theory,” which some criticize as a stagnant view of relations between the core and the periphery. According to Clayton (2004), Wallerstein added the dynamic of historicity to this analysis as well as the notion of semi-peripheral countries and zones of the world, with some countries rising and falling from their previous positions in the global economy. For these reasons, the

United States, which has been a successful hegemonic world power, is following the pattern of the Dutch and British empires, in losing its exclusive position as “hegemon” to China and possibly India.

While the institutionalists, particularly those associated with Meyer, definitely have an eye on education systems as a fundamental subject of their research on the workings of a global culture and society, Wallerstein’s analysis has been criticized by Sklair (1999) and others for being too economic as well as overly focused on nation-states as the principal actors in the global economy.⁸ Whatever these criticisms, the value of Wallerstein’s approach to the world-system as the unit of analysis for understanding contemporary reality, especially the impact of transnational economic actors on national education systems, was perhaps first brought to the attention of comparative and international education in Arnove’s 1980 essay in the *Comparative Education Review*.

Applying World-Systems Analysis to Comparative Education

Arnove’s essay departed from the more consensual approach of institutionalists by problematizing the workings and outcomes of agencies promoting educational expansion and reform. Earlier essays had given only a brief nod to the fact that the Western model was a creation of “the economic and military success of the Western powers,” (Boli & Ramirez, 1992: 38). There was an initial tendency not to give much attention to the workings of the major technical assistance and financial agencies involved in promoting, and in many cases imposing, education policy agendas. At the same time, insufficient attention was given to historically unequal economic and political relationships between countries based on various forms of direct domination (for example colonialism) or more indirect forms of overbearing influence (sometimes referred to as “neocolonialism”). Enrolment patterns were one thing; but dropout and completion rates, and how unequal social structures determined who would attend the highest and most prestigious levels of schooling related to future income, power, and status also were not analyzed in great depth. Meyer and Hannan (1979), in their introductory chapter to *National Development and the World System*, do briefly mention inequalities between and within countries; and later writings by Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez (1997), Boli and Thomas (1997) certainly discuss the workings of United Nations agencies as well as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in promoting educational agendas with an emphasis on inclusion and extension of human rights. But, as noted above, the world culture theorists differ markedly from the realists, who emphasize interstate power relations.

Political realists document the systemic ways in which hegemonic powers in core countries extract surplus labour from the coerced or semi-coerced labour of the non-core regions with consequent deleterious consequences for their education systems. Schooling, rather than serving the interests of the majority in the periphery, abets the process of capital accumulation by hegemonic actors. By contrast, Meyer *et al.* (1997: 173) view various models of societal development as being “Carried by rationalized others whose scientific and professional authority often exceeds their power and resources.” For Meyer *et al.*, “world culture celebrates, expands, and standardizes strong but culturally somewhat tamed national actors.”

Favoring the viewpoint of the realists, Arrove (1980, 2003) argued that these international financial and technical assistance agencies—notably the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA)—the large philanthropic foundations, especially the so-called “progressive ones” (Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford), and related research institutions financed by them, as well as lead universities in the North, were promoting policies and relationships that were not beneficial to the recipients of aid and essentially favored dominant groups in the metropolitan centres of the core countries. He concluded his essay by noting how world-systems analysis restored the international dimension to the field of comparative and international education and provided a framework for understanding educational development and reforms—at that time, comprehensive high schools, educational technologies such as television, open universities, and nonformal education. He argued that linking education policy initiatives to the workings of an international economic order helped “explain why expansion and reform, in so many cases, have failed to effect structural change in education or society, and indeed, why externally induced educational innovation may contribute to perpetuation of existing stratification systems within and between countries.” While not discounting the usefulness of institutionalist analyses of the workings of a transnational cultural system, Arrove noted, much in accord with Wallerstein’s call for a more comprehensive social science linking the nomothetic with the ideographic, that “World-systems analysis not only expands macro analyses to take into account the actions of educational agencies in a truly international system, but it enhances our understanding of the sources of change and conflict in the micro system of school and classroom” (Arrove, 1980: 62).

The Challenge of Globalization Theory

Throughout the 1980s, the expanded focus provided by world-systems analysis spawned numerous studies linking macro- and micro-level variables to explain the workings and outcomes of education systems. By the 1990s, these differing schools of world-systems analysis were increasingly eclipsed by the catch-all phrase of “globalization,” the most salient current theme in the field of comparative and international education according to a recent survey by Cook, Hite, and Epstein (2004: 136).⁹ Developments in computerization, telecommunications technologies, and the ways in which work was now organized—from “Fordist” mass production within national boundaries to “Toyotism” just-in-time production distributed across the globe, led many to believe there was a qualitative change in the nature of capitalist accumulation that could not be adequately explained by diverse Marxist interpretations, including Wallerstein’s WSA, or the world culture and polity approach of Meyer and associates.¹⁰

This is a complex and extended debate that transcends the limitations of this chapter. Briefly, however, if there is a qualitative difference between globalization and WSA, it may be attributed to the dramatic compression of time and space (Harvey, 1989), with greatly improved technologies facilitating the flow of information and capital across

national boundaries and bringing the distant and the local into closer relation in ways previously unimagined (Held, 1991; Held, 1999; Giddens, 2003). Others will argue that the expanded scope and intensity of these linkages are but a variation on the evolution of the world capitalist system or a universalistic world culture.¹¹

What is important to note here is that the space-time dimensions of globalization be distinguished from the content of these informational and financial flows. Much of the literature in comparative education on globalization has equated increased interconnectedness with what has been called the “neoliberal” economic and education agendas that have been implemented across the globe. The term neoliberal derives from the neoclassic economic theories expounded by the dominant international institutions shaping national development policies (i.e., the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund). As summarized by Arnove, Franz, Mollis, and Torres (2003: 324), the theories are based on the work of the classic economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo, who believed that the role of the state consisted in establishing the conditions by which the free play of the marketplace, the laws of supply and demand, and free trade based on comparative advantage would inevitably redound to the benefit of all. Government policies based on these notions have led to a drastic reduction in the state’s role in social spending, deregulation of the economy, and liberalization of import policies. The educational counterparts of these policies have included moves to decentralize and privatize public school systems. Also part of this package of education “reforms” is the emphasis on choice, accountability, standards, and testing by which the state’s role is to specify goals and priorities and evaluate whether or not the various subnational administrative units, and even individual schools, achieve the desired results. At the higher education level, there is the “new managerialism” that applies the language and logic of the market place to overseeing the operations and outcomes of academic units (Deem, 2001; Hartley, 2003; Marginson & Mollis, 2001; Arnove, 2005).

In many respects, the abovementioned developments exemplify the standardization of rules and norms, the isomorphism that Meyer and colleagues had predicted in the constitution of national education systems. Divergence also is contained within their predictions based on certain tensions created by the incongruence between universalistic forces and diverse national characteristics.¹²

Illustrative Studies of WSA

The following sections review how the more consensual (institutionalist) and the conflict streams of WSA have merged in part with the more comprehensive, but amorphous, framework of globalization to shape research in the field of comparative and international education.

Clayton (2004) in a noteworthy review, “Competing Conceptions of Globalization,” points out how WSA, with its historical dimensions, may contribute to comparative education research in ways that most globalization research (because of its short-term perspective) cannot. For example, as he notes, “We would ask not only how educational institutions around the world are today mediating and advancing the neoliberal

agenda but how (or if) educational institutions mediated and advanced liberalism in centuries past, and how (or if) these successive clusters or ideologies differ” (Clayton, 2004: 294). According to Clayton, other studies benefiting from a critical, historical, economic perspective would include those on “the emergence of English as the global language, the global standardization of education credentials or knowledge, the loss of identity and so on” (Clayton, 2004: 294).

In a major statement of the value of a world culture and society perspective, Meyer *et al.* (1997) suggest fruitful lines of inquiry. They include studying issues generated by the tension between external pressures to create modern school systems and internal realities that prevent the realization of beneficial reforms at the school and classroom levels; between ideals related to the equitable distribution of school and policies promoted by reactionary governments and dominant groups who might view democratization of education systems and the teaching of democratic ideals as antithetical to social control and regime stability; or, between international models of years of schooling for different levels of an education system (e.g., 6, 3,3 for primary, middle, and secondary as specified by UNESCO) and what is appropriate for a specific country.

Time allocated to different subjects in national curricula has spurred a number of studies—notably Meyer, Kamens, and Benavot (1992) on *School Knowledge for the Masses*—that show both convergence, in amount of time given to science and mathematics instruction as part of the process of becoming a modern polity, as well as different local adaptations to this international trend. Benavot and Resh (2001: 505) have selected the case of Israel to show how convergence in the diffusion of common categories of curricular subjects across the world is paradoxically modified by another strong policy trend to devolve central state authority over education to subnational levels, a policy bolstered by an ideology promoting school autonomy. Moreover, Benevot, and Resh note that their findings of variations in implementing instruction in nationally mandated subjects “suggest that contextual factors like school structure, the socioeconomic background of students, and the successful mobilization of instructional resources affect the construction of school structure” (Benavot & Resh, 2001: 505).

Anderson-Levitt’s (2003) edited collection on *Local Meanings, Global Schooling* problematizes from an anthropological perspective the convergence toward a single schooling model. In her introductory chapter, Anderson-Levitt raises the question “Is there one single global culture of schooling, or many?” Without taking into account local contexts and cultural meanings, it is unlikely that we will be able to explain adequately what content is actually transmitted, and learned. Her 2004 article on “Reading Lessons in Guinea, France, and the United States: Local Meanings or Global Culture?” explores how it is possible that reading instruction is both significantly similar and different across these three societies. Based on case studies of specific classrooms, she reaches the conclusion that a multi-level perspective (a “double vision”) is required to see how both the transnational and national/local are interacting and simultaneously enabling and inhibiting teaching practices: “[T]he double vision of teaching leads to a double vision of educational reform efforts. On the one hand, we cannot expect any top-down reform to produce the same results in different places. On the other hand, local attempts to reform operate within a broad but real framework, the current transnational model of good teaching.” (Anderson-Levitt; 2004).

The importance of taking into account human agency when studying teacher responses to international educational currents is the object of a study by Stacki (1999), on a UNICEF-funded innovative in-service teacher education program in Uttar Pradesh, India.¹³ The case study provides a richly textured, multi-layered account of the history of teacher education reform efforts in India; the role different agencies (international, national, and local) play in formulating and implementing this particular teacher empowerment project; and specifically how two female teachers respond to this professional development program.

How do students and community members respond to “the constraints placed upon their lives by the world system of incommensurate differences and their marginalized place within it”? These are the questions examined in Demerath’s (1999) ethnographic study of Pere Village in Papua, New Guinea.¹⁴ He documents how the subjects of his study negotiate tensions emanating from global and cultural and economic forces that result in a situation of increasing educational credentialism, limited job markets, and threats to traditional community life. In order to cope with dim job prospects, many students reject continuing with their education and even belittle their peers who do. These disenchanted youths glorify village life. Yet, it remains true that higher educational attainment could lead to jobs in the modern sector of the economy as well as access to desirable commodities not available outside urban areas. Villagers themselves are caught in the same dilemmas of choosing between the old and the new (Demerath, 1999: 102).

These studies (Benavot and Resh, Anderson-Levitt, Stacki, and Demerath) examine what Monkman and Baird (2002) have called the “how” of globalization. They give meaning to what otherwise remains an unexplained context or something that happens without understanding the processes at work:

Thus, much of the case study research on globalization focuses on national and local responses to “globalizing” pressures. A useful mapping of the relationships of the local within the global would result in a focus on the nature of national and local involvement or interaction within globalization processes. This conceptualization would more adequately reveal the interpenetration of the global and local and the mediating influence of nation-states and local communities. (Monkman & Baird, 2002: 498)

Monkman and Baird, in addition to calling for multiple-level analyses of the working of global forces on national and local contexts, argue for the value of studying discourse and participation—who is defining globalization in what terms and who is involved in international and national decisions defining educational strategies and policies.

International Institutions and the World-System Revisited

The issues of discourse and participation are addressed in Carnoy and Rhoten’s (2002) guest editorial essay in a special issue of the *Comparative Education Review* on “The

Meanings of Globalization for Educational Change.” They call attention to the “ideological packaging” of globalization and its “effect on the overall delivery of schooling, from transnational paradigms, to national policies, to local policies” (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002: 2). As they note, this ideological packaging favors an emphasis on the economic goals of an education system—how it contributes to the internationally competitive position of a country—rather than to such important goals as contribution to national cohesion through equal treatment of various ethnic groups in a country.

This ideological agenda, according to Carnoy and Rhoten (2002: 2), is increasingly tied not only to global economic forces, but to “international institutions that promulgate particular strategies for educational change” (a point made earlier by Arnove, 1980). The discourse of these international agencies is tied to cost-benefit and production function analyses of the value of different levels and types of education, an analytical framework that former World Bank education staff member Heyneman (2003) admits has had serious limitations and negative consequences for more equitable and effective education policies¹⁵

The workings and inter-institutional relations of the major international technical assistance and financial agencies is the subject of a growing body of scholarly work by Mundy (1999, 2002) and Jones (1992, 1993). Mundy (1999) for example, traces how UNESCO with its humanistic orientation toward life-long learning systems has lost its position as the leading United Nations agency setting policy directions for education to the more economically minded World Bank (a point reaffirmed by Heyneman, 2003). According to Mundy (1999: 46), UNESCO’s views on education had changed by 1996. An internal report, *Learning, The Treasure*, noted that “technical change and economic globalization were rapidly undermining existing social policies, the structure of work, and global equity in general.” In an earlier article, Mundy (1998) documented how the ideology of multilateralism (institutionalized coordination of relations among three or more states on the basis of generalized principles of conduct)¹⁶ has changed from one of a “limited redistributive” set of values involving education (1945–1965) to a period of contestation, coming especially from the less-developed countries of the South “demanding a social welfare model of national development” (late 1960s to late 1970s) to the current, or ongoing, stage “during which neoliberal defensive and disciplinary forms of educational cooperation emerged” (Mundy, 1998: 476). A consequence of this latest stage furthers the erosion of the redistributive model of educational multilateralism.

The emerging structures of global governance, economically, and educationally, now include major regional organizations like the European Union, the North American Free Trade Association, and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (Dale & Robertson, 2002). In addition to the emergence of these regional organizations, the World Trade Organization has achieved an ascendant position in international commerce in education. The mechanisms and processes by which these organizations shape education systems have been analyzed by Dale and Robertson among others. Dale (1999) specifies eight nontraditional mechanisms and related organizational features that influence the nature of external effects on national policy.¹⁷

In a further effort to open the “black box” of globalization, Robertson, Bonal, and Dale (2002) examine the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). They

provide a conceptual framework and a “rigorous set of analytic categories that might enable us to make sense of the profound changes now characterizing education in the new millennium” (1999: 472). Their model of “pluri-scalar governance of education,” comprehends three dimensions: 1) three scales of governance going from the supranational, to the national, to the subnational; 2) the institutions of governance—the state, market, community, and household; and 3) governance activities consisting of funding, ownership, provision, and regulation (1999: 478). As they note, in 1995, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO is now a major, if not the most significant, player in constructing “a hypothetical world education system, free of barriers” that would involve “internationalization of educational credentials or a possible globalization of knowledge production and consumption but also would affect central aspects that largely have been under the control of nation-states. . .” (1999: 489). An important point is that for many countries the WTO is not simply “an instrument of global capital,” but something that a number of nation-states are eager to join “as they seek to advance their own national interests in the global knowledge economy” (1999: 495).

Clayton (1998), in his article “Reconnecting World-System Theory for Comparative Education,” made a similar point about the need to study the various ways in which nation-states respond to globalization and specifically international educational assistance. These responses range from resistance to accommodation by “periphery students, teachers, administrators, and policy makers aware in varying degrees of the implications of their actions” (1998: 496). Clayton argues that these actions are best explained in relation to concepts of hegemony, class relations, and human agency.

An interesting question is how the position of a country in the world economy and its size, resources, and political strategic significance influence how much autonomy it has in responding to the policies and regulations of the World Trade Organization. To what extent is state control over the nationally important and culturally sensitive domain of education compromised by joining the organization? What are the implications for a country like China (Zhou & Shi, 2003) as compared with an island-nation like Jamaica or an impoverished country like Nicaragua?

At the same time, another set of actors, namely nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), also erode state control over educational policy and practice.

Ascendancy of NGOs as International Actors

As Mundy and Murphy (2001) and others have pointed out, international financial and technical assistance agencies are increasingly working with nongovernmental organizations, many of whom are international in reach, to provide educational services once the exclusive domain of the state.¹⁸ NGOs have become major transnational advocates for the universal extension of education as a human right. In many cases, binational, and multilateral donors consider it preferable to work with NGOs rather than government bureaucracies that are considered to be corrupt and/or inefficient. This preference raises a number of major issues explored by Sutton and Arnove (2004) in their edited volume *Civil Society or Shadow State? State/Ngo Relations in Education*. The set of

case studies ranging from Papua New Guinea to Peru examine these questions: As educational services providers and innovators, do NGOs relieve the burden on the state of providing universal basic education as well as adult education and literacy programs? Conversely, do they erode the legitimacy of the state as the primary entity that establishes the goals, content, credentials, and materials of public schooling while also regulating key features of the system's administration and financing? Do the NGOs, themselves, lose their legitimacy, moral authority, flexibility, and sensitivity to local needs, as well as their roles as advocates on behalf of grassroots initiatives as they serve as contractors for national governments or international and binational donor agencies? Moreover, as a consequence of their close relationship with these agencies, are they more likely to manifest the possible negative features associated with them like partisanship, cronyism, and corruption (Sutton & Arrove, 2004: x; Kamat, 2004)?

Illustrative of these questions is the case study by Christina (2001, 2006) which examines government-NGO relationships in the formulation and implementation of early childhood education in the West Bank. This study places the Palestinian case in historical and comparative context, illustrating the relations between global social forces and local cultural and political contexts. The study compares the differing visions and policy orientations of a model NGO with those of the Palestinian National Authority and international donor agencies. A wealth of data details the struggles of the principal actors in the early childhood program to remain sensitive to their goals of honoring indigenous culture while retaining their ideals of a child-centered, progressive education corresponding to international norms.

Ether Space and the Flow of Information

In addition to the traffic in aid, trade, and services across national borders, there is the flow of information. Instantaneous access to information is an integral component of the "new knowledge economy" (Castells, 2004; Carnoy, 2000). Telecommunication technologies have led to changes not only in the organization of work in the production of material goods but to how services like education are delivered. The impact of these technologies is particularly notable at the higher education level, where courses and, in some cases, entire academic programs are offered on-line and various partnerships or "franchising agreements" are forged between universities in the metropolitan centres of North America and Europe and the rest of the world. Problematic issues in these arrangements concern the language of instruction and the appropriateness of curricula.¹⁹ The most extreme form is a "virtual university." They raise questions concerning who "attends" such institutions and what the outcomes are for these students in relation to those who study in more traditional universities. Do universities, for example, lose their role in contributing to national culture or being centres of critique, if not opposition, to corrupt and repressive governments? Are public schools no longer the primary state-controlled locus for creating a collective identity and preparing citizens?²⁰

These issues are raised in the book by Edwards and Usher (2000) on *Globalization and Pedagogy: Space, Place and Identity*. New information and communications

technologies create a “‘diaspora space’ in which individuals can liberate themselves from the limitations of established norms and create their own hybrid identities” (as summarized by Monkman & Baird, 2000: 501). The upside of this “ether space” is that individuals and their social groupings can now connect across national boundaries to those sharing similar interests or learn about those who otherwise would be a distant and unknown “other.” The educational potential for creating more globally minded and multiculturally sensitive individuals is enormous. Teachers as well as students, at all age levels, can communicate with one another to share their everyday concerns and aspirations for a better world.

Politically, transnational movements for social justice are able to reinforce one another and call on the international community to support their struggles. This has happened with various movements—feminist, ecological, ethnic minority, trade union, and refugee among many—as they demand fundamental human rights for their members, one of which is a right to a quality education. Education and the rights of indigenous groups, for example, is a current topic of interest in comparative education (see the special issue of *Comparative Education* (2003) as are themes pertaining to the citizenship status of immigrant and refugee groups.²¹ Just as there is globalization from above, there is globalization from below (Brecher *et al.*, 2000).

Globalization from Below

Arnové (2005) has taken this notion to provide a framework for studying the locus of educational reform initiatives (a vertical axis indicating whether they are top-down or bottom-up) and their goals (a horizontal axis indicating whether they are primarily economic or political-cultural).²² A review of recent dominant policies—privatization, decentralization, choice schemes, and various accountability measures based on standardized testing—finds that they are largely initiated at the top in international and national bureaucracies, and that they are oriented, as previously discussed, toward economic goals. At the same time there are, as just mentioned, a growing number of grassroots initiatives aimed at the achievement of more equitable societies and education systems that are closely related to cultural identity movements.

How do these various initiatives relate to world-systems analysis? As is evident in the literature review, the programs initiated from above are integrally related to changes in the dynamics of the global economy, the demands for a different type of work force based on certain skills and knowledge. The new information age economy is one in which many individuals will be displaced and the rights of organized labor will be threatened by transnational corporations. These corporations seek out countries, and regions within them, where the greatest profits can be obtained for differing reasons—in many cases because labor is cheaper and more exploitable (Mexico, Indonesia, Guam, Vietnam), or because it is both cheaper and skilled (e.g., Bangalore, India) or, for all three reasons (China). As described, these trends reflect the predictions of world-systems analysis as formulated by Wallerstein and his associates. The disruptions caused by changes in the way capital is accumulated also help explain the phenomena of social protest movements from below. At the same time, these movements are inspired by the

widely circulating ideals of human, civil, and political rights as explained by the writings of “world culture” neoinstitutionalists Meyer and associates.

The disruptions, manifestations of what Wallerstein (1997: 6) has called the “terminal crisis” in the historical system in which we live, present the opportunity for moving world-systems analysis to a more centrally prominent position in the social sciences and “formulating the central questions of the enterprise.” (Wallerstein, 1997: 6) Among these questions for the social sciences are: “What are the processes of transition from one historical system to another?” And “What is the theoretical relation between the quest for truth and the quest for a just society.” For Chase-Dunn (1999: 16), the current disruptions and crises represent an opportunity for diverse progressive movements to unite to bring about “global social democracy.”

Conclusion

The diffuse phenomenon of globalization has reinforced the importance of world-systems analysis, whether of the consensus or conflict type, for the field of comparative education. One could say that the two streams of world-systems analysis have entered the ocean of globalization research. This confluence of systematically evolving intellectual currents has been beneficial. It has stimulated further inquiry to refine and elaborate the theories and methodologies that will enable scholars, policy makers, and practitioners to better understand the multidimensional, transnational trends shaping the workings and outcomes of education systems everywhere. Understanding the world is a key to changing it for the better—a goal much in accord with scholarship in the field of comparative education and its missions of contributing to theory building, more enlightened educational policy and practice, and ultimately to international understanding and peace.

Notes

1. Paulston (1977) and Ginsburg *et al.* (1990) have referred to these major theoretical approaches as “equilibrium” and “conflict,” while Hurn (1993) uses the terms “consensus” and “conflict” to describe two major paradigms for studying education and society. This author prefers Hurn’s terms and will occasionally use them to describe the institutionalist and realist approaches to world-systems analysis.
2. Wallerstein, it should be noted, is indebted to the French school of socioeconomic historians associated with the journal *Annales d’Histoire Economique et Sociale* and especially Fernando Braudel whose “long view” of historic formations and attention to minute detail is best illustrated by his magisterial three-volume *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Centuries* (1981).
3. Wikipedia encyclopedia (2005) defines the “New Institutionalism” as “a social theory that focuses on developing a sociological view of institutions, the way they interact and the effects of institutions on society. It is significant in that it provides a way of viewing institutions outside of the traditional views of economics. . . .” Bruce Fuller (2004: 328) elaborates on this definition: “Old institutional theory, advanced by sociologists such as Arthur Stinchcombe and Jerald Hage, argued that formal organizations work from articulated goals and specified technologies and eagerly attempt to deliver on their promises. . . . Instead, the neoinstitutionalists emphasize that nations must make sense of their membership in a global social arrangement not always defined by their position in the world economy.” For purposes of this essay, however, I have decided to use the term “institutionalist” perspectives.

4. For further discussion of this point, see Bendix (1996).
5. See, for example, Zinn (2003), esp. pp. 683–688.
6. From an autobiographical statement by Wallerstein (2000). Also see Chase-Dunn (1999) and Chase-Dunn & Boswell (2000).
7. Wallerstein (1997, p. 4) is careful to note that “world-systems analysis is not a theory but a protest against neglected issues and deceptive epistemologies.” He continues, “It is a call for intellectual change, indeed for ‘unthinking’ the premises of nineteenth-century social science.... It is an intellectual task that has to be a political task as well, because – I insist – the search for the true and the search for the good is but a single quest.”
8. Clayton (2004), however, believes this criticism isn’t accurate as Wallerstein sees a decoupling between the economic and political spheres of the global system with the nation-state being but one component of various political formations working in conjunction with and sometimes in opposition to the world capitalist economy. Also see Chase-Dunn (2000) on this disconnect.
9. Among the books in the field of comparative education taking globalization as a major organizing theme are Arnove & Torres (1999, 2003), Burbules & Torres (2000), Stromquist & Monkman (2000), Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard (2004).
10. For further discussion of qualitatively different aspects of globalization, as compared with WSA, see McMichael (2000) and Martin (2000).
11. For further discussion, see Clayton (2004).
12. The importance of the local is the focus of Deem’s (2001) study of the “new managerialism” in higher education.
13. The study won the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Gail P. Kelly outstanding dissertation award in 1999. A summary of the case study is found in Stacki (2004).
14. The study, based on his dissertation research, won the George Bereday Award for the best article in the *Comparative Education Review* in 1999. A noteworthy feature of Demerath’s research is its illustration of the limitations of “rational choice theory” and “cost-benefit” analyses of education, as well as the social utility of certain courses of action, when specific sociocultural contexts are not taken into account.
15. For further discussion of World Bank policies and their consequences, see King (2002), Soudien (2002), Moura Castro (2002), King (2002), and Bonal (2004).
16. For further discussion, see Ruggie (1992, p. 571).
17. Two of the categories involve “borrowing” and “learning.” For the difference between these two and their significance for comparative education, see Phillips and Ochs (2003). Also pertinent to the literature on “borrowing” and “lending” in education is the edited collection by Steiner-Khamsi (2004).
18. Boli and Thomas (1997), for example discuss NGOs as major constitutive elements of an emerging “world polity.”
19. For a more general discussion of issues and challenges facing higher education institutions in the age of globalization, see Altbach, Bloom, Hopper, Psacharopoulos, and Rosovsky (2004), and Marginson & Mollis (2001), esp. pp. 599–600.
20. With regard to challenges to the state from globalization as well as issues concerning theoretical frameworks for studying international education trends, see Welch (2001).
21. A different theoretical lens for viewing the ways in which different groups coalesce around common concerns is provided by International Regimes Theory. For an application of this theory to studying how an indigenous group in Colombia is resisting encroachment of foreign oil corporations on their territory, see Wirpsa (2004). Also relevant to this discussion is Relational Theory, the subject of the 2000 CIES Presidential Address by Ross. The role of education systems in preparing marginalized groups for democratic citizenship is a subject of the co-edited volume by Stevick and Levinson (2006).
22. This framework is based on one initially proposed by Paulston and Leroy (1980) to study nonformal education programs.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

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This chapter deals with our reflections on the development of the field of comparative education. We ask three major questions. What are its beginnings? Where has it gone? Where is it going?

The Beginnings of Comparative Education

Beginnings are often vague, ill-defined, and tangled. Accounts of a beginning are often best associated with the mind of the storyteller than the thing itself, and so it is with reports of the beginning of comparative education. Some people are satisfied with vague generalities. And so, comparative education began during a shadowy time in antiquity, when descriptive tales of “useful lessons from foreign practices” were brought home by travellers to foreign parts, by “amateurs,” who happened to take note of an exotic educational situation or school in another culture (Noah & Eckstein, 1969). It is believed to have begun in the West when classical Greeks such as Pindar, Herodotus, Xenophon, Cicero, and Julius Caesar described educators and education in lands beyond their own borders (Fraser & Brickman, 1968).

In this context, the origins of comparative education are “ancient” and associated more with an art, in that those practicing it were concerned with the practice of learning and teaching (Hilker, 1962). Stewart E. Fraser and William W. Brickman remind us of a “growing awareness of the monumental comparative writings of previous centuries” related to comparative and international education (Brickman & Fraser, 1968). One task comparative educators have is to catalogue these writings in some systematic form.

Even the origins of the term “comparative education” are a bit muddled. As early as 1785, Thomas Jefferson made reference to “comparative advantages of an American rather than a European Education” (Jefferson, 1785), but the actual term was likely first used by William Russell in 1826, in his translation of Marc-Antoine Jullien’s questions on *l’éducation comparée*, written in 1816–1817. Thus, Jullien may have been the first to use the term, at least in the French language. In 1888–1889, William T. Harris made reference to “a science of comparative pedagogy,” suggesting that the term “comparative education” had not been universally accepted in Americans by that time (Harris, 1889). The Germans continue to debate whether the term should

be *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (comparative educational sciences) or *Vegleichende Pädagogik* (comparative pedagogy) (Hilker, 1962; Schneider, 1961).

In 1816–1817 Marc-Antoine Jullien began perhaps the first documented initiative in the field of comparative education. He recommended that nation-states collect data and catalogue educational conditions through questionnaires he would design that would be reviewed by a special committee, composed of experts from various countries. This information would then be shared by countries and serve as a frame of reference for formulating educational reform policy in various countries (Fraser, 1964).

Comparative Education and the Academy

For most scholars, comparative education began when it became recognized in the modern academy, with its growing orientation toward specialization and scientific investigation. Comparative education did not appear as a subfield of education until educational studies were adopted by teacher training institutions and universities.¹ With university programs in education came appointments of faculty devoted to comparative education, courses in comparative education, textbooks for comparative education students, and academic journals that published research findings and self-reflections on the field. Thus, comparative education is popularly believed to have begun in 1899, when Teachers College, Columbia University in the United States developed the first course in comparative education one year after Teachers College became a part of Columbia University (Bereday, 1963). Curiously, George Bereday, who had already published James Russell's syllabus of the 1899 course, stated that the tradition of comparative and international studies at Teachers College dates back to World War I, with the publication of the first textbook in comparative education by Peter Sandiford (1918). That textbook, of course, was titled *Comparative Education* (Bereday, 1960). As was the case with Sandiford's edited volume, almost all of these early textbooks introduced university students to comparative education as the notion of "education in" this or that country or world region (Bereday, 1963).

The first journal devoted to comparative education was begun by Friedrich Schneider, a professor at Köln University in Germany, who in 1931 established the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* (*International Review of Educational Sciences*). In the first edition, Schneider outlined what he felt was the history, system, method, purposes, and contributions of comparative education, and he attempted to establish a terminological base from which the discipline would function (Schneider, 1931/32).

Some scholars set the beginning of the field with the formal establishment of professional associations dedicated to comparative education. The first such organization was initially named the Comparative Education Society, and its constitution was ratified in 1956, though its name would later be changed to its current title, Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). In that same year, a formal journal, the *Comparative Education Review*, was established by CIES, intending to provide an outlet to scholars of research and reviews of works appearing in the field.

The senior author of this essay, Val Rust, had a personal experience with beginnings, related to doctoral students in the field, who would be expected to take over university

appointments as specialists in comparative education. Even though university appointments had been made prior to doctoral programs in the field, these appointments consisted of people who had been trained in fields other than comparative education. The foundations of the field of comparative education were established by scholars representing historical and humanistic inclinations, including historians Isaac Kandel, Friedrich Schneider, Nicholas Hans, Robert Ulich, Andreas Kazamias, Claude A. Eggertsen, and William Brickman, and scholars who rely on what Robert Cowen calls “the culturalist motif,” such as Joseph Lauwerys, W. D. Halls, Vernon Mallinson, and Edmund King. Of course, there were good early comparative education scholars whom we identify with the more conventional disciplines within the social sciences, including C. Arnold Anderson in sociology, Philip Foster, and Harold Noah in economics. Interestingly, Max Eckstein is so closely identified with Harold Noah that his name is usually connected with Noah’s orientation, although Eckstein comes from a literature and humanities background.

Val D. Rust’s own doctoral advisor, Claude A. Eggertsen, mentioned above, was born in a little railroad junction in Utah known as Thistle in Spanish Fork Canyon. At Thistle, his father was a railroad man, but he saw to it that Claude had the preparation necessary to go to College at Brigham Young University where he studied history, then to Stanford University, then the University of Minnesota, and finally he moved to the University of Michigan where he established himself as a prominent historian of American education. World War II had a profound impact on his life and upon returning to his office in Ann Arbor, he felt cramped by his field of research: it was too small, too confined, too limited. He embarked on the field of comparative education, transforming himself from a student of America to a student of the world (Rust, 1987).

Influences Across Cultures

It is unfortunate that many of those explaining early academic comparative educationists have been so locked into a certain view of scholarship that they have tended to discount early versions of the field or cast them as inferior and defective. It has been difficult for them to recognize that even “amateur” traveller’s tales had their virtues and value. Academic comparative educators have tended to judge so much of the nineteenth-century comparative education studies as inferior in that it was “utilitarian” filled with “description,” “without reasoned analysis” and “eulogistic” (Templeton, 1954). These academic assessments were quite accurate about the nature of these comparative works. They were indeed utilitarian, practical, and oriented toward the general improvement of schools and educational systems. But the studies have been harshly judged because they reflected a type of comparative study that is not common in the field today. That is, they focused on what might today be referred to as “influences across cultures.” In fact, there are contemporary academic fields of study, including comparative literature, that rely almost exclusively on this type of activity. Comparative literature scholars are certainly humanities oriented, but their basic quest has strong science overtones in that they attempt to unravel interrelationships between individuals, schools of thought, or national literatures across time and space.

In terms of time, comparative literature specialists wish to chart how German Catholic literature influenced German classicism and how it, in turn, influenced romanticism; how Shakespeare changed English literature; and how modern European literature is in debt to Greek and Latin literature. In terms of space, the comparative literature scholar wishes to trace the movement of themes and genres from place to place: how religious themes in Switzerland migrated to the Netherlands, then to America; how Tolstoi, Emerson, and Thoreau influenced Indian writers in South Asia; how Africa incorporates European writing styles; how the Don Juan archetype moves from culture to culture (Highet, 1992; Weisbuch, 1989).

Just as in the field of comparative literature, “influences across cultures” is a definite and wonderful part of the comparative education heritage that ought to be more highly prized and appreciated than it sometimes is. Comparative education specialists could make a great contribution to the field’s work by paying attention to historical and contemporary endeavors. The work of countries such as Norway, in terms of national reform policy formation, has been especially significant. In the Norwegian educational reform tradition, for example, a commission has usually been established either by Parliament or a Department of the government to study the situation and make recommendations for change. Their recommendations have come in the form of white papers, and, from their inception in the 1840s, these commissions have always described relevant conditions in all Scandinavian countries, the rest of Western Europe and even North America that served as options for consideration of alternative courses of action and models for potential adoption (Rust, 1990). By exploring the “external” educational world, Norway was able to make appropriate and useful improvements to their own educational system.

Just as Norway looked to other European countries, the United States also took a vested interest in Europe, developing relationships with France, Germany, and England. The American involvement in Prussia was part of a general swell of interest throughout Europe in the 1830s and 1940s initiated mainly through the report of a French scholar, Victor Cousin, who had been sent to Germany by the French Ministry of Education in 1831. Sarah Austin’s English translation in London of Cousin’s report in 1834 found its way to the United States and served as a trumpet-call for a general exodus of educators and statesmen from the United States to Europe, in particular to Prussia. Indeed, Burke A. Hinsdale eventually came to write that Cousin’s report “produced results, direct and indirect, that far surpass in importance the results produced by any other educational volume in the whole history of the country” (Hinsdale, 1906).

Of course it was utilitarian, descriptive, and eulogistic. Following a trip to Europe, Calvin E. Stowe returned to America to declare before the Ohio legislature that the Prussian educational system was no “visionary scheme,” but represented a program of instruction “in the best school districts that have ever been organized” (Stowe, 1930). Alexander Dallas Bache returned to America from a 2-year study of European schools to report that Prussian primary education was the “most perfect of the centralized systems” (Bache, 1839). Horace Mann, Secretary of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts from 1837–1848, stated in his Seventh Annual Report: “Among the nations of Europe, Prussia has long enjoyed the most distinguished reputation for excellence of its schools” (Mann, 1844). The same praise was expressed by the

Superintendent of Common Schools in Connecticut, Henry Barnard, who claimed that the Prussian schools had “attained a degree of excellence, which has attracted attention of statesmen and commanded the admiration of intelligent educators in every part of Christendom” (Barnard, 1854).

Comparative educator Isaac Kandel would certainly have condemned such accounts of Prussian education because he felt they were permeated with “mere descriptions of administration, organization, and practices . . . written wholly from the point of view of education alone, without any closely reasoned analysis of what the systems stood for or represented in the field of national progress and development . . . ; they were in general not prepared in the light of their bearing on specific American problems, or, if they were prepared with this end in view, sufficient allowances were not made for differences in national environments” (Kandel, 1930).

Such condemnations, including that of Kandel, took these reports out of context and discounted the acute awareness American educational specialists had of the situation in Prussia. The recommendations of the American reports were not universally accepted by American policy makers, who opposed adoption of the Prussian schools, because the schools were seen to be used by the Prussian state to perpetuate monarchical aims and to check the growing revolutionary spirit within the boundaries of that Prussian state. In response to this challenge, the reformers quickly admitted there was a relationship between Prussian schools and despotism. Calvin E. Stowe openly conceded that the whole educational program of Prussia was “to unite with the military force which always attends despotism, a strong moral power over the understanding and affections of the people” (Stowe, 1930). However, the American reformers countered this negative argument by stating that the evils were naturally separable from the good. Horace Mann maintained that if the Prussian schoolmaster could teach reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic in half the time that was required in America, then surely they could “copy his modes of teaching these elements, without adopting his notions of passive obedience to government” (Mann, 1844). He argued that human faculties were the same everywhere. The best means for their growth and development would therefore also be the same, and good schools can be used to strengthen the democratic and republican spirit in America. Certainly, context and analysis mattered to the American school reformers who were engaged in comparative education study.

Comparative educators have been sensitive to foreign influences on education; as comparative education became an academic field, its founders were generally more sensitive about the possibilities of drawing on foreign models with the purpose of “perfecting national systems with modifications and changes” than of including past influences from abroad in their own analyses of a nation’s educational system (Hans, 1955). Clearly, early comparative studies were intended to make a direct contribution to the American common school movement that led to the establishment of an American school system. Consequently, the American common school was almost an exact copy of the Prussian *Volksschule*. Curiously, these American reformers often retained the French terms used by Cousin. Consequently, the American normal school is a replica of the German teacher training seminar, though the term we use is French.

Fortunately, these types of early, pre-academic comparative education activities have not disappeared from our current academic activities. Some important work

has been done in comparative education circles related to tracing influences in educational change and reform. Harry Armytage, for example, has written four books tracing the influence of America, France, Germany, and Russia on English education (Armytage, 1967, 1968, 1969a, b). Friedrich Schneider devoted most of his period of exile from Nazi Germany tracing the influences of German education on other countries (Schneider, 1943). Even though his choice of topics is understandable, given the National Socialist context within which he was working, his contribution to “influences” remains significant. Some of the work of the senior author of this essay has focused on the reciprocal influences on education between Germans and Americans (Rust, 1967, 1968, 1997). In fact, Rust’s own dissertation represents one of the few studies of a single country’s historical interest in education beyond the borders of that country (Rust, 1967).

Fortunately for specialists in comparative education, significant contemporary work is being engaged in relation to “influences across cultures” at least in borrowing terms. Recently, scholars at Oxford University, under the leadership of David Phillips have engaged in a process of conceptualizing what goes on in the “borrowing” process between nations, particularly as they relate to policy formation and implementation (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). The Oxford framework is not dissimilar to that developed by Rust in his study of educational policy formation and the implementation process in Norway, which involve a series of phases: initiation study, consensus-building, legal framework, and implementation (Rust, 1989).

Phillips and his colleagues have engaged in a large number of case studies, both geographically and historically that demonstrate part or all of the borrowing process (Phillips, 2004). These Oxford scholars have been joined by people such as Gita Steiner-Khamsi at Teachers College, Columbia University, who is concerned not only with the borrowing process but also the lending process (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

The borrowing process has gone on as long as there have been separate administrative units that have maintained relations with each other. It is not clear how globalization provides special contextual and circumstantial issues to be dealt with. Most of the borrowing that has been documented has been between nation-states or between systems of education in the modern age. With the emergence of transnational conditions within the context of globalization, new models are yet to be developed that illuminate the borrowing and lending process in education, as will be discussed in the final section of this essay.

Comparative Education as a Scientific Enterprise

If there is a common theme that runs through the history of comparative education, at least as an academic field, it is its quest to be a science. Such a quest is also reflected in the whole field of educational studies. In 1887, the first American professor of education, William H. Payne, posed the specific nature of the issue, by noting “education is chiefly an empirical art.” There is “no science of education” but a major purpose of the field in higher education “is the development of educational science” (Payne, 1887). This is not just an American issue. We noted earlier that some Germans have preferred

to use the term comparative pedagogy, because it reflects a middle ground between the idealistic and the realistic, an educating art, an empirical art, the contradictory notion of the “art of science.” Our own position related to comparative education is that it has never been devoid of science impulses. Even the pre-academic practice comparative education, which we refer to as “influences across cultures,” has clear scientific dimensions.

Comparative education must be viewed as one of a number of comparative fields of study that have emerged at the time science was becoming a part of academic studies. Comparative fields of learning were seen to emerge in the life sciences in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries AD, as subfields of anatomy, paleontology, and embryology, but they quickly expanded to almost every field coming into existence. In fact, some of these fields, including sociology, were initially identified as comparative in nature.² In 1905, Louis Henry Jordan, wrote a large volume entitled *Comparative Religion*, where he extolled no less than 26 comparative fields, claiming that the common property of all these fields was their “distinctive methodology.” That is, they all used the scientific method and aimed “to expound those fundamental laws of relation.” And, according to Jordan, comparative education was one of the more exemplary of these “scientific” comparative fields, because “no method of inquiry has proved more fruitful of wise suggestions.”³

If the example of Jordan serves us, we see that as comparative education entered the academy, it had already been identified with being a science. We must consider methods, methodology, and epistemology related to comparative education in the context of the broad landscape of higher education and mainly in the context of science. The *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, for example, deals with the meaning of the terms method and methodology under the heading *scientific method* (Edwards, 1967).

The terms are inextricably associated with intentions of academic fields to be scientific. Bernard S. Phillips echoes most texts dealing with social science research as he defines the scientific method as “(1) defining problems so as to build on available knowledge, (2) obtaining information essential for dealing with these problems, (3) analyzing and interpreting these data in accordance with clearly defined rules, (4) communicating the results of these efforts to others” (Phillips, 1976). Robson also claims research strategies usually involve four levels: (1) research design, (2) methods of data collection, (3) analysis of the data, (4) and interpretation and implications of the analysis (Robson, 1993). There is a crucial difference between the terms methodology and methods in our research. The first and last of the strategies noted by Phillips and Robson rely so heavily on conceptual issues that they are mainly methodological in nature while only the second and third levels deal explicitly with methods.

When we refer to research methodologies, we refer to the larger context for methods being applied. In addition, methodologies usually have theoretical implications in that they provide theories of how research does or should proceed. There is a long methodological tradition in comparative education. The first academic comparative education scholars, such as Isaac Kandel, Nicholas Hans, and Friedrich Schneider, argued that education can only be understood within the context of broad economic, political, cultural, and social forces of a country. And their methodology demanded that educational systems not only be described in detail, but that the meaning of educational

phenomena be derived by interpreting the economic, political, cultural, and social conditions that defined the educational systems (Hans, 1955; Kandel, 1933; Schneider, 1961). This deems that education is not a separate or isolated aspect of society – rather it is deeply rooted within a society's political, cultural, and economic conditions.

As education came to be caught up in the drive to be more *scientific*, the methodological debates shifted to issues of the social sciences. One of the main issues comparative education scholars such as Brian Holmes and George Bereday argued over was whether research should proceed inductively or deductively (Bereday, 1960; Dewey, 1910; Holmes, 1965; Popper, 1963). The early scholars noted in the preceding paragraph took for granted that the process was inductive. Educational systems were described and then interpreted from the broader economic, political, cultural, and social context. Bereday's *comparative methodology* was also inductive in that it began with descriptions of two or more countries; then these systems were interpreted from the broader context. The next phase was to juxtapose the data for the countries. Finally, this data was compared. Clearly, their methodology was inductive in nature. Brian Holmes challenged this tradition by relying on people such as John Dewey and Karl Popper to expound on his so-called *hypothetico-deductive approach* to research and he criticized his colleagues for their tendency to begin the research process with descriptions of educational phenomena and only arrive at theory at a later stage in the process. This discussion is not dead and continues as a methodological issue in the debate over so-called *grounded theory* (Strauss & Glaser, 1967).

Methodologies are also related to the selection of research methods. The choice of data collection ought to be made on theoretical grounds and what data sources provide the most compelling evidence. This is particularly the case with regard to when and to what degree research ought to be qualitative or quantitative in nature (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984; Heyman, 1979; Masemann, 1976). This issue focuses on the uses put to research. Robert Stake explains the different orientations of those doing qualitative research as opposed to those doing quantitative research: "Quantitative researchers have pressed for explanation and control; qualitative researchers have pressed for understanding the complex interrelationships among all that exists" (Stake, 1995).

Comparative education methodological issues also deal with the degree to which studies ought to be descriptive, interpretive, or prescriptive, or whether it ought to be melioristic, ideological, or strictly neutral (Kazamias, 1961), or the degree to which studies ought to be *problem based* (Holmes, 1965). Other methodological concerns involve the relationship between action and research, the relationship between the researcher and the object of research,⁴ or whether a single perspective or multiple perspectives are more appropriate (Kellner, 1988).

Methods have to do with how we collect and analyze data. When one decides on the methods of data collection, one is asking the following questions: what kind of information is being sought, from what sources, and under what circumstances? When one decides on how to analyze the data, one is deciding how to make sense out of the data that has been collected.

Science was particularly important in the development of comparative studies, and early comparative scholars uniformly identified their field as one which relied on the use of the *scientific method*. In the more general scientific sense, comparative scholars tested hypotheses about causal relations between phenomena. However, from the

beginning comparative scholars also restricted their scientific research in two ways. First, they examined similarities and differences between phenomena or classes of phenomena. Second, whereas science was generally committed to experimentation as a way of making classifications and testing theory, the comparative scholar relied almost entirely on studying variations in the natural setting.

We make no claim that comparative education studies are fundamentally different from social sciences in general. In fact, all social sciences are comparative in nature, at least insofar as all thought, especially considering that scientific thought is comparative in nature. The major complication of comparative studies is that it involves the analysis of “dissimilar units” (different societies and cultures) (Smelser, 1976). In comparative education the unit of analysis is usually the educational system or a subset of that system in two or more nation-states (Thomas, 1998). We recognize that no single research method or methodology has ever characterized the field of comparative education. Isaac Kandell, in his classic work, *Comparative Education*, explained that “the methodology of comparative education is determined by the purpose that the study is to fulfill.” In other words, Kandell assumed that different questions require somewhat different ways of answering them. However, our research projects at UCLA have confirmed that the types of research strategies available to people such as Kandell were rather limited, in that they focused mainly on historical and humanistic strategies.

Comparative Education Matures

Since comparative education entered the academy, it has undergone great change. In general, this change represents increasing complexity and diversity in the field. Such change represents both advantages and disadvantages, which we intend to discuss and interpret.

Internationalization of Comparative Education

Comparative education began as an academic field in the United States, but quickly developed a presence in Canada, Great Britain, Germany, and other European countries. This Eurocentric situation remained the major base of the field until the last quarter of the twentieth century, when programs and professorships rapidly began to expand to other parts of the world.

Erwin Epstein refers to this process as the internationalization of comparative education (Epstein, 1981). The expansion of the field is best illustrated by the growth of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) that was organized in 1970 to advance the field globally. WCCES has held 12 world congresses, the last being held in Havana, Cuba in 2004. At the time this essay was written in 2007, 33 different comparative education societies are listed as members of the World Council.⁵ In the literature, a number of accounts are found of comparative education in specific areas of the world. The United States claims the earliest account of its association origins (Templeton, 1954), but there are also historical accounts of comparative education in Japan, of Mainland China, of India, of Germany (Rust, 1967), of the former Soviet Union, of Europe in general (Cowen, 1980), and other geographic units. Gary Tsuchimochi claims comparative education in Japan was a direct outgrowth of World

War II, when the Japanese wished to gain access to the educational advantages the West presented to them (Tsuchimochi, 1982). Sureshchandra Shukla also feels India's interest in comparative education sprang from its colonial past, but also from an interest in understanding the educational conditions of its neighbors in China, Indonesia, and elsewhere (Shukla, 1983). The Chinese Comparative Education Society was established in 1979 with the intention that the Chinese educational community break away from its isolation with the rest of the world, so that it would learn from developments elsewhere, but also to disseminate research findings about educational developments in China (Chen, 1994). The former Soviet Union encouraged the development of comparative education within its sphere of influence, but its intentions were unique among comparative educators. It used education as a tool of propaganda in that the West was willing to publish articles written by Soviets, even though these articles glorified developments in the Soviet Union and castigated the West for its decadent, capitalistic educational policies and programs (Hans, 1964).

Expanding Scope of Research Options

The methodologies of early pioneers of the field were remarkably similar, in that no single method has ever characterized the field of comparative education. Although data collection research strategies several decades ago were limited to literature reviews and historical data, they increased dramatically over time. By literature reviews, we mean studies that are argued on the basis of secondary literature and could therefore be seen as interpretive essays. The more conventional social science approaches, such as interviews, ethnographies, participation/observation, questionnaires, and other types of field research has increased dramatically. In addition, one finds in comparative education journals additional strategies such as project reviews, content analysis of texts, analysis of census data, and other large survey databases.⁶

Expanding Scope of Data Analysis Options

Data Analysis in comparative education began almost exclusively as qualitative in nature. That is, the tradition was constructivist, interpretive, and naturalistic in that it was based on a paradigm that the researcher was continually interacting with the subject matter being researched and that the researcher was a part of the evaluation process. That process remains in reduced form even today, although a more positivistic, objective social science orientation has become a mainstay of the field. In fact, our work at UCLA indicates that the primary fields with which comparative educators today identify with are sociology, political science, and economics (Henrickson *et al.*, 2003). There remains a pervasive tendency to rely on qualitative data, but there has been a significant increase in quantitative studies since the mid-1960s. These quantitative studies are largely related with surveys and questionnaires.

Expanding Geographic Orientation of Research

The first major observation is that the geographic focus of comparative research has shifted dramatically from the 1960s until the present. In the 1960s comparative

education studies were largely focused on the developed world. In fact, in some areas of the world, comparative education was seen as something quite theoretical and separated from the developing world. At the University of London, for example, there was a clear separation between the comparative education program and the old Department of Education in Developing Countries, which was initially focused on colonial issues, then became generally concerned with “British foreign assistance projects and with training administrators and practitioners in the Third World...” (Altbach, 1991). This has changed, and even at the University of London, the two departments merged for a while as the Department of International and Comparative Education.

The geographic origins of scholars have also shifted. Early centers for the study of comparative education were staffed by specialists almost exclusively from the developed world. Thus, Brickman, Eggertsen, and Anderson were American; Hans was from Russia and of German descent; Kandel was Romanian and lived and taught in England and then the States; Bereday were Polish; Rosello was Swiss; Schneider and Hilker were German; Foster, Noah, Eckstein, Lauwerys (by birth, a Belgian), King and Holmes were English. Kazamias was Greek who was educated in England who later taught in the United States. Today, scholars increasingly originate from various parts of the world. They tend to come from countries falling in all spheres of human development, though because of the political economy of countries reflecting low human development, scholars from these countries are not as visible as scholars from other parts of the world, mainly because they do not have the resources necessary to engage in international research projects. Some remarkable developments can be observed. For example, in the 1990s China had no less than seven journals devoted exclusively to comparative education (Chen, 1994). According to a recent Nan Tou University bulletin in Taiwan, the university maintains six comparative education faculty positions, more than found at any American comparative education university center.

Theory in Comparative Education

Nowhere is greater change seen in recent decades than in theory. We have already noted that a liberal, humanistic tradition exemplified the early years of comparative education at universities, but this quickly gave way to endeavors to make comparative education a scientific enterprise. The theoretical foundations for comparative education shifted toward the social sciences, and the field was identified with two closely allied theoretical orientations: structural functionalism and modernization. Kazamias and Schwartz note that structural functionalism emphasized “social functions, societal interdependence, social order or consensus, and value free science” (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977). In the comparative education context they feel it seeks to describe the interrelations between the educational system and other social institutions. Without question, structural functionalism stood alone as the pervasive sociological theory orientation of the period. It so dominated the landscape that it was simply taken for granted that any legitimate study of social forces and factors would be based on that orientation.

At the same time, comparative education was coming to devote itself to modernization, or the change process by which traditional societies would become modern. The mechanism by which this process would occur was seen to be schooling and education, and so comparative education became a central element in any modernization scheme (Altbach, 1991). A number of specific theoretical orientations came into play in modernization, including human capital theory, structural functionalism, and systems theory. Comparative education specialists were comfortable with their role in the modernization process, because the field had always had a reformist bent, a practical role in transforming not only education in any society but using education to transform society itself (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977). This ambition had been central to many of the activities of those early reformists, who were anxious to influence others across cultures through educational reform.

By the 1970s, the domination of structural functionalism and modernization precipitously declined, as the hegemonic domination of earlier theoretical orientations was successfully challenged. The major challenges came from a wide array of “emergent critical and interpretive knowledge communities” (Paulston, 1993), which were attempting to change America into a more open, pluralistic society. If they were not successful in transforming society, they were certainly successful in changing academic environments, including comparative education.

With the decline of the hegemonic impulses of the 1950s and 1960s, comparative educationists became increasingly theory oriented, in large part because the journals publishing comparative education works reflected an increasing number of theories. In addition, our work at UCLA confirmed that authors included multiple perspectives in their work. In our inquiries of authors of comparative studies, we compiled a list of at least 26 different theoretical orientations authors publishing in major comparative education journals were relying on.⁷

We must emphasize that scholars who rely on and develop theory are generally committed to science. We have found that almost all of the people contributing to comparative education journals are committed to theory, and those few scholars who deny their work is theory-driven see their work as descriptive and practice-oriented. They are “profession-” more than “academics”-driven.

One of the major concerns that have been raised over the years is the lack of unity in comparative education. Surely, at the time the field entered the academy, there was a sense of unity with regard to the disciplines in the field, the geographic focus, the origins of the early comparative education scholars, the methodology, and the theoretical orientation. Over time, this unity has been lost, and there has been some concern that the field has begun to spin out of control and fragment itself in all of the above respects to the point that it may have little coherent identity.

From our vantage point we see the field becoming pluralistic rather than fragmented, and that pluralism can be seen as a strength in that it indicates a break from the stifling orthodoxy, that characterized the field in the 1950s and early 1960s, both theoretically and methodologically. However, any phenomenon that gyrates has the potential of spinning out of control, losing any sense of the identity and cohesiveness necessary for a field to grow and thrive. This is certainly not yet the case; we see comparative education as a healthy, defined field of endeavor.

Where Is Comparative Education Headed?

It is our general perspective that comparative education is in a state of good health; it is now opting for directions that introduce a fresh perspective for those who have been in the field for several decades. This is being highlighted by comparative education students just entering the field. The field reached a decisive and optimistic point in the late 1960s, with the publication of *Toward a Science of Comparative Education* by Harold Noah and Max Eckstein. The general tone of the book was that the field was finally establishing itself as a legitimate science. The authors catalogue various phases of the field, including travellers' tales, educational borrowing, international educational cooperation, forces and factors shaping education. All of these were "predecessors of modern comparative education" (Noah & Eckstein, 1969).

Discourse about modern comparative education inherently encompasses the notion of globalization. Val Rust addressed the intersection of education and globalization in his publication *Foreign Influences in Educational Reform*, which raises the question as to whether or not research in the field of comparative education has been able to keep up with the rapid progression of globalization. Rust cites three categories of educational response to globalization – receptivity, resistance, and restoration (Rust, 2004).

Receptivity, also referred to as "cross-national attraction and borrowing," is the process through which education communities respond positively to external influences by adopting aspects of other educational systems with the desired objective of improving their own. This has been the main concentration of the field since its origin. The second response by education communities is resistance. Advocated by radical theorists, resistance attempts to counter the oppressive, capitalist forces of neo-liberal globalization through concerted efforts to maintain and celebrate differences in cultures, languages, and political ideologies. Throughout the world, cultural imperialism, a consequence of colonialism and now globalization, has been responsible for the decline and decimation of countless indigenous languages and cultures. Restoration, the third identified response, is initiated to ensure the preservation and promotion of such indigenous knowledge.

Receptivity, resistance, and restoration adequately portray a historical focus of comparative education. However, as up and coming professionals in this field, the junior authors of this essay feel there has been a lack of focus on the oppressive nature of the forced imposition of educational programs or requirements from dominant to dominated countries in non-symbiotic relationships, which has been the trigger for educational resistance and restoration. This relationship between dominant and dominated countries is substantially different from Rust's description of "reception theory," and we feel that another category should be considered within the field of comparative education. Such a category is comparable to the theory of reproduction, in which "schools function in the interest of the dominant society" (Giroux, 1983). Whereas receptivity reflects the internal efforts to improve an educational system by incorporating selective aspects of external systems, reproduction is the forced implementation of educational systems by an external, dominant society. In this case, the "dominant society" refers to the developed or core countries, with a "hidden curriculum" of promoting the dominant, core culture and maintaining a relationship of inequality and

dependency. This is a significant consequence of globalization that needs the full attention of future comparative education researchers.

Mainstream comparative education has conscripted the advancement of modernity as the underlying definition of education. As new professionals in the field, we challenge this notion and urge progressive comparative educators to cooperatively consider a meaning of education that advances humanity instead of modernity. As part of this consideration it is necessary to pose the question, has mainstream comparative education promoted a liberating “education” or rather a hegemonic neo-liberal political ideology? Paulo Freire states unambiguously that education is politics (Shor & Freire, 1987). By promoting modernity, comparative education has sided with the capitalist economic model, which Freire describes as having “absolute insensitivity to the ethical dimension of existence” (Freire, 1998). What comparative education requires is a shared discourse about the political forces that have infused modernity into the definition of education. A brief consideration of UNESCO’s Education for All (EFA) initiative provides the impetus for this discourse.

The EFA goals, as accepted almost universally, represent a meaningful and comprehensive humanist-based definition of education, which emphasizes educational equity, access, and literacy. Based on the latest quantitative evaluation of EFA by UNESCO, almost none of the African, Middle Eastern (with the exception of Israel), non-English speaking Caribbean, or Latin American countries, many of which had been coerced into adopting capitalist-based educational systems, have yet met their EFA goals (UNESCO, 2006). The notable exception is Cuba, which has succeeded by working outside of the dominant global capitalistic structure. Disappointingly, Cuba has not received any distinction for achieving the EFA goals due inevitably to its marginalized status for not supporting the dominant capitalist ideology. Considering that EFA promotes a humanistic educational outlook, Cuba should be applauded for its achievement in realizing the EFA goals and be considered as a model for other countries.

Comparative education, in a historical context, has provided a strong foundation for international cooperation for the advancement of receptive education. However, neglecting the reproductive aspect of mainstream comparative education has led to the necessity of resistance and restoration. The recognition of the latter two should have been a warning sign that the focus and interventionist approach of the field has resulted in non-symbiotic international relationships and an increasingly dependent and exploitative global community. As up and coming comparative educators, we concur with Arnove’s statement, “We believe that comparative education can – and *should* – play a significant role in contributing to the possibility that coming generations will use their talents on behalf of international peace and social justice in an increasingly interconnected world” (Arnove, 1999). In order to play this role, comparative education would do well to return to its roots. Isaac Kandel, the previously mentioned pioneer in the field, wrote in 1955, “Because a nation seeks through education to mould the character of its citizens and so reflects its aims – political, social, economic, and cultural – a study of its educational system, as here defined, can contribute as richly to an understanding of its aims in general as a direct study of its political policies” (Kandel, 1955). With this understanding of comparative education as a field dedicated to research and receptivity, not interventionism and reproduction; with the acceptance

that education be defined in terms of humanism, not capitalism; and with a praxis of liberation, not domination, individual countries and societies can take ownership for defining their own educational systems for the benefit of their people, culture, economics, and politics.

Notes

1. The first professors of education were appointed in Scotland in 1876. Simon Somerville Laurie received the appointment at Edinburgh and John Miller Dow Meiklejohn at St. Andrews. William H. Payne was the first in the United States in 1879 at the University of Michigan. At the time of his appointment, William H. Payne had been serving as the superintendent of Adrian School District in Michigan, and it is significant that the very first lectures he gave at the University of Michigan were on the schools and the educational systems of Europe. Of course, the term comparative education was not in use at the time (see Payne, 1887).
2. Auguste Comte, father of sociology, initially named the field “comparative sociology” (see Comte, 1988).
3. (Jordan, 1905: 35). The fields Jordan discussed were Comparative Anatomy, Comparative Philology, Comparative Grammar, Comparative Education, Comparative Philosophy, Comparative Psychology, Comparative History, Comparative Geography, Comparative Antiquities, Comparative Art, Comparative Architecture, Comparative Agriculture, Comparative Forestry, Comparative Statistics, Comparative Ethnology, Comparative Mythology, Comparative Sociology, Comparative Hygiene, Comparative Hygiene, Comparative Physiology, Comparative Zoology, Comparative Jurisprudence, Comparative Economics, Comparative Colonization, Comparative Civics, and Comparative Politics.
4. There are some wonderful essays from feminists about the dilemmas they face in international work (see, for example, Cook & Fonow, 1991; Wolf, 1996).
5. See <http://www.hku.hk/cerc/wcces.html>
6. For specific information concerning these strategies, see (Rust *et al.*, 1999)
7. These included human capital, modernization, structural functionalism, systems theory rational choice, political pluralism, organizational/institutional theory, dependency, Marxian/neo-Marxian, World systems, ethnography, phenomenology, constructivism, symbolic interactionism, critical theory, cultural revitalization, feminism, post-structuralism, post-modernism, pragmatic interactionism, and neo-colonialism (see Henrickson *et al.*, 2003).

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COMPARATIVE EDUCATION: HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS

Andreas M. Kazamias

Time present and time past are both perhaps present in time future. And time future contained in time past (T.S. Eliot).

Prologue

The term comparative education (CE) is not a mono-faceted or monophonic concept/intellectual system. It is an inter- and multidisciplinary ‘human science’, an *episteme* in Nicholas Hans’ sense of *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (Hans, 1959: 299). Historically, the genealogical roots of CE have been traced to the ‘modernist’ epoch of the European Enlightenment of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Since that time, comparative studies of educational systems, problems, phenomena or processes have been conceptualised, approached and constructed from a variety of perspectives, through a variety of methodological prisms/lenses, and using a variety of research methods and techniques. Like the Greek mythical demigod Proteus, CE at different historical periods has donned different attire, woven by differently coloured epistemological, methodological and ideological threads. Consequently, it has appeared in a variety of guises reflecting to a large degree, the intellectual, methodological and cultural strands and fads of the times. Hence, the appellation of CE as a *protean episteme* (Kazamias, 2001). To put it differently, in reflecting historically on CE as a ‘human science’, as this chapter purports to do, I shall ‘theorise’ about ‘generations’ and ‘types’ of comparative education discourse.

The ‘Proto-Scientific’ and the Administrative ‘Meliorist’ Generation of Comparative Education Discourse

Conceptualised as a ‘modernist’ episteme, the beginnings of CE have been traced to the intellectual and cultural terrain of the European Enlightenment of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Among the cluster of ideas assumptions and expectations, that have gone into the construction of the Enlightenment ‘paradigm’, or what has otherwise been referred to as the ‘project of modernity’ are taken to include reason, empiricism, science (including social science), universalism, progress, and the

nation state. It is in the intellectual and institutional matrix of the Enlightenment era that modernist *epistemic* elements of CE may be historically traced. This is manifest, for example, in the pioneer efforts of Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris (1775–1848) who sought to construct an empirically based ‘nearly positive science’ of CE, one that would provide ‘non-arbitrary’ and ‘non-capricious’ knowledge for ‘the reform and improvement of education’. In his *Esquisse et vues preliminaires d’un ouvrage sur l’éducation comparée (Plan and preliminary views for a work on comparative education)*, published in Paris in 1817 and unearthed in the 1940s, Jullien laid out what may be called a ‘proto-scientific’ paradigm of comparative education:

Education, as all other sciences and all the arts, is composed of facts and observations. It, therefore, seems necessary to form, for this science as one has done for the other branches of knowledge, collections of facts and observations, arranged in analytical charts, which permit them to be related and compared, to deduct from them certain principles, determined rules, so that education might become almost nearly a positive science. Researches on *comparative anatomy* have advanced the science of anatomy. In the same way the researches on *comparative education* must furnish new means of perfecting the science of education (Fraser, 1964: 40–41).

The scientific template and culture of the Enlightenment, which must have informed Jullien’s ‘preliminary views’ towards the construction of his Plan for what may be called the prototypical social science of CE, were not restrictive in their scope and signification, namely, the production of ‘reasoned and empirically based knowledge’. Social science, according to the intellectuals of the Enlightenment, was bound up with the concept of progress. These reformist significations, social ideas and values (i.e. social and moral meliorism, liberalism and humanitarianism) were integral constituent parts of what may be called the ‘proto-modernist comparative canon, which is more fully discussed in another chapter of this Handbook by Pella Kaloyiannaki and Andreas M. Kazamias.

The Nineteenth-Century Administrative Melioristic/Reformative Motif, European-French and American

As noted in other historical accounts of comparative education, the ‘scientific’ and universalistic elements of this proto-modernist/‘proto-scientific’ generation of comparative discourse were not fully inscribed onto the *epistemic* template of CE in the nineteenth century (Kazamias & Massialas, 1965; Fraser, 1964; Noah & Eckstein, 1969; Jones, 1971; Tretheway, 1976). For the most part, what one observes in the nineteenth century was another generation of comparative discourse, which was more ‘international’ than ‘comparative’ in that it dealt with ‘foreign education’ or education in other countries, with only incidental, if at all, comparative references. Some of the notable representatives of this discourse were Victor Cousin in France and Horace Mann, John Griscom, Calvin Stowe, Henry Barnard and W.T. Harris in the United

States. These ‘international’ educationists sought to gather information and data on aspects and problems of foreign education that were of immediate concern to them in their roles as policy-makers and administrators in their respective countries or ‘states’. Their overriding consideration was to see what useful ideas and practices they could ‘borrow’ for the reform of their own system. In the case of most Americans, such ‘borrowed’ ideas and information were used as legitimising rationales for mainly politico-ideological, melioristic and reformative purposes. As we have written elsewhere (Kazamias & Massialas, 1965), some of these characteristics (e.g. meliorism, reformism and, we may add, nation-state formation) were present in the previous generation. Indeed, they were germane to the spirit and culture of the Enlightenment, and *pari passu*, to the ‘modernity project’. Such elements went into the making of the ‘quasi-ethnographic’, ‘quasi-historical’ and descriptive national reports by mainly practically minded school administrators, policy-makers and policy-advisers such as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Calvin Stowe and William T. Harris of the United States, Victor Cousin of France, and Mathew Arnold of England, to name but a few of the better-known ones (Holmes, 1965; Kazamias & Massialas, 1965; Noah & Eckstein, 1969). Of these comparativists, however, the views of Sadler and to a degree those of Harris are especially illustrative of this transitional generation of discourse. For, although their studies/reports on foreign systems of education were for the most part descriptive, ‘scholiocentric’ (i.e. centred in aspects of the school system, of schooling and of pedagogy as isolated institutional and socio-cultural phenomena) and hortatory, these writers can also be credited with adumbrating a new comparative *epistemic* discourse.

In his much-quoted Oxford address of October 20, 1900, entitled ‘How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value from the Study of Foreign Systems of Education?’, Michael Sadler framed the conceptual template of the emerging historical-meliorist and cultural canon in these words:

Therefore, if we propose to study foreign systems of education, we must not keep our eyes on the brick and mortar institutions, nor on the teachers and pupils only, but we must also go outside into the streets and into the homes of the people, and try to find out what is *the intangible, impalpable, spiritual force* which, in the case of any successful system of Education, is in reality upholding the school system and accounting for its practical efficiency...; In studying foreign systems of Education we should not forget that *the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside. A national system of Education is a living thing...* *The practical value of studying, in a right spirit and with scholarly accuracy, the working of foreign systems of education is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and to understand our own* (Sadler, 1900, reprinted in Bereday, 1964: 309–10, italics mine).

And in another context, Sadler wrote: ‘The educational question is not a question by itself. It is part of the social question. And the social question is at bottom largely an ethical question’ (quoted in Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 47).

In these discursive statements, Sadler brings together most of the epistemological and methodological strands that went into the making of the ‘historical-meliorist’ form of comparative education that emerged from the social, cultural and intellectual context of the late Victorian period which also marked the waning of an era – a *fin de siècle* – and the dawn of another. These strands can be summarised as follows:

- (a) Educational questions are not ‘scholiocentric’; hence, schools and schooling must be studied in the context of the societies in which they function.
- (b) The primary aim of comparative study is, ‘in a sympathetic spirit, to understand the real working of a foreign system of education’, not to judge it.
- (c) In order to understand the workings of an educational system, however, one must try and find out the historical, non-school ‘intangible, impalpable spiritual force’ that moves it and gives it its national character and identity; one must probe into ‘the secret workings of national life’.
- (d) In comparative education one studies foreign systems of education, and the focus is on national systems and on national education.
- (e) The ‘practical value’ of a scholarly study of other national systems of education is that it will help us ‘to study and to understand our own’.
- (f) Lastly, it could also be said that by making us better fitted to understand our own system of education, the study of foreign education would have the added value of helping us to improve it.

Some of these strands are to be found in the reports of continental European education by Mathew Arnold, the Victorian poet, essayist, literary, social and cultural critic, apostle of Eurocentric ‘high culture’, and Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools. However, as an inquiring reporter on European education and culture, Arnold, the ‘comparative educator’, emphasised types of discourse that were either excluded or lay hidden in the writings of his predecessors and his contemporaries. For example, he used the experience of other European nations, e.g. France, as an exemplar of what might be done in his own nation, i.e. in England, and comparison as an aid to criticism of the English polity, society, culture and education. In this connection, it is significant and, considering Arnold, the Victorian liberal intellectual, rather ironic to note that he condemned the then dominant ideology of *laissez-faire liberalism* and its political doctrine of a ‘minimal state’. Referring to the French polity and culture, which he had found more democratic than the English, he argued for greater state interference at home. Arnold, in other words, grappled with ‘state-steering in education’ and, more broadly, in *culture*.

This new generation of comparative discourse, what we have called the ‘historical-meliorist’ and ‘liberal humanistic’ canon, emerged in and formed part of a world, a *cosmos* that in many respects was different from the world of the Enlightenment. It was a polymorphous, tension-ridden and uncertain socio-political, economic, intellectual and cultural *cosmos* made up of a motley of human actors: ‘laissez-faire liberals’, ‘liberal democrats’, ‘radicals’, ‘conservatives’, ‘welfare statist’, and even ‘collectivists’, elitists and egalitarians, ‘barbarians’, ‘philistines’ and the ‘populace’ (to use Matthew Arnold’s classic sociological-anthropological description of the English industrial bourgeois society and culture); romantics, humanists and rationalists; macro-historical

functional and conflict social scientists; optimists and nihilists; Christians, moralists and sceptics; nationalists and imperialists.

The Historical-Philosophical *cum* Liberal-Humanist Generation of Comparative Discourse

It is in this new and variegated multicultural *mosaic* of the ‘modernity project’ that the revised ‘paradigm’ of comparative education, represented by Michael Sadler, was generated and took the modernist form that it did, what could be described as the ‘historical-philosophical’ cum ‘liberal-humanist’ form. However, it was left to a succeeding generation of comparative educators, foremost among whom were historian-philosophers and liberal humanists like Isaac Kandel and Robert Ulich in the United States, Nicholas Hans in Great Britain, and Friedrich Schneider in Germany, to construct and help institutionalise CE as a ‘historical-philosophical’ and ‘liberal-humanist’ explanatory/interpretive *episteme*. Here we shall sketch the distinctive intellectual/epistemological and methodological contours of this generation of comparative discourse drawn from the works of Kandel, Hans and Ulich.

- (a) Comparative education, according to Hans, entails the identification of the ‘factors’ – social, political, economic, cultural – which have gone into ‘the creation of different nations’ and different ‘national systems of education’. Such factors have included: natural factors (race, language, environment – mainly geographic and economic), religious factors (catholicism, anglicanism and puritanism), and secular factors (humanism, socialism and nationalism). Hans adds: ‘The analytical study of these factors from a historical perspective and the comparison of attempted solution(s) of resultant problems are the main purpose of comparative education’ (Hans, 1949: 9–11). Kandel injected an ‘idealist’ philosophical element in this historical approach by conceiving CE to be an inquiry into the history of ‘ideas, ideals and forms’. He wrote:

The chief contribution then, of the study of comparative education is that, if properly approached, it deals ‘with fundamental principles’ and fosters ‘the acquisition of a philosophic attitude’ in analyzing and therefore stimulating a clearer understanding of the problems of education. The study makes the educator better able to enter into the spirit and tradition of the educational system of his own nation (Kandel, 1955: 12; Kandel, 1933: xx).

And in language that echoed Michael Sadler, as well as contemporary philosophical humanists, he searched for ‘the hidden meaning of things found in the schools’, and he called for ‘an appreciation of the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system’ (Kandel, 1933: xx–xv, 1955: 8–12).

- (b) Comparative education is not an ‘empirical social science’. It is an interpretive/explanatory and a ‘melioristic’ *episteme*. It is neither a predictive nor a policy-oriented social science. In the tradition of the earlier generation of discourse,

especially in the work of Kandel, it is ‘melioristic’ in the sense that the knowledge, insights and understandings acquired through the historical-philosophical-humanistic comparative approach would help develop a ‘a broad philosophical attitude’ that would help in the improvement of education at home and abroad, and, ultimately, it would foster the spirit of internationalism (Kandel, 1955: 12, 1933: xx). As we have written elsewhere, being an idealist, Kandel was more concerned with ‘form’ than with the details that make up a national system of education. Such ‘form’ could be grasped through study of the ‘history and traditions ... the forces and attitudes ... the political and economic conditions that govern the social organization and determine the development of an educational system’ (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977: 156; Kazamias & Massialas, 1965: 3).

- (c) An essential aspect of Kandel’s notion of understanding, as indeed of Hans’ and Ulich’s, was the ‘national’ or national-state context of human and educational activity. His, as well as their units of analysis were national systems of education: English, German, French, Russian, American (USA). All of them were explicit in their accounts that schools and educational practices were influenced by national traditions, national political ideologies, and the ubiquitous, at the time, ‘national character’ (Kandel, 1933: xxiv).
- (d) Not only could CE be a positive force for the improvement of education and the fostering of ‘internationalism’; it could also be a positive force for the development of ‘liberal democracy’ and ‘democratic citizenship’. The comparative work of Kandel, Ulich and Hans was infused with ‘Eurocentric’ and Western liberal democratic ideas and principles about the polity and the economic system, about the nation state and civil society, about the role of the individual and the state and about ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’. And in the spirit of the ‘Enlightenment modernity project’, all three had an abiding faith in the idea of progress, and progress through enlightenment and education. In this connection, it would not be inappropriate to note that Kandel was born a Rumanian Jew, who abhorred Nazism and considered all forms of authoritarianism and totalitarianism, especially the Soviet type, as ‘blasphemous anathema’; Ulich was a German émigré to the United States, who had escaped from Nazi Germany in the 1930s; and Hans was also an émigré from Eastern Europe.
- (e) Lastly, the conceptual tapestry of this generation of comparative discourse was marked by the prominence given to the political element – the political relations of schooling – and specifically in the work of Kandel, to the concept of the ‘state’. In the Kandelian *episteme* of comparative education, the state, by which he meant the ‘nation state’, was a determining factor in categorising, understanding and evaluating national systems of education. ‘As is the state, so is the school’, and conversely, ‘As is the school, so is the state’, or, stated otherwise, ‘Every state has the type of education that it wills’ (Kandel, 1933: 82, 1955: 21).

Re-Inventing the Social Scientific Canon

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the nature, scope, methodology and value of CE as the modernist *episteme* presented above, came under intense scrutiny and reassessment.

A group of young scholars, some of the more prominent of whom were nurtured in the Euro-American Eurocentric intellectual tradition, questioned the then dominant historical approaches and other 'international' activities that went by the name of CE, namely, descriptive and/or impressionistic accounts of foreign systems of education. Calls were made for approaches that would be more systematic than impressionistic, more empirical and analytical than purely speculative and descriptive more 'microcosmic' than 'macrocosmic' and Olympian, and more 'scientific' than 'historical' or 'philosophical'. An unprecedented output of articles on the theory and method of CE appeared, no less than 25 in the newly established *Comparative Education Review* alone during the period 1957–1965. In addition to the *Comparative Education Review*, an American-based Comparative Education Society was established, and all major universities in England and the United States set up comparative education departments or units, all of which sought to promote the study of CE and elevate its status as a respected academic discipline.

In the ensuing years, the ferment of controversy over the epistemological and methodological contours of the field continued unabated: whether CE was an art, a science or a combination of both; whether it was a discipline in its own right or an area of study on which several disciplines were brought to bear; whether it was a theoretical or an applied activity/*episteme*; or whether its techniques of analysis should be empirico-statistical, historical or philosophical. Concurrently, the controversy revolved around the appropriate subject-matter of CE – whether, for example the emphasis should be on school-centred problems or on school–society relationships.

In the mid-1950s, it was possible to identify individuals who were recognised as authoritative spokespersons for CE, and texts which defined its parameters and codified its subject matter. Such was the case, for example, with Kandel and his books *Comparative Education* (1933) and *The New Era of Education* (1955) and N. Hans with his *Comparative Education: A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions* (1949). Twenty years later, in the mid-1970s, such identifications were no longer possible.

In 1977, the *Comparative Education Review* (of which the present writer was the editor), the official scholarly journal of the Comparative and International Education Society, put out a special issue on 'The State of the Art'. The cover of this edition was adorned by a cartoon showing a reflective Humpty Dumpty sitting, with his short legs hanging down, atop a sketchy map of the United States. With a pondering look on his disproportionately large face, Humpty Dumpty gazed at what was inscribed on the map: *structural-functionalism, cost-benefit, production, pedagogy, development, mankind*. This cartoon graphically symbolised some of the dominant themes that went into the making of the *episteme* of CE in America in the post-Kandelian, post-Hansian period of the 1950s and 1960s period, at least as this intellectual field was conceptualised and cultivated by some of the major contemporary writers. Such features reflected quite a different 'generation of comparative discourse' from the previous one depicted above. One may interpret this 'modernist' form of comparative discourse as a reinvention of the 'scientific' tradition inaugurated by Jullien during the period of Enlightenment. I shall refer to this generation as the era of 'scientism', an era characterised by a frenzy of activity to make CE a 'science', and a positive and predictive social science at that. The 'historical-philosophical-humanist' school, was, by and large, judged by prominent people in the field to be 'unscientific' and, therefore,

neither productive of objective and reliable knowledge, nor particularly helpful for purposes of theory-building, educational policy formation, development, modernisation and educational planning. Historical comparative education, as promulgated by Kandel, Hans and Ulich, for all meaningful purposes, was according to that new scientific school interred with their bones.

The reinvented and redefined scientific comparative ‘paradigm’ appeared in a variety of epistemological and methodological guises or forms, and it permeated both the theoretical and the practical comparative discourse in the immediate decades after the 1960s. To a large extent, what may be called the ‘neo-scientific’ comparative canon in its various forms continued to permeate much of the discourse in the 1980s and after.

Functionalism: The Functional-Sociological Chicago School

The most salient and pervasive form of the ‘neo-scientific’ generation of comparative discourse in the Anglo-Saxon world was the multifaceted paradigm of functionalism (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977; Kazamias & Massialas, 1982). Originally associated with the eminent anthropologists Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, structural-functionalism was developed and applied to American sociology by its greatest representative Talcott Parsons. By the 1950s, according to Floud and Halsey, it became the prevailing orthodoxy in American sociology of education (Halsey *et al.*, 1961). C. Arnold Anderson, the founder of the University of Chicago structural-functional school of thought, was nurtured in the American structural-functional school of sociology, while Philip Foster, another member of the Chicago School, had studied economics, sociology and anthropology at the University of London (the academic habitat of Malinowski), and had completed his graduate education under Anderson at the University of Chicago.

At the risk of oversimplification, it may be said that functionalism in CE examines the social, political and economic functions or relations of schools and schooling. It emphasises societal functional interdependence (i.e. interrelations between the educational system and other societal sub-systems), and, the ‘equilibrium’ variant of it, social order or consensus and value-free ‘scientific’ enquiry.

Some general tenets of the functionalist framework – namely, that education does not function *sui generis*; it is interrelated with other social and political institutions, and it can best be understood if examined in its social context – have been espoused by most educational comparativists. Certainly such features can be found in many of the well-known works in the field, especially the classic historical studies of Kandel (1933, 1955) and Hans (1949).

In contrast, however, to the ‘historical functionalism’ of Kandel and Hans, CE in the 1960s and 1970s was characterised by the following traits: (1) efforts to ground the study of education in scientific, empirical, mostly quantitative methods and techniques; (2) a quest for ‘invariant’ and ‘timeless’ relationships and thus the assumption that it is possible to develop a theory of education; (3) a focus on the actual role of schooling in social, political and economic processes, as in socialisation (including political socialisation), social selection or social differentiation, recruitment of elites, social or national integration, human resource development, and the like; (4) a view of educational change as essentially ‘reformist’ or ‘adaptive’, that is, a process of adaptation

of educational structures and forms to changes in other sectors or subsystems of the social order; and (5) a vision of the modern society – ‘meritocratic’, ‘democratic’ and ‘expert’ – towards which socio-educational developments should strive (Hurn, 1978; Karabel & Halsey, 1977).

The rise of the functional paradigm in CE coincided with a variety of other intellectual currents: the prevalent school of American sociology (Parsons, Merton), British social anthropology (Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown), human capital theory and its corollaries (Schultz, Harbison and Myers), theories of development and modernisation (Levy, Lerner, Rostow, McClelland and Black), and the political culture and system analysis schools of thought in political science (Coleman, 1965). At the same time, functionalism and social theories of educational change or modernisation, as well as policy recommendations based on functionalist analyses, were a response to the socio-economic and political conditions of the times and were reinforced by institutional and/or individual support from governments, foundations and international organisations for promotion of their own policy interests.

The functionalist paradigm in the emerging ‘neo-scientific’ CE of the 1960s was most apparent in productive research on the social, political and economic relations/functions of education. Themes investigated from the functionalist perspective included, inter alia: (a) the structure and context of educational opportunities and inequalities, (b) the mechanisms of educational recruitment, selection and discrimination, (c) the role of education in development and modernisation (social, political, economic), (d) education, political socialisation, political integration and nation-building, and (e) education and economic growth (Kazamias & Massialas, 1982).

Of these ‘problem areas’, that of ‘education-development-modernisation’ constituted a wide range of activities both inside and outside the halls of academia. One distinguishing feature of this perspective was the ‘instrumental-developmental’ conception of the role of education and its extension into the development of strategies (policies and plans) for change and reform. Scientific inquiry, according to this approach, could instruct us not only to understand the problematic of the education-development-modernisation nexus; it could also provide solutions or guidelines for change and improvement. Developmentalists held the view that education is a determining factor in improving the conditions of people. To quote a contemporary apophthegm: ‘Education is the key that unlocks the door to modernisation’. The functionalist paradigm, it should be re-emphasised, informed much of the literature – and there was a great deal of it – that approached education through the theoretical lenses of modernisation and development, as well as, it may be added, the literature that approached education from a systems-analytic perspective.

Methodological Empiricism, Methodologism, and Scientific ‘Modernism’

The other approach or ‘research strategy’ to ‘scientific’ CE was what we have elsewhere called ‘methodological empiricism’ (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977: 173–175) and what B. Barber has called ‘methodologism’ (Barber, 1972). This intellectual perspective was elaborated in the writings of H. Noah and M. Eckstein, two influential comparativists during the period under consideration. In many respects, it also pervaded the work of

G. Psacharopoulos, an influential economist of education, who, studied at the University of Chicago and, subsequently, operated within the intellectual tradition associated with the Chicago school of ‘human capital theory’ (Psacharopoulos, 1987). Central to this ‘scientific’ approach was a ‘monistic’ view of science and the assumption, in the words of Stephen Toulmin, that there is ‘a single, all purpose “scientific method”’ (Toulmin, 1963: 15–17). Calling for the transformation of CE into a ‘pure social science’ akin to methodological developments in other contemporary social sciences, Noah and Eckstein advocated a comparative *episteme* that would conform to all the requirements of ‘scientific modernism’ or simply ‘scientism’, namely, hypothesis-formation and hypothesis-testing, verification, control, explanation, prediction, quantification, positivism and theory construction. In their influential *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, published in 1969, Noah and Eckstein cite the work of the newly established Council for the International Evaluation of Educational Achievement, later called the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), as an example of what they meant by ‘science of comparative education’. The epistemological and methodological perspective of the newly initiated IEA research project was described and exemplified in the much-publicised and acclaimed two-volume *International Study of Achievement in Mathematics*, edited by Torsten Husén and published in 1967. ‘In the IEA project’, Noah and Eckstein wrote in 1969, unlike previous ‘original efforts of social scientists making a contribution to the growth of comparative study in education, . . . the stimulus to cross-national research comes from educators and psychometricians who have enlisted the skills of empirically-oriented social scientists’. And, significantly for our purposes here, they elaborate on their brand of ‘scientific comparative education’:

As a result, preoccupation with scientific methodology emerges as an increasingly dominant theme in the latest stage of comparative research. There is a growing readiness and ability to employ the essential elements of scientific method. Heightened recognition is being given to the importance of hypothesis formulation and testing; the concept of controlled investigation through careful selection of cases is being developed; much attention is being paid to precise specification of variables and to qualification of the indicators by which they may be decided. Finally, researchers are becoming accustomed to seek quantitatively expressed explanations of the relationships between variables (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 789).

Commenting on the IEA type of comparative research a few years later, Max Eckstein noted that ‘in many respects [the IEA effort] is a realization of Jullien’s outline of a century and a half ago of what comparative education might be’ (Eckstein, 1977: 350).

The social scientific paradigm of CE advocated by Noah and Eckstein contrasts sharply with the traditional historical paradigms which held sway until the mid-1950s. In some aspects it was also different from the functionalist social scientific approach, at least the brand of functionalism advocated by Philip Foster of the Chicago School. For one thing, the Noah and Eckstein brand of CE research was thoroughly ‘ahistorical’, which was not the case with the functionalist approach as exemplified by

Foster in his study *Education and Social Change In Ghana* (1965). More importantly, the challenge of the Noah and Eckstein style of social-scientific comparative study, as stressed by Noah in another statement in 1973, was ‘to move from the particular to the general, from identification-description-classification to hypothesis-testing, theory building and prediction’. In such an effort, an attempt is made to establish law-like, ‘cross-system statements’ or generalisations by replacing ‘names of systems’ or observable facts by ‘names of concepts (variables)’. Here are two examples that according to them exemplify the type of ‘law-like’ statement that social-scientific comparative research should seek to establish. One example refers to a cross-national investigation into ‘the relationship between the size of a family’s income and the probability of the children in the family enrolling in the full-time post-secondary education’:

In all countries, size of family income is positively associated with the probability of children in the family being enrolled in full-time post-secondary schooling, and differences in family income can explain at least one-half of within-country differences in the probability of enrollment. In all countries where income inequality and the proportion of costs defrayed from non-tuition sources are low, the explanatory power of differences in family income rises to at least three quarters. Consideration of the fraction of the age-group graduated from secondary education, and the recency of growth of the post-secondary system does not improve [the] explanation appreciably in any case except in the Soviet-type countries, where there factors do seem to be important (Noah cited in Marshall, 1973: 91–94).

Another important illustrative example of what Noah and Eckstein meant by comparative education as ‘pure science’ referred to the much researched question of educational reform and development. In such a case, according to them, the ‘pure scientific’ researcher, in contrast to the ‘applied researcher’ is less concerned with particular questions such as ‘Why did the plan for educational development fail in India?’ or ‘Why is there a shortage of teachers in Nigeria?’ and more with general questions such as ‘what are the conditions for the success of educational reforms?’ and ‘What are the factors which influence the supply and demand of teachers?’ (Noah & Eckstein, 1989: 104).

Such a ‘modernist’ view of science, according to Barber, assumes an objective, value-free form of inquiry; it presumes that ‘reliability, precision and certitude can be attained by the dutiful application of specific methods and techniques – irrespective of the nature of the subject under study’ (Barber, 1972: 425); and it ‘views science as axiomatic and mathematical and takes the realm of science to be separate from the realm of form, value, beauty, goodness, and all unmeasurable quantity’.

The Problem Approach: Brian Holmes

Brian Holmes of the University of London Institute of Education, before Noah and Eckstein, and consistently for several years after them, advocated another ‘scientific’

approach to comparative education, what he called *The Problem Approach*. The main parameters of this approach and Holmes' conception of CE as a field of study may be reconstructed as follows:

- (a) Comparative Education should be conceived and developed as a predictive social science. Drawing from Karl Popper's 'hypothetico-deductive' method – it should be post-relativity social science.
- (b) As such, it should eschew the positivism, determinism, absoluteness, and unconditionality of pre-relativity empirical science, as well as any universality or inexorableness in laws of social development as are to be formed in the 'historicist' analyses of societies (e.g. those of J.S. Mill, Karl Marx and Herbert Spencer).
- (c) Further, post-relativity social science 'espouses relativistic theories of science' which presuppose the specification of problems, the formulation of hypotheses or 'sociological laws', a detailed specification of 'the complete range of determinants', an analysis/description of the initial conditions or the context, upon which the outcome to a solution to the problem will be predicted. In Holmes' own words:

The test of a good theory is its predictive usefulness ... but no theory can be used to predict events unless it is accompanied by a careful analysis and statement of the initial conditions or circumstances likely to affect the predicted event (Holmes, 1958: 247).

- (d) Schematically, Holmes' methodological formula may be reconstructed as follows:

$$L + I = P$$
 where L = Law ("sociological law")
 I = Initial conditions
 and P = Problem
- (e) Predictions, the distinctive feature of scientific comparative education, must be 'tentative' and 'conditional', which differentiates them from 'unconditional' prophesies about the future of education.
- (f) From the perspective of post-relativity social science, 'explanation is provided by the process of prediction and verification'. Within such 'hypothetico-deductive' methodological framework, in contrast to Noah's and Eckstein's, and to other similar hypothetico-inductive frameworks, prediction of a specific event also entails explanation. In Holmes' own words:

Hypothetico-deductive procedures, whether for the purpose of explanation, prediction, or testing, are the same. Indeed the outcomes are not very different either. If a specific event is predicted it is also explained and a general statement has been tested. A theory or hypothesis is verified when predicted events are conformed by actual observations; refuted when predicted and observed events differ (Holmes, 1965:30, 1981: 51).

- (g) Comparative education research must be centred in problems, and must be pragmatic. More than being conceptualised as a 'pure' scientific enterprise, it should be approached as a pragmatic enterprise that aims at the solution of problems. Thus it should develop both as a predictive science and as 'an instrument of reform'. And it should look towards the future not the past (Holmes, 1965: 32).

History, Social Science and Comparative Education: Quest for a Synthesis: A Personal Testament

In the 1960s, during the heyday of the intellectual ferment to chart new methodological trajectories, a distinct minority of the new "advocates" of the reform movement sought to revise the historical approach to CE and bring about a synthesis of the historical and the scientific elements. One of these people was Kazamias, the present writer of this chapter. In the early 1960s, reflecting the intellectual mood of the time, I criticised the traditional historical cum melioristic approach as exemplified by Kandel. But in my efforts to make CE a more systematic and a more theoretical comparative *episteme*, I did not reject the importance of the historical element. I called for a revised historical approach that would combine history with social science. I held that what vitiated the approach of the doyens of comparative education, especially that of Kandel, was not their historical orientation as such, but, among other things, 'their historical propensities, especially their assumptions that history deals with 'unique' and different phenomena which cannot be generalised'. Influenced by a debate that was carried out at the time in academic circles about the nature and methods of history and its similarities, as well as its differences with the social sciences, I argued that a historical approach to the comparative study of education did not necessarily preclude conceptualisation (the use of concepts) and generalisation, or indeed quantification, which were considered basic elements of the scientific paradigms. Commenting on the 'functional-sociological' approach, I argued that it was limited for 'understanding' and 'explaining' educational phenomena. My views regarding the value of history in comparative education were stated in 1963 as follows:

The assertion that history deals essentially with unique and particular events, and that consequently its value for comparative analysis, which presupposes abstraction, generalisation and regularity is questionable, has been refuted by several writers including historians. As Crane Brinton, the comparative historian, has shown, it is quite possible to categorise or classify historical phenomena and compare them for the purpose of making generalisations. Although such generalisations may be of a limited rather than a universal nature, they may in turn be used in working hypotheses to be tested in other similar situations in order to illuminate them. In other words, from an examination of the specific, the concrete and the particular, the historically-minded comparative educator may induce a generalisation and then use it in order to illuminate another particular event or form. The concern for the general and the particular is to be found in both the social sciences and history, and the

difference is one of emphasis and objectives of research rather than kind or method (Kazamias, 1963: 396).

In lively debates in international conferences and in the columns of international journals such as the *Comparative Education Review* and the *International Review of Education*, I criticised the emergent scientific paradigms – the structural-functionalism of the University of Chicago, the positivistic methodologism of Noah and Eckstein, and Psacharopoulos and the problem approach of Brian Holmes – as well as the then much acclaimed IEA international studies. One of his main criticisms was that they were ahistorical.

Conflict Paradigms: Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Weberian and World-Systems

The ‘functionalist’ and the ‘methodological empirical’ versions of CE, as outlined above, held sway until well into the 1970s. But other paradigms, that can also be said to fall under the ‘scientific’ epistemological rubric, were visible during this period; and some of these became more salient in the years that followed. I shall refer to this variety of ‘scientific’ comparative education as ‘conflictual paradigmatic discourse’. Within this generation of comparative discourse, a particularly significant radical genre can be discerned. By ‘radical paradigms’ I mean approaches or theories that view schools as instruments of domination or as ideological apparatuses of the state, that reproduce and perpetuate the hegemonic interests of particular groups; as arenas of imbalanced social conflict; as repressive and inegalitarian institutions; and as places that inculcate ‘monocultural’ ideas, values and attitudes (based on class, race, ethnicity and gender). Therefore, to understand school–society relationships and the role of schooling in, for example, capitalist social formations, one must inquire into the power structure of such modernised societies and into the social relations of production. Or from another conceptual prism, namely, a ‘world-systems’ perspective, to examine comparatively education–societal interrelationships, one must probe into the ‘international’ or ‘world’ context and dynamic of such relationships and transactions. Among other things, a ‘world-systems’ macro type of comparative analysis deviates from others in at least two respects. In the first place, it challenges the commonplace traditional approaches that take the nation state as the exclusive framework of analysis, and by extension, it does not take education ‘as a parochial national institution anywhere in the world’. As Klaus Hufner, John W. Meyer and Jens Nauman in the volume *Comparative Policy, Research: Learning From Experience* (1987: 188–189) put it:

Put simply, education is not a parochial national institution anywhere in the world; it is a rationalized part of the technology of progress and modernisation, and modernisation is a central and world- legitimated goal practically everywhere. This means that education is itself a scientific construction, built not around primordial traditions of society, but around a general technology of resocialising populations to achieve progress. As a world-wide technology, it is built on research and policy comparisons that tend to flow rapidly from one setting to the next.

In the second place, one variant of the 'world systems' comparative education discourse, based on Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of the 'modern world system', not only probes into the 'international' or 'global' context/dimension and dynamics of educational systems; it also perceives such context or dynamic as being of a hierarchical, unequal and exploitative nature existing or taking place within a 'core- or centre-periphery' dependency framework. Robert Arnove, an exponent of this variant of the 'world-systems' comparative analysis, in *Comparative Education* (1982: 454), put it as follows:

Dependency theory basically articulates a descending chain of exploitation from the hegemony of metropolitan countries over peripheral countries to the hegemony of the center of power in a Third World country over its own peripheral areas. Closely related to such notions of center and periphery are the concepts of Wallerstein concerning convergence and divergence in the global system. As summarized by Meyer et al, the world market and society produce convergence by subjecting all societies to the same force; they produce divergence by creating different roles for different societies in the world stratification system.

The intellectual provenance of 'radicalism' in this generation of comparative education discourse may be traced to, among others, conflict theorists (Weberian, Marxist and Neo-Marxists), dependency theorists, and the so-called new sociologists (Kazamias & Massialas, 1982). The distinguishing features of the 'conflict' paradigms *vis-à-vis* the 'functional-equilibrium' paradigms, for example, were well brought out by Rolland Paulston, a leading comparativist who has written extensively on the methodology of comparative education, in the 1977 'State of the Art' issue of the *Comparative Education Review*. There, Paulston identified, among others, such central concepts as *power, exploitation, contradictions, ruling class, control of knowledge and cultural hegemony* (Paulston, 1977: 386). To this conceptual tapestry I later added: *class conflict, social and political inequalities, reproduction, oppression, alienation, imperialism, dependence* and the *capitalist state* (Kazamias, 1991).

Another prominent variant of this radical discourse is best represented by the work of Martin Carnoy, a Chicago-trained economist turned revisionist neo-Marxist comparative political economist of education. Carnoy's reputation as a radical comparative educator, will, in all likelihood, rest on his influential book *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (1974), but, more so in my judgement, it should rest on his state-centred perspective in the comparative study of national systems of education. In one of those recurrent debates on what we have called the *protean* nature of the comparative *episteme*, occasioned by the 1993 presidential address by Erwin Epstein (1983), Martin Carnoy explained his revisionist neo-Marxist state-centred approach which, according to him, differentiated it from the 'positivist' as well as from the more orthodox Marxist and neo-Marxist approaches, as follows:

We are trying to understand what schooling is, how it works, and how it relates to the society in which it functions. Positivists approach these problems from the standpoint of individual choice, because they believe that power is subjective

and the ideal organization of schooling is one in which that subjective (individual) power is allowed to find its full expression. Neo-Marxists generally see schooling as serving an objectively determined set of power relations – in capitalist society, relations that give control over institutions to a ruling capitalist managerial class With that kind of discussion in mind I would like to draw attention to the ongoing neo-Marxist debate on the State . . . unlike conventional neo-Marxist writing, we argue that schools are not simply the tools of capitalists (in capitalist society) but an institution where the tensions among the forces for reproduction (reproduction of the objective relations of production) – which Bowles and Gintis call correspondence – and the forces of democratization (individual and collective expression) – which we call contradiction – are played out. Thus, the schools contain elements of reproduction and democracy, just as the State as a whole in capitalist and state bureaucratic societies contains these elements. Therefore, we do assume that the State in both capitalist and state bureaucratic societies fundamentally reproduces hierarchical and inequitable power relations, but that it and the educational system it uses in reproduction contain important contradictions (Carnoy, 1983).

In a later text, entitled *Education and Social Transformation in the Third World* (1990), where Carnoy and his co-author Joel Samoff engage in an actual comparative inquiry into educational change in Third World ‘transition societies’ (e.g. People’s Republic of China, Cuba, Tanzania, Mozambique and Nicaragua), we are presented with similar ideas. In this, for our purposes here most important text, as in the aforementioned one, Carnoy distances himself from orthodox Marxists and from orthodox neo-Marxists. And, one may add, he distances himself from the Marxist-informed dependency theorists, another contemporary breed of radical comparativists. Focusing on ‘the state and politics’, Carnoy and Samoff seek to ‘analyse whether and why education develops differently in societies that seek to make a transition from capitalism to socialism than in their Third World capitalist counterparts’. Their thesis is stated as follows: ‘It is the state, much more than the production system, we argue, that is the source of the dynamic of revolutionary societies, and *politics, much more than relations in production that drives their social developments*’. Continuing in the same vein, they add: ‘The importance of the state and politics is not limited to the analysis of societies undergoing social transformation. We *also make a case for increasing focus on the state and its relation to the economy in understanding how social structures in Third World capitalist societies remain relatively unchanged*’. According to them, ‘*notions of correspondence, cultural reproduction, and contradiction*’ are important ‘in developing an analysis of education’s role in social transformation’, but they fail to develop a coherent theory of the relations among economy, ideology, and political system (the state) and, in turn, a theory of the relationship between the state and the educational systems. And reasserting what may be referred to as a ‘state-centred’ thesis, they argue that a *theory of the state is even ‘more crucial in understanding present-day transition societies in the process of social transformation, for in them politics is the primary arena in which the transformation is played out’* (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990: 3–9, italics mine).

Reclaiming a Lost Legacy: Reinventing the Historical in Comparative Education

In the 1980s and the 1990s there was a noticeable retrenchment in the institutional expansion of programmes in comparative education. Yet, cross-national educational studies and research, as well as activities that dealt with international education, broadly defined, continued to grow. Comparative and international education showed considerable robustness in terms of membership in professional associations, participation in international conferences and publications in leading journals. Epistemologically and methodologically new paradigms were incorporated into comparative research, such as the feminist critique, and even postmodernity, which in one sense enriched the conceptual tapestry or mosaic that has characterised the field since its aforementioned explosive development in the second half of the twentieth century (Arnové & Torres, 1999; Masemann & Welch, 1997). As the Editor of the *Comparative Education Review* wrote in 1991 about American CE:

Comparative education has changed significantly since the 1970s. Topics that were considered unimportant, such as the role of gender in education, have become the subject of research and analysis. New methodologies, such as ethnography and participant observation, have become important. And alternative ideologies such as Marxism have been used to inform analysis in comparative education. The domination of such paradigms as structural functionalism was broken. It is significant that nothing has emerged to replace these ideas as the primary direction of the field. Rather, a variety of different perspectives have entered into comparative education research.... In many respects, these developments mirror the situation in the social sciences generally (Altbach, 1991: 504).

On the British comparative education landscape, several other differentiating epistemological-cum-methodological characteristics and new orientations are patently visible. First, there is the renewed emphasis on what many years back we had called 'comparative pedagogy', a most important aspect of the process of education, and what Broadfoot has called '*learnology*' of education (Alexander *et al.*, 1999; Broadfoot, 1999). Second, I wish to underline the British traditional and lately reinvented emphasis on *contexts* and *cultures*, both of which figured prominently in the millennium special issue of *Comparative Education*. These two epistemic emphases render the British comparative education more human and humane than the American, and the way of reading the world less mechanistically and economically motivated, a point which I develop elsewhere (Kazamias, 2001). And, lastly, the British comparative education discourse is less prone to intellectual fads and to epistemological-cum-methodological cannibalism as the American.

Epilogue

But such developments, I would argue, were made at an epistemological cum methodological cost, namely, the sacrifice or almost total abandonment of the historical dimension in comparative educational research. According to a recent study, 'research

strategies in comparative education from 1955 to 1994 revealed that only 10.5 per cent of almost 2000 articles in the *International Journal of Educational Development*, *Comparative Education* and *Comparative Education Review* relied on historiography and historical research'. And, even more disappointing: 'From 1985–1995, less than 5 per cent of all articles published were characterized as historical studies' (Larsen, 2001), comparative-historical or historical-comparative. This state of affairs has prompted one commentator to observe that our field suffers from 'historical amnesia' (Larsen, 2001).

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PAIDEIA AND POLITEIA: EDUCATION, AND THE POLITY/STATE IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Andreas M. Kazamias

Interest in the political relations of education/*paideia*, particularly in the relationships between education and the polity/*politeia* or the state, has been longstanding in the Western educational and political traditions. It has been especially evident in the texts of influential social thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, J. J. Rousseau, John Locke, Karl Marx, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Cornelius Castoriadis, John Dewey and Paulo Freire. In his most famous political treatise, the *Politics (Politika)*, Aristotle, for example, as a ‘comparative political philosopher/scientist’, averred:

Now nobody would dispute that the education/*paideia* of the young requires the special attention of the lawgiver. Indeed, the neglect of this in ‘city-states’ is injurious to the polities; for one ought to be educated [and ‘habituated’] in accordance with the particular form of the polity/*politeia*, for the particular character/*ethos* of each polity both guards the polity generally and originally establishes it—for instance the democratic *ethos* promotes democracy and the oligarchic *ethos* oligarchy; and a better *ethos* always produces a better polity/*politeia*.

Aristotle further emphasised that the *paideia* of the young should be ‘public’ and not ‘private’, since ‘matters of public interest should be under public supervision’ (Aristotle, 1958, Bk. VIII).

In the history of comparative education, the influential older doyens, e.g. Isaac Kandel and Nicholas Hans, considered the ‘political’ as an important dimension, factor or contextual explanatory variable in their historical-philosophical-humanist studies of national systems of education. And as critically analysed by the present writer in the first section of this Handbook, Kandel, in particular, echoed Aristotle in considering the ‘state’ as a determining variable in explaining the character of national systems of education. As Kandel himself had stated: ‘every state has the type of education that it wills’, and “as is the state so is the school’ (Kandel, 1933: 274, 275).

In the post-Kandelian post-Hansian development of comparative education in the 1960s and 1970s, the political perspective that characterised much of the research and writing in comparative education was twofold: (a) the ‘education politics’ perspective,

to use Roger Dale's terminology, and (b) the 'functionalist-modernisation political systems' perspective.

The 'Education Politics' Perspective

Contrasting what he called the 'education politics' and the 'politics of education' perspectives, Dale has noted:

Those political scientists who have focused on education have confined their studies very much to education politics rather than the politics of education. By this I mean that they have concentrated much more on studying the effectiveness of education systems and forms of education government in achieving goals presented to them, rather than on the relationships between the production of goals and the form of their achievement. To put it another way, political questions are bracketed out and replaced by questions about processes of decision-making; politics are reduced to administration; The focus is on the machinery, rather than on what powers it, or how and where it is directed (Dale, 1982: 128–129, underlining mine).

The 'education politics' perspective in comparative education was evident in at least two wide-ranging and quite extensive types of studies. First, there were the many predominantly descriptive and generally non-theoretical works that recounted the powers, duties and responsibilities of the decision-making and policy-making apparatuses of the government, the administration and the control of educational systems. Where efforts were made to typologise patterns of governance and administration, control was often used and comparisons made between 'centralised' and 'decentralised' systems (Litt & Parkinson, 1979). The second type of studies, more theoretical than the first, but still carried out through a similar epistemological prism, included those that conceptualised the education-politics interaction in terms of what may be called an 'interest-group', often a 'pluralist interest-group' theoretical framework or paradigm. Examples of this genre of the 'political' in education abounded in the literature on educational policy-making and reform. In one common variant of the interest group model—the pluralist democratic model—education was conceptualised as a site, an arena of political conflict involving different social interest groups (teacher organisations or unions, political parties, religious groups, business, labour, students, etc.), which vied with each other for power, influence and prestige. Educational reform from this perspective was the outcome of such conflict, either because consensus had been reached or because the views of one group or of a coalition of groups had prevailed. Alternately, reforms were thwarted or failed because in the group struggle the balance of power was tipped in favour of opposing interests (Peterson, 1973; Heidenheimer, 1974; Kazamias, 1978; Thomas, 1983; Lauglo & McLean, 1985).

In a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society held in Washington, DC in March, 1987, I pointed out that inquiries based on the interest group pluralist model, although enlightening conceptually and

sophisticated methodologically, had certain limitations; they did not probe beneath the visible arena of conflict and policy formation into the structural context of the larger national and international society in their search for explanations. Returning to Dale's characterisation, I argued that interest-group pluralist analyses did not engage in the 'politics of education', i.e. into what powers the machinery of the governance of education, or how and where the machinery was directed; that is, their explanations were restricted and their directions were indeterminate (Kazamias, 1987). As with pluralism in general, the pluralist approaches to the political relations of schooling and educational reform have the following inadequacies:

- (a) They assume that 'the structure of power is segmented, not organized into a clear hierarchical pattern', or, to put it in another way, 'power is non-hierarchically and competitively arranged'.
- (b) They provide limited, piecemeal explanations of political power and processes.
- (c) They tend to move toward a functional equilibrium theory.
- (d) They assume that (i) the state is a 'neutral arbiter among social interests', and an 'empty state', and (ii) that all groups have equal access 'to the minimum resources for political mobilization', and compete favourably (Miliband, 1969).
- (e) They tend 'to concentrate group bargaining with a nation-state', without relating the state 'to the context of international conditions and pressures' (Held, 1984: 67–68).
- (f) They are predominantly 'society-centred' in that their conceptualisation of school–society relationships and their explanatory strategies view the state simply as an arena of competition/struggle to gain advantage, or as a 'functional entity' responding to societal 'needs', social imperatives and 'societal strains' (Skocpol, 1979: 29).

The 'Functionalist-Modernisation Political Systems' (FMPS) Perspective

The 'functionalist-modernisation political systems' perspective in comparative education, that was prominent in the 1960s and 1970s, was best exemplified by the influential Princeton series on political culture and political development, sponsored by the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council. In the comparative education literature, it was best exemplified in the volume entitled *Education and Political Development* (1965) in the same series, and edited by J. S. Coleman.

As with the aforementioned pluralist perspective, analyses of the education-polity relationships from the FMPS perspective were predominantly society-centred. Indeed, the Princeton School of political culture and development eschewed the use of the concept of the 'state' because, according to its spokesmen: (a) it was too restrictive, (b) it was more applicable to Western developed societies, (c) often it was used synonymously with the government, (d) it did not take account of the concept of

political culture, and (e) it would not accommodate the notion of ‘interdependence’ of the various parts of the polity, an essential characteristic of the ‘political systems’ and the functionalist approach. For these reasons, the FMPS Princeton School replaced the ‘state’ with ‘political system’, which was defined as follows:

What we propose is that the political system is that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of integration and adaptation (both internally and vis-à-vis other societies) by means of the employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. The political system is the legitimate, order-maintaining or transforming system in the society (Almond & Coleman, 1960: 7).

Referring specifically to the functions of political systems and their relation to education, Coleman wrote: ‘For our purposes ... at least three processes or functions of the political system can be identified which have a fairly clear relationship to education. These are political socialization, political recruitment and political integration’ (Coleman, 1965: 17–18).

Reviewing the extensive work done in these three political relations of education, Massialas in 1977 concluded:

The review indicates that researches have sought to find out, in a systematic way, how the schools affect the development of citizen political attitudes, how the schools function as agents of recruitment into political leadership, and how they contribute to the development of a modern nation. On the first question, i.e., in the formation of political attitudes and knowledge, research indicates that the school, overall, is not as significant as other social agents. The school becomes significant, however, with regard to political recruitment albeit in a fashion that to many is ideologically unacceptable, i.e., it tends to promote the perpetuation of power elites. With regard to the third question, dealing with nation-building, the research indicates that the schools tend to reinforce preexisting social cleavages and inequalities (Massialas, 1977: 294).

Bringing the State Back in Comparative Education

In the 1970s, critical political theorists, political sociologists and other social scientists, in seeking to understand the power structure, the policy formation, the functioning and the dynamics of government of contemporary polities and societies, particularly the economically advanced capitalist and politically liberal democratic nation states, focused their critical enquiries and investigations on the nature, the institutional structure and the mechanisms of government which together make up and shape ‘the state’. Particularly worthy of note during this period was a highly publicised ‘leftist’ debate on the nature, activities and functioning of the liberal capitalist state involving distinguished critical social and political theorists on both sides of the Atlantic: Ralph Miliband (1969) and Perry Anderson (1979) in England; Nicos Poulantzas (1978) in

France; Claus Offe (1973) in Germany; Goran Therborn (1980) in Sweden; and Erik O. Wright (1985) and Martin Carnoy (1984) in the United States.

In the 1980s, the state, in the words of Theda Skocpol (1985), a historical sociologist, was ‘brought back in’ comparative studies of the past in order to find out how societies work and change. Historical sociology, according to D. Smith, ‘is carried out by historians and sociologists who investigate the mutual interpenetration of past and present, events and processes, acting and structuration. They try to marry conceptual clarification, comparative generalization and empirical exploration’ (Smith, 1991: 3).

Taking my cue from Skocpol’s proposal, at about the same time (1987), as a historically oriented comparativist with research interests in the ‘politics of education’ more than in ‘education politics’ – to go back to Dale’s distinction – and the role of education in the development of nation states, I suggested to the community of comparative educationists to ‘bring the state back in comparative education’. Yes, ‘bring the state back in’, but not in the Kandelian conceptualisation and interpretation. At the Washington, DC Conference, mentioned above, I said:

Our conceptualization of the state is quite different from Kandel’s. Kandel’s typology of states into “totalitarian” and “democratic” was too general and ‘simplistic’, as were his criteria for such differentiation, namely (a) the ostensible locus of control, which led Kandel to such general categories as centralized and decentralized; monolithic and dispersed; metaphysical and experiential; authoritarian, autocratic/dictatorial and unjust, and liberal and just; and monopolistic and laissez-faire, and (b) the putative relation of the individual to the state (i.e., in the case of the liberal democratic state, the individual was allowed more freedom, while, for its part, the state seeks to promote the well-being of each of its members (Kazamias, 1987).

I then added that my view of the state was not a hypostatized entity independent of civil society, a concept that is often conjured up in people’s minds perhaps because of the historical and influential German Hegelian idealism. Furthermore, I said the following:

Our concept of the state is not synonymous with the government. Nor is our view of the state system synonymous with Almond and Coleman’s or David Easton’s “political system”... As Stuart Hall explained: “The complex character of the state cannot be reduced to the ways in which the institutional machinery of government functions.” And according to Miliband: “What the state stands for is a number of particular institutions which, together, constitute its reality, and which interact as parts of what may be called the state system”. Institutions include: the government, the administration, the military and the police, the judiciary, units of sub-central government, and parliamentary assemblies (Kazamias, 1987).

On the distinction between the state and the government, I quoted Alfred Stephan who had written:

The state must be considered as more than the “government”. It is the continuous administration, legal, bureaucratic and coercive systems that attempt not only to structure relationships between civil society and public authority in a polity but also to structure many crucial relationships within civil society (Quoted by Skocpol, 1985: 7).

Education, I pointed out in the same forum, is an important function/activity or, as Louis Althusser famously said, an ideological apparatus of the state (Althusser, 1971). I explained:

Today, the public sector in education, which is regulated, controlled or planned by the state accounts for the overwhelming percentage of educational provision from the lowest to the highest levels of the educational system. Even the private sector is subject to state regulation. There is hardly an aspect of the educational system – organisation, administration, curriculum, teacher training, financing, examinations, etc. – that is not directly or indirectly related to the state.

And I concluded:

Given the above, I need not elaborate on the significance of examining education from the perspective of the state. Not from the mainstream perspective, nor from the Kandelian perspective, but from a structural, conflict, relational, ‘state as actor’, and state ‘as relatively autonomous’ perspective. Locating education in the conceptual and epistemological problematic of the state, as previously defined, would allow us not only to ascertain and analyse its workings and social dynamics; it would also go a long way towards providing more complete explanations of educational patterns, policies and reforms, what accounts for similarities and differences among systems, and what conditions have obtained for educational change and reform (Kazamias, 1987).

In the 1990s, the state was indeed brought back in comparative education, and I am pleased to say, not from the ‘mainstream perspective’ nor from that of Kandel. A noteworthy comparative study approached from a revisionist neo-Marxist perspective was Martin Carnoy’s and Joel Samoff’s *Education and Social Transformation in the Third World* (1990). I discuss this book in another chapter in Section One of this Handbook. Suffice to note here that in this state-centred study, Carnoy and Samoff sought ‘to analyze whether and why education develops differently in societies that seek to make a transition from capitalism to socialism than in their Third World capitalist counterparts’. The societies studied were: the People’s Republic of China, Cuba, Tanzania, Mozambique and Nicaragua. The authors’ thesis was that it was the state, much more than the production system that was ‘the source of the dynamic of revolutionary societies and politics, much more than relations in production that drove their social developments’ (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990).

Other examples of noteworthy studies that appeared in the 1990s on the education-polity nexus were Green’s *Education and state formation: The rise of education systems in England, France and the USA* (1990) and C. A. Torres’s *Democracy, education and multiculturalism: Dilemmas of citizenship in a global world* (1998). Green’s path-breaking comparative historical-sociological study examined the role of education in the process of state formation and nation-building in three modern Western liberal democracies (England, France and the USA): how education as a state mechanism

acted to cultivate social cohesion, citizenship, national culture and national identity as well as to train personnel for the civil bureaucracy and the apparatuses of government at the national and local levels (Green, 1990). In a lengthy chapter on ‘The State and Education’, Torres first grapples with problems of defining ‘the State’ and with the significance of a state – centred approach to the study of educational policies and practices, or ‘the connections between citizenship, democracy and multiculturalism’ (Torres, 1998:14). In subsequent subsections he examines from a critical theoretical perspective (a) classical theories of the state from ‘Liberalism’ to ‘Marxism’ and education, (b) the contemporary ‘neoconservative’ and ‘neoliberal’ states and education, (c) ‘neo-marxist theories of the state and the critique of neoconservatism and neoliberalism’, (d) ‘postmodern perspectives on the state and education’, and (e) ‘against the patriarchal state? feminism and the color of the state’ (Torres, 1998:26–69).

Epilogue

The significance of engaging in state-centred comparative educational research today, despite the talk about the shrinking role of the state, was underscored quite recently by Martin Carnoy in his Presidential address to the Comparative and International Education Society in 2006. Carnoy explained the reasons for engaging in such research:

First, most education in most countries is provided by the state. Second, even when education is partly “private” and partly “public”, it is the state that defines the meaning of public and private education. In most countries private school teachers are paid by the state. Third, because the state is the supplier and definer of education, the way changes take place in educational systems is largely defined by the political leadership of the nation’s citizenry to the state and the way that the state has organized the educational system politically (Carnoy, 2006: 555).

To these reasons, one could add that education is still an important mechanism in the formation of states and in nation-building in many countries of the world; and, lastly, to paraphrase Aristotle as quoted in the beginning of this chapter, ‘one’s *paideia* (education) ought to be in accordance with one’s *politeia* (the state)’.

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EMPIRES AND EDUCATION: THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Gary McCulloch

This chapter analyses the interactions involved in the relationship between Empires and education by exploring the case of the British Empire. Over the past few years, increasing attention has been given to the history of the British Empire and the nature of its contribution and legacy in the modern world (Louis, 1999; Ferguson, 2003; Brendon, 2007). Much of this general literature, for example, the recent five-volume *Oxford History of the British Empire* (Louis, 1999), has included little material specifically on education. At the same time, a substantial literature has also developed on the ways in which the ideas and practices of education in Britain influenced the character of education in different parts of the British Empire. This literature has generated interesting debates around the nature of cultural imperialism, the relationship between the ‘centre’ and the ‘periphery’ (e.g. McCulloch & Lowe, 2003), the extent to which imperial influences were beneficial and the ways in which these influences were played out in different nations and areas. Latterly, there has been increasing interest in the kinds of resistance that developed on the part of colonised and indigenous groups. The case of New Zealand (Maori name Aotearoa), 12,000 miles away from Britain, will be examined in particular detail to demonstrate the extent and the characteristics of the imperial writ.

Yet the educational relationships between Britain and her Empire did not run only in one direction. As Peter Burke has pointed out, there are evident dangers in a simple model of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ in which knowledge is diffused from Europe to other parts of the globe, in particular for the tendency of such an approach to take sufficient account of ‘flows of knowledge from periphery to centre as well as in the opposite direction’ (Burke, 2000: 57). Over the last decade, there have developed the beginnings of historical interest in the reverse process, that is, how ideas and practices of education in different parts of the British Empire exerted influence in the imperial homeland. This new literature, stimulated in part by Edward Said’s *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), has potential for a great deal of further development to investigate the dynamics of education in the British Empire which were rarely stable and often unpredictable in their nature and effects.

English Education and the British Empire

What J.A. Mangan described as the ‘imperial diffusion’ of British education (Mangan, 1978: 110) around the British Empire from the nineteenth century onwards has become a familiar feature of educational historiography. More specifically, as Mangan’s work

among many others has demonstrated, English traditions were dominant in this process, and differed significantly from those of Scotland, Wales and Ireland. These latter traditions tended to be subordinated to the English while still retaining local support and potency (Raftery et al., 2007). Mangan's own research emphasised the ways in which the great independent or 'public' schools of England established the ideals that were to become dominant in many different social and cultural contexts around the world, and also the active involvement of the products of these schools in proselytising and implementing them in the British colonies. The universities were also to the fore in advancing the imperial theme, in particular Oxford with the strong encouragement of men such as Benjamin Jowitt, Master of Balliol from 1870 to 1893. Other Oxford men who pursued the dream of cultivating the English tradition in the colonies were to include Sir Cyril Norwood, Master of St. John's College from 1934 until 1946. Yet it has also become clear that these powerful influences did not hold sway unchallenged. In a number of colonies, local conditions led to significant variations, adaptations and often active resistance to the imperial blueprint.

The public schools created an identifiable elite, a community of men with shared outlooks, values and codes of honour imbued in them through their shared boyhood experiences. They were indeed a breed of 'philosopher-kings' in the Platonic model, prepared for public service and the running of an Empire (Wilkinson, 1964; Honey, 1977; McCulloch, 1991a). They inculcated high ideals of Christianity and liberal education, as well as a rugged brand of moral character and patriotism. By the end of the nineteenth century, the ideals and practices of the public schools could be widely portrayed as representing an English tradition, legitimising status and relations of established authority.

Mangan's work in the 1980s and 1990s made a significant contribution to the understanding of this quintessentially English version of cultural imperialism. His key work *The Games Ethic and Imperialism* (1986) examined in extensive detail the significance of games and sports in the education of the Empire. The 'games ethic' lay at the heart of the values disseminated by the public schools, imparting not only initiative and self-reliance but also loyalty and obedience. Public school headmasters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries actively supported imperial ideals, and sent their pupils to the furthest outposts of the Empire to put them into practice. In this way, according to Mangan, 'a unique educational ideal was disseminated throughout the British Empire – the ideal of character-training through games' (Mangan, 1986: 42; see also Mangan, 1988, 1993). Rugby football and cricket in particular were the chosen instruments of imperial purpose. In Sudan, for example, the Sudan Political Service, created in 1899, drew copiously on the products of the English public schools and of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to form an elite cadre of administrators. Many of these had themselves achieved sporting success in their former schools and universities, and strove to pass on the values underlying their achievements to their new charges. In Nigeria, Sir Frederick Lugard led an educational crusade in his position as Governor from 1912 (Governor-General from 1914), preaching the virtues of conformity and obedience both in the classroom and on the playing field. In India, Mayo College, founded in 1878, was a notable example of a new school based on the precepts of the English public schools, which spread the word through the development of cricket and other games.

Further detailed accounts of the educational sources of this set of imperial influences developed this general theme. Donald Leinster-Mackay noted the significance of the English preparatory schools as the ‘cradle and crèche of Empire’ with their close associations with the public schools (Leinster-Mackay, 1988). Paul Rich delved into the contribution of public school freemasonry to the cultural hegemony of the British throughout the Empire, involving the development of rites and rituals in the gentleman’s clubs and Masonic lodges (Rich, 1988, 1989, 1991). The textbooks used as part of the curriculum both in Britain and around the Empire also attracted increasing attention, to understand the messages and stereotypes that they conveyed to pupils. Racial stereotypes, for example, were widely depicted in school history and geography textbooks (Marsden, 1990; Castle, 1993; Lilly, 1993; Coolahan, 1993).

The University of Oxford established connections with the British Empire that were especially significant, as was evident from Richard Symonds’ detailed study (1986). This work investigated Oxford’s contribution to the philosophy of and national attitudes towards Empire, particularly through its teaching of the classics. It also examined the purposes and motives behind support for the Empire, and the role of Oxford graduates who went out to different parts of the Empire as administrators, teachers and missionaries. A famous example of an Oxford graduate who set out to colonise the world was Cecil Rhodes, who studied Latin, Greek, Political Economy and Law at Oriel College between 1873 and 1881. Rhodes’ Will, published in 1902, became the basis for the Rhodes Scholarships which appointed thousands of Scholars from all over the Empire in subsequent decades.

Cyril Norwood was a prominent educator who also had roots in Oxford, having attained a First in classics at St. John’s College in the 1890s before becoming headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, Master of Marlborough College and then Head of Harrow School, finally returning to his old Oxford college as President in 1934 (McCulloch, 2007a). Norwood was influenced by his father Samuel, the ultimately unsuccessful headmaster of Whalley Grammar School, who waxed lyrical on the benefits of Britain’s Indian Empire. As the headmaster of Bristol Grammar School before the First World War, he emphasised the duties and the inherited ideals of the British Empire, and the need to defend these if necessary through resort to arms. Later in his career, Norwood identified and celebrated an English tradition of education that was associated above all with the qualities of character found in the English public schools, including the shared values inculcated by games (Norwood, 1929).

There has been much controversy over whether the influence of the British Empire has been malevolent or beneficial. Recent sympathisers have insisted that the Empire had a positive role in the making of the modern world (Ferguson, 2003). Such admiration is evident in some of the historical literature on the British Empire and education. Clive Whitehead in particular has defended the record of the British Empire, and rejected the idea that it was a means of exerting economic and political control over colonised peoples. Whitehead emphasises both the idealism and the confusion of purpose that underlay British colonial policy, and insists that this did not amount to cultural imperialism designed to perpetuate cultural and political hegemony: ‘Most colonial schooling certainly mirrored schooling in Britain, but there is ample evidence

to suggest that this was more a reflection of local demand on the part of indigenous peoples themselves, than an indication of any deliberate British policy to colonise the indigenous intellect' (Whitehead, 1988: 215). Whitehead's research on the British Indian and Colonial Education Service exemplifies this argument as he highlights the contributions of many men and women to building and maintaining public facilities and services in India, based as he argues on 'a genuine concern for the welfare of indigenous peoples' (Whitehead, 2003: p. xiv).

Yet it is also true that tensions developed in a number of colonial contexts over the character and effects of these imperial influences. In some parts of the Empire, these conflicts grew into open challenge and resistance on the part of colonial and indigenous groups seeking a greater measure of independence, or an assertion of national or local character. In relation to India, for example, the British mission schools according to Allender failed to recruit a clientele beyond their central city schools into the rural areas despite expensive programmes of evangelism and conversion in the mid nineteenth century (Allender, 2003: 273). They remained the preserve of the wealthy few, and had little impact on the general population. Instead, rival nationalist and religious movements took the initiative to extend their educational influence before the end of the nineteenth century (Allender, 2003: 288; see also Allender, 2007).

Other British colonies also experienced such educational differences and conflicts. In colonial Fiji, White argues that the educational and 'native' policies of the colonial government helped to encourage uneven educational development and lower Fijian educational attainment (White, 2003). Meanwhile, Swaziland in south-eastern Africa, a British protectorate after the Boer War at the start of the twentieth century, experienced tensions not only between the colonial power and the colonised, but also within those colonised populations (Zoller, 2003). We may observe such tensions in more detail in the historical development of one particular British colony 12,000 miles away from the Homeland: New Zealand.

Educating New Zealand?

The essentially colonial characteristics of education in New Zealand have long attracted comment. The growth of modern schooling in Britain and the dissemination of its educational ideals and practices had a crucial impact on the character of structures of schooling in New Zealand, the furthest outpost of the Empire that continued into the twentieth century. The precedents of established institutions, the practices of schools and teachers, and the traditions that underpinned and rationalised a wide variety of educational arrangements all had their sources in full or in part in what was widely regarded as 'Home'.

Such ideals and practices were continued or else adapted in subtle ways by teachers who themselves had in many cases been educated and trained in Britain, with textbooks that often came from Britain, for examinations based largely on British experience, values and culture. A.E. Campbell, later Director-General of Education, suggested in 1941 that 'the education system of New Zealand as it stands today is incomprehensible unless one bears ever in mind that it originated and developed in a British colony in the nineteenth century' (Campbell, 1941: p. 1). He emphasised the nostalgia of the

colonists for their homeland which contributed to their desire to surround themselves 'with a barrier of familiar social institutions':

If they could not surround themselves immediately with the flowers and trees and quiet hills of England, they could at least transplant the forms of social life with which they were familiar, and which they needed to assuage the homesickness that almost every colonist carries with him to the end. Just because they sought new worlds they did not necessarily seek a new way of life (Campbell, 1941: 3).

For this reason, Campbell concluded, 'the historical principle of maintaining cultural continuity played a greater part in forming the education system of New Zealand than did the geographical principle of adaptation to a new environment' (Campbell, 1941: 6). Auckland Grammar School, for example, imitated and interpreted the practices and ideals of the English public and grammar schools to cultivate its own grammar school tradition. The reflected glow of such schools was intended to convey a cultural message to the pupils and patrons of Auckland: that it was a symbolic link with 'Home' (McCulloch, 1988). The school curriculum no less than the visible structures of the education system also saw unmistakable marks of the colonial heritage. Alan Mulgan, a pupil at Auckland Grammar School in the 1890s, commented looking back that 'Our curriculum was English, but we were colonials and conscious of it' (Mulgan, 1958: 71).

Often, too, there was an idealised and somewhat unreal quality about the images of England that were influential in New Zealand education. For example, F.B. Malim, visiting New Zealand in the 1940s, enthused over the English features of the leading independent schools. Of Christ's College, in Christchurch, Malim remarked that 'Her grey walls and her elms suggest a civilisation more peaceful and stable than seems likely to be the portion of the New Zealand of today, and they remind us of an England with foundations still unshaken by the invention of the internal combustion engine' (Malim, 1948: 160). Malim's observations also highlighted something of the missionary zeal with which English educators had transported their own cultural baggage. He was especially glowing about Waitaki High School, which he described as 'a museum devoted to the history of Britain' (Malim, 1948: 163).

At the same time, there were many important specificities and differences in the New Zealand situation that cannot be merely 'read off' from the British case. It may be argued, indeed, that educational reforms developed in New Zealand in many instances in explicit opposition to the trends identified as being associated with the 'Old Country'. New Zealand educational reforms had a liberal and egalitarian thrust that could be contrasted with the class-based, differentiated and hierarchical structures of schooling in England. It was common for those extolling the virtues of education in New Zealand to emphasise its advantages over that of class-divided England. According to the Director of Education, T.B. Strong, in 1928, for example:

I am told that the teaching profession in England suffers even to the present day the humiliating effects of the old-time perfunctory provision for the education of the masses. There are still localities in England where the teacher has little or no social standing. In the Dominions, fortunately, the trend has been for the teacher

to occupy an honoured position in society, and this fact has undoubtedly operated to the benefit of the schools. One cause, or it may be the effect of this, is the high social regard in which our “public schools” are held (Strong, 1928: 145).

Meanwhile, conservatives such as E.M. Blaiklock, a classics professor at the University of Auckland (Shaw, 1986), tended to paint the ingrained social purposes and structural differentiation of the English education system in more flattering colours to provide a respectable source of right-wing opinion, and to discredit the egalitarianism towards which New Zealand educational policies tended to lean (McCulloch, 1988, 1991b).

In some ways, the egalitarian tendencies prominent in New Zealand education were akin to those of Scotland, which had also developed partly in opposition to English traditions and precepts. As Robert Anderson has noted, there was an ‘advanced and distinctive educational tradition’ in Scotland that could be traced back to the Reformation, which nineteenth-century Scots considered to be ‘both a point of superiority over England and a guarantee of Scotland’s social and cultural autonomy within the Union’ (Anderson, 1983: 1). According to Anderson, the Scottish ‘democratic myth’ of education became a vital part ‘both of the Scottish sense of nationhood and of the image which others have formed of the Scots’ (Anderson, 1983: 1). Underlying the ‘myth’ there were many unresolved problems and deep-seated inequalities that usually went unacknowledged (Humes & Paterson, 1983; Raftery et al., 2007). English-based structures and expectations also increasingly encroached upon educational institutions north of the border to undermine the distinctive character and independence of the Scottish tradition. In New Zealand, the threat of such encroachment was more distant and yet at the same time more insidious. The English cultural origins of the New Zealand education system and its continued influence through the importation of the latest ideas, practices, teachers and texts posed a constant threat to the integrity of New Zealand’s egalitarian myth.

Thus it was a Scottish visitor, Dr. William Boyd, who warned most clearly of the dangers of the English influence at a major conference of the New Education Fellowship held in New Zealand in July 1937. Relating the development of the education system in New Zealand explicitly to that of Scotland, he argued that the key problem facing New Zealand education was the influence of the English tradition, which had already had a major impact at a structural level. According to Boyd, ‘the serpent in the garden is the English influence in New Zealand education which has demoralised your institutions’ (Boyd, 1938: 475–476). Rather than developing along ‘good Scotch lines’, Boyd continued, New Zealand education was based on ‘the English separation between primary and secondary education’. This in turn encouraged differentiation and selection at the secondary school level: ‘Your high schools, rather of the English sort, were meant for an aristocracy, a selected group, and the old primary schools for the common or ordinary people. This is the English principle as opposed to the Scotch practice of having a primary system which grows into a secondary system and forms a satisfactory unity’ (Boyd, 1938: 476). This constituted a direct critique of the views of Cyril Norwood, who was a speaker at the same conference and continued to promote an idealised ‘English tradition’ of education (Norwood, 1929; McCulloch, 2007a). To address this issue, Boyd strongly advocated that the secondary school curriculum should become less ‘orientated towards the university’ and more a ‘preparation for ordinary living’ (Boyd, 1938: 484).

A further key dimension of cultural tensions in colonial New Zealand lay in the relationship between the colonists (*pakehas*) and the indigenous Maori population, the *tangata whenua* or ‘people of the land’. Judith Nathan has argued that the Governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, established industrial boarding schools under the Education Ordinance of 1847 in order to consolidate Christianity, foster Western standards, maintain racial harmony, and provide instruments of assimilation (Nathan, 1973). The Maori Schools Act of 1867 established a national system of secular village day schools under the Department of Native Affairs, with a curriculum based on the subjects of English elementary schools (Harker & McConnochie, 1985; Simon, 1998). By the late twentieth century, however, Maori-based resistance to assimilation had grown to the point that it was able to establish alternative and rival forms of educational institutions (Jesson, 1992; Smith, 1992).

This case-study of Aotearoa/New Zealand demonstrates that while the imperial heritage exerted a vital influence on the development of schooling and education more generally, the colonial outpost also developed a number of characteristics that challenged the primacy of these cultural origins. First, the colonists increasingly asserted their own national traditions and national identity in a way that was suited to the conditions of their new home, and which did not necessarily accommodate the precepts and practices of ‘Home’. Second, there were rival international influences such as the distinct values of Scottish education from those of the English, and increasingly other sources of educational ideas and practices such as those of the United States and Australia, with which to contend. Finally, the indigenous culture of the Maori posed particular challenges and suggested important differences in approach in catering for the educational needs of different ethnic groups. Such tensions played themselves out in a number of ways around the British Empire, and the legacies of the British presence were not always similar, but the complexities of the debates experienced in New Zealand had parallels and resonances with those that developed elsewhere.

Small Island

Unlike historical literature on the outward influence of British educational ideas and practices on the different parts of the British Empire, historical attention on the reverse processes by which the Empire has influenced education in Britain has until recently been somewhat scant. A leading writer on this latter theme has been John MacKenzie, whose interest has been directed toward popular culture more generally, but there is much more to be developed in this direction specifically around the character and effects of education.

Said’s work considers the ‘overlapping territories’ and ‘intertwined histories’ of imperial culture (Said, 1994: 1), examining how ‘a post-imperial intellectual attitude might expand the overlapping community between metropolitan and formerly colonised societies’ (Said, 1994: 19). He goes on to investigate how images of the Empire have permeated Western culture, for example in major works of fiction: ‘Cultural texts imported the foreign into Europe in ways that very clearly bear the mark of the imperial enterprise, of explorers and ethnographers, geologists and geographers, merchants

and soldiers' (Said, 1994: 229). This key insight has underpinned a new historical literature focusing on the influence of Empire on the imperial homeland.

Early indications of this new interest have included interesting contributions by the historians Raphael Samuel and Linda Colley. Samuel's *Island Stories* (Samuel, 1998) insists on the interplay of the imperial and the domestic, citing as an example the utopian strains of English life, reflected in the open-air movement and the rise of the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides in the twentieth century, which were located originally in Britain's colonising fortunes. Colley emphasises the insecurity of Britain in relation to powerful neighbours and rivals as a key factor in its social and political development. According to Colley, 'Self-consciously small, increasingly rich, and confronted with European enemies that were often bigger and militarily more formidable than themselves, the British were frequently on edge, constantly fearful themselves of being invaded, necessarily alert and ready for a fight' (Colley, 2002: 11). The consequence of this in Colley's view was that the Empire came to dominate Britain's culture and self-image (Colley, 2002: 326). Like Samuel, then, she regards Britain's domestic culture and politics and the growth and development of its Empire as being interlinked: 'The history of Britain and the histories of its various overseas ventures cannot be adequately approached separately. For good, and for ill, they were interlinked' (Colley, 2002: 305). Such points are open to debate. For instance, many historians and commentators have suggested that Britain's perceived security from invasion from overseas encouraged complacency and conservatism, rather than restlessness, in its social development (McCulloch, 2007b). However, these arguments provide a point of departure for detailed historical research in a number of different areas.

A number of other recent works have further developed a new historical literature around this theme. In relation to politics, a key example would include Thompson's *The Empire Strikes Back?* (Thompson, 2005), which has explored the role of Empire in British politics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cultural dimensions have been explored in greater depth by Paris (2000) and Porter (2004). Bush has also assessed the significance of Empire for gender relationships in the early twentieth century (Bush, 2000). The result is what Wilson (2004) has described as a 'new imperial history', actively conscious of the relationship between the British Empire and Britain's own national identity.

The implications of this new historiographical trend for education have thus far been traced out only lightly and unevenly. John MacKenzie led the way in this area as long ago as the 1980s with his study of propaganda, public opinion and Empire and an important edited collection on imperialism and popular culture (MacKenzie, 1984, 1986), and he has continued in this vein (see for example MacKenzie, 1999a, b). These contributions have highlighted how the Empire impressed itself on the British public through such media as the cinema, the popular press, consumer propaganda and popular literature. He singles out the Empire Exhibitions of the 1920s as exemplars of this kind of influence. The first, at Wembley in London, opened by King George V on St. George's Day in 1924, attracted over 17 million visitors during the rest of 1924 and nearly 10 million the following year (MacKenzie, 1999b: 214–215). Its impact on popular awareness and construction of Empire is also vividly depicted in Andrea Levy's recent novel *Small Island* (Levy, 2004) which recounts a visit to the Exhibition by the main narrator Queenie and

her family: ‘the whole world and only one day to see it’ (Levy, 2004: 3–4). MacKenzie points out the significance of social class, the differences between the regional and urban centres of Britain, and the new immigration from the former Empire since the 1950s as factors in the reception of Empire in the twentieth century. These aspects are still to be developed in detail by educational historians, although there is some interesting and important work for example by Castle and Heathorn on national identity and the elementary school curriculum (Castle, 1996; Heathorn, 2000).

Conclusions

We may therefore point to two general types of historical approach to the British Empire and education. The first, well-rehearsed but by no means played out, has investigated the significance of the British Empire for the development of education in its many colonies around the world. This was based on a peculiarly English version of cultural imperialism but was often reinterpreted and challenged in a range of ways in different local, national and regional conditions. The effects have lasted in many societies well after independence and the end of the British Empire itself, reflected in the continued strength and cultural authority of particular institutions and types of curriculum and practice.

The second, developed more recently, pursues the impact of the Empire on Britain itself. This involves the ways in which ideas and practices developed in different parts of the Empire have come to have an influence in the educational system and broader culture and politics of Britain over the past two centuries. This latter type of work is still only in its infancy so far as education is concerned, and it is to be expected that much more will be developed in this respect over the next decade. Again, it is of great potential significance for an understanding not only of historical changes but of outstanding issues in the early twenty-first century. Debates about national identity and ‘Britishness’ are bound up with the continuing impact of the Empire on public debate in Britain (see for example Bunting, 2007). Knowledge and culture have clearly flowed from the ‘periphery’ to the ‘centre’ as well as in the opposite direction.

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COMPARING COLONIAL EDUCATION DISCOURSES IN THE FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE AFRICAN EMPIRES: AN ESSAY ON HYBRIDIZATION

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Colonial Discourse Analysis

For different reasons, the idealized discourses and the official versions about colonial education in the African context clash with the local circumstances of government forcing the revision, sometimes the subversion, of principles and objectives defined by the metropolitan governments. Very often we realize that the same ‘author’ interprets the reality he observes according to the statute and the locale from where he speaks and acts, frequently making use of arguments of a total opposite signal.¹ Following what Michel Foucault called ‘the *governmentalisation* of the State’ to *govern at a distance*² implies the invention and the construction of a vast set of technologies which link calculations and strategies developed in the political centres thousands of points distributed in the space.³ As such, the analysis of the discourse is linked to the superposition of discourses produced at the global level with the discourses produced at the local level, a process through which the relations of *power–knowledge* are developed in parallel to the technologies of *government at a distance*. These discontinuities in the *scripts* of educational *governance* (Meyer *et al.*, 1997) permit us to understand the coexistence of cultural references and clear political positions, even opposite, in the lusophone (and francophone) space. They underline, on the other hand, the importance of the networks of global diffusion (Ramirez & Rubinson, 1979; Ramírez & Boli, 1987) and of a specific reception, of internationalization and of indigenization, of supranational integration and of intra-national diversification (Schriewer, 1993). This sharing, as I did demonstrate elsewhere (Madeira, 2005 and 2006), results in totally different appropriations, sometimes even opposed, from presuppositions inscribed in the discourse about education, making clear how the discourse productions are used to legitimize the practices of inscription and domination destined to the populations and cultural contexts with characteristics very different among them.

This essay proposes to go beyond a ‘traditional’ vision of educational change, i.e. a concept based on the analysis of influences, forces or relations of cause–effect about the political aspect of education (Wolf, 1982; Murray & Postlethwaite, 1983; Wesseling, 1991). In contrast with the perspectives which consider the colonies as

homogeneous cultural identities, as extensions of the metropolitan ideas and practices, I tend to emphasize the symbiotic relations which developed between the empires and the metropolis (Said, 1993; Cooper, 1994; Thomas, 1994). This position contradicts a representation of colonialism as a coherent and consistent process and defines the colonial scenario as a context of conflict between colonizer and colonized, in which the ideas and practices about the processes associated with the civilization of Africans are open to negotiation and restructuring of a different kind (Kumar, 1991; Thomas, 1994; Bhabha, 1997; Cooper & Stoler, 1999). Therefore the approach that I will sketch here emphasizes the contradictory and conflicting aspects contained in the colonial discourse (Thomas, 1994; Stoler & Cooper, 1997). This implies in particular an understanding about the political and cultural relationship which was developed among the colonies and the metropolis and, within this perspective, exploits it from the configuration of the discourse field about education considering that it limits a historical space in a set of other mechanisms that crossed the colonial space.

This methodological choice is tried and aims at exploring two possibilities which have been of interest to the scientific community within the frame of historical-comparative research in education: on the one hand, to analyse the lack of continuities between the official ideological concepts about education (incorporated in the discourses which originated in the metropolis or even locally) and the strategies of school expansion put in practice in the colonial contexts; on the other hand, to map the circulation of discourses about education at the level of colonial peripheries, highlighting the processes of transfer and of selective taking up which go across the colonies themselves (Nóvoa *et al.*, 2002; Schriewer & Keiner, 1992; Schriewer, 2006; Popkewitz, 2005; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Madeira, 2006).

As such, to look at educational changes from a comparative perspective means to analyse how the discourses about colonial education became known and circulated, at the transnational level, and also to understand how these discourses became accepted as a norm and therefore transformed in local strategies and concrete programmes of action. In that sense it is easy to understand why discourses about education which crossed the colonial space produced internal disparities relatively to the processes of school expansion, to the pedagogical models and to curriculum organization, contradicting the concept of educational policy as the local implementation of programmes produced in the European metropolis.

I believe that, from this theoretically defined place, we are able to question other types of relations between the colonial administration and the central structures of power, as well as to question ambiguities and ambivalences which went across the different structures of imperial authority, namely the discourses about the government, the civilization and the education of the colonized (Slemon & Tiffin, 1989).

‘National’ Types, Systems of Government and Comparison of Educational Policies

L'autre est la raison d'être de l'Éducation Comparée: l'*autre* qui sert de modèle ou de référence, qui légitime des actions ou qui impose des silences, que l'on imite ou que l'on colonise. L'éducation comparée fait partie d'un champ de pouvoirs

au sein duquel s'organisent des centres et des périphéries, se construisent des pratiques discursives qui consacrent des *sens* et définissent des *limites* . . . Notre attitude intellectuelle subit l'influence du rôle joué par l'Europe (l'Occident) en tant que référent silencieux de toutes les histoires. Comme si l'Europe était la seule catégorie théoriquement connaissable, toutes les autres histoires n'ayant droit qu'à un statut empirique. (Nóvoa, 1998: 51–52)

The characterization of educational policies through the identification of differences and similarities of the colonial administrative systems implemented by France and England in Africa is widely documented in the literature which compares the governments of the two European powers (Bets, 1961; Deschamps, 1963; Crowder, 1964; Clignet & Foster, 1964; Ipaye, 1969). These descriptions, generally originated in the metropolis and frequently supported in official reports and in speeches of political propaganda, tend to oppose the French colonial system, essentially bureaucratic, centralized and assimilating to the English system, which was considered more pragmatic, decentralized and liberal. The differences between these two ideal types would have originated in the 'historical' characteristics and in the 'political' culture of the two nations. One is republican, even Jacobine, based on a humanism defined by theoretical and abstract principles, thus resulting in a universalistic, unifying and egalitarian tendency. The other, embedded in a political culture more 'aristocratic', inspired on a liberal conservative and in the *laissez-faire* doctrine, would rather tend to respect the position and the culture of local authorities, considered to a certain extent as 'peers' according to the noble tradition of the English gentry – attitudes which supposedly favour the practice of a kind of 'indirect government'.

Another series of myths were associated to the construction of a polarized image of the French and English political systems: for example, the one that argued that the French implemented a colonization system without doctrine and method, in contrast to the British colonization (and decolonization) process, based from its onset on the preparation for 'self-government'; the persistence of direct government methods, based on the principles of domination–subordination, on the French system, in contrast to the autonomy the English gave to the Africans, in relation to meeting the needs and the 'welfare' of the indigenous populations. This set of representations would have re-enforced the idea according to which the French cultural policy tended, especially, to administrative uniformity, unification between the metropolitan territories and those from overseas, tending therefore to the construction of an educational system aiming at assimilating the Africans to the French culture, or at least, submitting the interests of the indigenous people to the civilizing mission of the mother-Nation. In summary, France would have set up the training of a local elite cultivated according to the French moral values and cultural habits, a process which could be considered based on the 'assimilation' doctrine. Regarding England, the discourse about colonial policy tended to present a representation based on opposing principles, based on the adaptation to the local conditions and on the respect for the native indigenous authorities – the 'indirect rule' – implying in a truly decentralizing policy aimed at training the Africans for 'self-government'.

It is not difficult to imagine that, similarly to the 'national' and governmental types, the comparative styles also tended to reproduce the sets of evidence which the

historiography of European colonization in Africa crystallized around the opposition between the francophone and Anglo-Saxon ‘systems’, thus making it possible to describe the educational results met by both nations. The construction of representations, based on the principle of complementarity between the *art and the science of government*, subordinated to political interests of a supranational nature, aimed at very often illustrating the ‘good government’ of the colonized populations. In fact, despite the ruptures of paradigms implemented by British and French critical anthropology and sociology during the 1960s and 1970s, the reading of the colonial phenomenon went on, in recent times, to inspire stereotyped representations of these deliberately radicalized representations:

British Europeanizers . . . hoped to turn their subjects into black Englishmen, complete with middle-class standards and Methodist morality. French Europeanizers . . . hoped to transform tribesmen in French-speaking citizens of the ‘republic one and invisible’. Portuguese Europeanizers dreamed of their country’s Lusitanian mission and envisaged their future empire as an overseas extension of Portugal with a special pattern resembling Brazil’s. (Gann & Duignam, 1971: 216)

The analyses of the governor’s reports, of the local administration and of private groups, for example, constitute a fundamental basis of work for the dismantling of this stereotyped perspective, exclusively centred on official documents, with permits to mix up the similarities and relativize – or re-enforce – the differences, underlying the contradictions of the discourses about education in a colonial context. On the other hand, to work on discourses about education originated in different spaces and times (the colonial space of France and Portugal) makes it possible to widen up the table of comparison centred in the unit state-nation for the vast dimension of the colonial empires. By enlarging the scope of comparison, analysing these discourses as configurations allows us to analyse the diffusion, transformation and appropriation of concepts and pedagogical models as well as their transformation in technologies of educational incorporation (models of teaching, school, and curriculum) within the frame of networks of knowledge.

The Educational Rhetoric and the Construction of the Empire: Portugal and France

Portugal

The system of Portuguese colonization in Africa, based, from a doctrinaire point of view, on the basic principles of international liberalism, whose general characteristics entered Portugal via the double French and English influences, was set essentially on the historical mission and on the colonial vocation which justified the historical, geographic and political imperative of our stay in the continent. Emphatic and somehow messianic, this discourse went through the political cycles and the transitions of

the regime, with few changes, from the end of the monarchy up to the implementation of the 'Estado Novo'. Centred on the civilizing mission, on the nationalization of the empire and, later, on its 'portugalization', the Portuguese colonial idea aimed at the construction of a link between the colonial unity and the national identity, to justify the national grandeur, relatively to the internal public opinion as well as externally in relation to other potential European colonies. In this aspect the Portuguese colonial policy was clearly inscribed in the dynamics of international agreements which regulated the association of the 'right to exploitation' to the 'right of civilization', an argument which presupposed the sharing of a set of principles, transversal to several colonizing powers.⁴ Based on this doctrine, the Portuguese colonial endeavour in terms of education by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was oriented mainly by the principle of the 'assimilation to the national culture', although it distinguished, in practice, the 'civilized' population (the white colonial population, Portuguese or from European origin and mestizos who came from the urban areas of the coast) from the 'non-civilized' population (Black Africans, mainly from the rural areas). The teaching in the colonies was being built, from the early days, within the framework of this duplicity of public, implying a set of modalities of teaching, content and strategies of differentiated school incorporation. However, the type of primary education offered was based on a type of school inspired on the European metropolitan model, with a uniform basic curriculum, academic and, in the case of the schools aimed at teaching the Africans (rudimentary primary schooling) simplified.

Similar to other areas of the imperial dominance, Portugal was late, relative to France and England, in the definition of a colonial educational policy, at least until the mid-1930s in the twentieth century. This lack of definition was considered responsible for the inefficiency of the colonial administration along with the coexistence of opposite opinions about the project of colonization and, consequently, of education. As a result, education governance tended to evidence a centralized tendency, mainly 'direct' in outlook: anticlerical internally, but multi-confessional in the external propaganda; hesitating, at the level of strategies of incorporation of the African masses, and ambiguous in relation to the status that these could adopt in the cadre of the Portuguese colonial administration. In administrative terms, and in practice, the decentralization attempts which gave more manoeuvre to the intervention of the governors and high commissioners in the colonies until the mid-1920s were not able to compensate, from a legal point of view, the tendency of the colonial assimilation to the metropolis. What did change, instead, were the arguments used to justify their new powers. Bear in mind, for example, the discourse about the characteristics of the Portuguese colonialism of exception, that of the 'undefined people between Europe and Africa' (Madeira, 2003: 44–47) turned towards the 'singular predisposition of a hybrid colonization of the tropics', according to Gilberto Freyre, a thesis already divulged in the international circles, through the work of Sir Harry Johnston *The Negro in the New World* (1910), a book referred to by a whole generation of Portuguese-Africans to confirm the thesis of the 'kindness of the Portuguese' in the African colonization.⁵

Different from the paternalistic image that Portugal tried to show in the international circles, and in spite of successive governments (monarchic and republican) claiming for themselves the mission of civilizing as a right of tutelage over people they

considered to be under their political jurisdiction and moral protection, the mission of ‘educating the bodies’ and ‘save the souls’ ended up to be given to the Portuguese Catholic Church. In this respect, the unity of action of the Catholic Church, disputed and controlled regularly at least up to the 1930s, succeeded in moving across the different positions which, in the metropolis and in the colonies, became aligned by divergent conceptions, even contradictory, up to the beginning of the Second World War. In simple words, for the Portuguese Catholic Church ‘to civilize’ meant ‘to Christianize’, a mission for which the regular priests claimed for themselves historical rights. The anticlerical conceptions which attempted to annihilate or control their action in education were of different kinds. The perspectives which were claimed to be of French influence, represented by the liberalism of the eighteenth century, defended a civilizing action Illuminist in its origin based on the respect for equality among men – an argument strongly supported by an essentially legal conception of equality among people.

On the other hand, the utilitarian perspectives, relating the education effort to the exploitation of the colonial resources, considered the ‘education through the inculcation of working habits’ the most viable option, arguments which tended to call forth the efficacy of the association between the ‘civilizing duty’ and the ‘right to explore’. Lastly, a third path – one which ended up by imposing itself in the arguments and practices of the colonial government until the independencies – defended a Portuguese type of ‘assimilation’, crafted in the image of ‘Greater France’, and extending the grandiosity of the Portuguese spirit to the overseas provinces. This thesis suggested that the economic and social advancement of the indigenous population depended on a set of principles moral and spiritual in character. Paradoxically, it was during this phase, coincident with the rise of ‘Estado Novo’ regime that the role of the Catholic Church began to be officially recognized as determinant for the colonization process, that is to say, instrumental to the ‘nationalization’ of the Portuguese Africa.

By implicitly associating Church evangelization with the State action in the ‘assimilation’ of the African peoples, this policy approached the British incorporating strategy which clearly associated for a long time ‘civilizing colonialism’ with ‘State colonialism’. The presuppositions of this association were, nevertheless, very different from the British imperialism ones. The ‘right to explore’ arguments, in juridical terms based on historical accounts, and the ‘civilizing duty’ supported by a moral imperative, articulated to produce a ‘lusophone bread’. This variant was liberal (since it was funded on the idea of economic resource exploitation) and, at the same time humanist, based on the idea of the assimilation of the dark races plunged in the ‘secular night’ to the spirit of the national culture.

The French Civilizing Mission: To ‘Cultivate’ the African Mind

As with the British case, the French presence in West Africa went through different phases. In Gifford and Weiskel’s work, a pivotal comparative study of the colonial systems in Africa, two particularly important periods in the history of French colonization are considered (Gifford & Louis, 1978: 663–711). A first ‘pre-colonial’ period (1815–1890) and a second moment, characterized by the consolidation of the ‘colonial rule’ (1894–1945). During the first phase the French colonizers were faced with two

major problems. In Senegal, due to deficiencies in the colonizing process, the French were having problems both in controlling the rise of the trade communities that were establishing themselves in the coastal areas at a rising rate and of expanding their influence to the interior territories. As such the administration policy began by authorizing teaching in the local languages at the public schools (1816), by tolerating the missionary activity (1820–1830) and it ended up by handing out education to the Catholic Church.⁶ This laissez-faire attitude was justified by the argument that schooling was a means whereby the French influence could be extended and preserved among the traditional authorities, in particular in the mainland territories, ruled by Islamic leaders. In most Haute-Volta schools, in the Ivory Coast and in the northern Islamic territories of Senegal, the French school system task was to educate the individuals who could eventually assume the role of traditional authorities. In these schools, some of them destined for the sons of tribal chiefs and gentile authorities, the curriculum was centred on teaching the French language and some subsidiary subjects related to local aspects of everyday life (Gifford & Weiskel, 1978; Gann & Duignam, 1971). The remaining schools were targeted at the training of interpreters and administrative functionaries aiming at consolidating the commercial relationships and at minimizing antagonisms between the local populations and the French colonial administration.

As a philosophy, the discourse on ‘assimilation’ progressively transformed into a cultural imperialist doctrine, reflecting the wish of forging the political and cultural uniformity of a ‘Greater France’. Education represented a means by which the overseas territories could be integrated in an increasingly expanding empire and a strategy for the transformation of Africans into *black Frenchmen*. French assimilationist objectives manifested themselves in the type of administrative organization, highly centralized, by which the colonies were considered as extensions of the metropolitan territory. However, it would be misleading to think that the assimilation policy was to be the norm in every colonial situation or even that the assimilation policies translated into effective control of the educational matters in all colonies. In spite of the creation of the Colonial Ministry, in 1894, the French were far from ensuring a tight control over the colonial education systems, of providing enough well-prepared teachers, of financing the schooling functioning, a set of factors that cumulated with an ill-defined educational political strategy (Gifford & Weiskel, 1978; Kiwanuka, 1993). In fact, up to the first decades of the twentieth century, the educational provisions were made by the local administration, attempting to respond to the educational needs of each territory whether in quantitative or qualitative terms (Clignet, 1968). At the end of the nineteenth century at the peak of the metropolitan assimilationist rhetoric, the development of the educational structures in North and West French Africa was very much dependent on the funding arising out of private initiative such as the *Alliance Française* or in the hands of Catholic missionary societies.

On the other hand, the French educational policy was very much influenced by the British educational experience, in such a way that the principles of ‘indirect rule’ inspired several colonial governor strategies as with the case of Lyautey, Gallieni or Van Vollenhoven. Appointed High Commissioner to the Maroc in 1907, Louis-Hubert Lyautey administrated the protectorate (1912–1916) by granting his support to the local Islamic chieftaincies and by seeking cooperation with the sultanate regime. His

administration was marked by respect for local habits, both in religious and cultural terms. Joseph Simon Gallieni, on his turn, governed Madagascar (1896–1905) on the basis of the ‘oil spill’ principle considering that education was essential to the development of the local populations. Gallieni interested himself in the local cultures, favouring the local languages protection themes about which he produced extended works and remarks (Dimier, 1998; Clignet & Foster, 1964). Lastly, Joost Van Vollenhoven, appointed Governor General of French West Africa in 1916, endowed the traditional authorities with unprecedented powers and responsibilities in the colonial administration, paying particular attention to the ‘*évolués*’ natives. No doubt Van Vollenhoven was trying to develop the state strengths by using the traditional authorities as counterparts and not as opponents, and certainly this could be considered a device of colonial control devise. Nevertheless, this was much closer to the British ‘indirect rule’ style than it was to the French ‘assimilationist’ or even ‘associationist’ native policies.

The acts approved in parliament, in 1902, calling for the secularization of all schools run by the Catholic Church in West Africa and the climate caused by the Dreyfus affair gave way to a new phase in the organization of the school system in the colonies. The expansion of a European school system and the need to control the missionary supply on education produced a reorganization of the public sector. The two decrees passed by Governor General Ernest Roume in 1903 fitted neatly in the anticlerical feelings that were becoming evident since 1880, when Jules Ferry (Ministry of the Public Education) had promoted a compulsory, laic and free educational school system. Under Roume’s new administration the universalization of education turned out to be one of the central objectives of the French civilizing mission in Africa. Clearly influenced by the thinking of Gallieni and Lyautey, and pedagogically supported by Gustave le Bon and Léopold Saussure theories, Roume considered that assimilation was not a policy attuned to a vast and diverse province such as French West Africa (Le Bon, 1894; Saussure, 1899). By contesting the frenchifying metropolitan policies, Roume thought that the Africans should evolve according to their own lines, and under this conception, the curriculum should be ‘adapted to the colonial needs’. Henceforth a free, secular system of education was created granting particular emphasis to the French language as a medium of teaching. The educational structures were set up in order to respond to the colonial pragmatic needs and were divided in *écoles de villages*, designated to the training of interpreters, the *écoles régionales*, aimed at the training of administration functionaries, and the *écoles urbaines* for the training of Africans who were to fill posts in the French colonial administration. The urban schools directed to the European and to the ‘assimilated’ individuals were designed to work along metropolitan lines whether in terms of the teaching staff or with regard to the curriculum. Rural or regional schools were destined to the native population and, as such, the curriculum was adapted to the local populations’ special needs. These two apparently opposed principles (assimilation/adaptation) were used in twofold ways: one directed at the expansion of school opportunities (at the elementary level), crafted for the majority of Africans; and the other directed at limiting their access of assimilated natives (to the secondary-level school opportunities).

In 1907 Ernest Roume retired and was replaced by William Merlaud-Ponty in the government of French West Africa. Merlaud-Ponty’s perception of native educational

policy could not be more dissimilar than that of his predecessor as was shown by his circular published in 1909 under the theme of *Politique des Races*. In this document the new Governor General clearly demonstrated his preference for the principle of 'direct rule', thus implying a reduction of the intermediaries between the local administration and the traditional authorities in the villages. In this way a new native policy orientation emerged, downplaying the role that had been previously accorded to the traditional authorities in the French colonial administration. In educational terms Merlaud-Ponty was very well aware of the French civilizing mission towards the Africans, and as a result the 'adapted education' path was the object of serious revisions. In 1914 on the eve of the First World War, Merlaud-Ponty appointed Georges Hardy as the new General Inspector for Education in French West Africa. Though they were never promulgated, Hardy's directives reinforced the laws and decrees passed by Ernest Roume from 1903, marking the return to an ambiguous educational policy midway between the consolidation of a metropolitan school model and the construction of a school system 'adapted to the needs of Africans' (Gifford & Weiskel, 1978; Gann & Duignam, 1971). However, Hardy's efforts apparently concentrated on the separation of those fit to receive a European type of education drawn from the image of the metropolitan school system and, at the other end, a mass schooling model destined to incorporate the vast majority of the African natives.

In any case, the superposition of different strategies and discourses about the colonial education policy allows us to question the idea, much celebrated by traditional historiography, of a homogeneous and universal type of school curriculum aimed at the transformation of Africans into 'black Frenchmen'. On the contrary, we may perceive that perhaps until the 1930s the policies pursued in the French West Africa territories tried, precisely, to avoid the excessive frenchification of the native population. For that purpose the continuous prevalence of a dual educational system – one for Europeans and assimilated natives and the other aimed at the mass of native population, regardless of the more or less importance given to the traditional authorities – was always a strategic means of controlling the eligibility for cooperation with the colonial administration.⁷ That does not imply, however, the workings of a straightforward imperial ideology of assimilation. As I have tried to show, the building of a school curriculum in French West Africa was very much conditioned by individual strategies and governing styles predicated on the Governor General's interpretations emanated from Paris. Likewise, the discourse on 'adapted education', although inspired by the British colonial south-Saharan Africa experiences, worked more often as a constraint than as a possibility for the majority of natives. It meant, generally speaking, an emphasis on a practical and moral education while downplaying a more scientific curriculum.

Concluding Remarks

Lord Lugard, Governor General of Nigeria (1914–1919) and the great colonial doctrinaire between the two wars, was a forerunner in the comparison of the British and French colonial systems. Lugard knew well the French colonizing doctrines and he maintained close contact with Maurice Delafosse at the head of *École coloniale* (1909–1926) as well

as with his successor, Henri Labouret, with whom he created and directed the *Institut international des langues et civilisations africaines* (London). Lord Lugard cherished the opinion that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the French colonial doctrines had evolved from assimilation to association and that they were approaching the ‘indirect rule’ British policy. On the other hand, Maurice Delafosse had, more than once, contested the idea that ‘indirect rule’ was a prerogative exclusive to the British colonial system:

Il serait plus sage d’observer ce que font les Anglais dans celles de leurs possessions qui sont analogues aux colonies françaises voisines, Gambie, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Gold Coast où la proportion de l’élément européen et de l’élément indigène, de même que le stade d’évolution de ce dernier, se présente approximativement sous le même aspect qu’au Sénégal, en Guinée, en Côte-d’Ivoire et au Soudan. Nous constaterions alors que cette centralisation que d’aucun reproche si fort à la France dans son administration coloniale est aussi accentuée chez nos voisins que chez nous.⁸

The lack of continuity between the idealized discourses and the local practices was, more frequently than one thinks, a fact transversal to any of the colonial empires which have been studied. I should add that, in my opinion, such discrepancies were mainly associated with local or interstate contingencies and constraints (related to historical conditions, geographical locations and concrete political rivalries) rather than to divergences or even ideological antagonisms related to programmes of action (or *scripts* of government) of a national–metropolitan nature. In fact, when we focus on discourses which circulate in the interior of the different colonial contexts, the contingencies of the colonial administration and the ambivalence of the European policies concerning education reveal themselves even more clearly. This suggests that the colonial exercise was ruled by, not rarely, a set of commitments, arrangements and *bricolages*, *scaffoldings*, tending to articulate orientations very often abstract and general, making use of schemes, techniques and informal arrangements of discourse regulation, specifically in the field of education and in the teaching of the natives.⁹

Needless to say, at least until the eve of the First World War, the definition of an education policy in the African colonies was more dependent on the native policies of the colonial powers and on the prevalent views about the natives’ role (and the Europeans) in the colonization process than anything else. As such the educational debates were subordinated to the doctrines that originated in different fields of production (native policy, colonization doctrines, economic exploitation, work force formation, etc.) than the strictly pedagogical or educational fields (theories and philosophies of education, models of schooling, types of curriculum).

Notwithstanding, when we compare the Portuguese and French colonial doctrines we come across the same type of hybridizations which also show at the level of the educational discourses. The construction of a dual educational system, one for the masses and the other for the Europeans and assimilated (or *evolúés*), was a feature characteristic both of the Portuguese and French colonial educational structures. The appropriation of the concept of ‘adapted education’ by the Portuguese and French colonial administration also bears some resemblances since it implied a particular strategy, somehow ambiguous, on the educational system supply-side. For the Portuguese colonial

administration, the concept of 'adapted education' was tied to a restrictive type of curriculum aimed at the masses, with emphasis on agriculture, manual skills and domestic sciences, implying a strong moral character. In this respect, French and Portuguese doctrines converged into an understanding of the type of moral teaching that should be given at the primary school: it involved a secular moral education, based on the principles of the Enlightenment, as opposed to the British understanding of a truly religious social gospel committed to the formation of character which was strongly embedded in the evangelic Protestantism. These two conflicting ways of envisaging the human development through education also had consequences at the colonial level. For the Portuguese and French administration *education* was a right that should be guaranteed to each citizen, a right that committed the State to the provision of an educational free, compulsory and secular school system. To the British colonial administration *education* was a privilege to be privately acquired, making possible to any group, association or institution to come forward with a particular type of educational offer. In the English tradition education was not a given fact; it was a market for individual and collective advancement closely tied with economic and social development.

Therefore, the assimilation in the Portuguese and French civilizing educational doctrine implied an increase in cultural homogeneity and huge standardization, a fact that called forth centralized mechanisms of diffusion and appropriation of school models and pedagogical theories (with clear implications on system organization, curricula, teacher training, funding and administration). Somehow paradoxically, language issues were pivotal in changing the politics of education since the Portuguese and French colonies were taught in the imperial language downplaying the vernaculars as a medium of teaching. The British, on the contrary, were more concerned with the formation of habits, of skills and of a conduct attuned to the formation of a workforce prepared to accept the concepts of individual and collective progress and modernization. As long as the masses could master this understanding, the language of apprenticeship was secondary for that matter. Due to the difficulties of 'governing at a distance' the costs involved in assimilating the Africans to the European metropolitan mores were much higher than in the British colonies where the civilizing task was supervised but had been handed out to the private initiative.

To analyse the field of utilization of these ideas, concepts and theories is not the same as to analyse the set of strategies which are implied in the defence of a particular kind of *Education* for the African people. It is not a question of perceiving which meanings are linked by each colonial nation to the notion of 'direct government' or 'indirect', 'colonization' or 'nationalization' (and, the same way: 'civilization', 'instruction', 'education', 'assimilation', 'association', 'adapted education', 'teaching of adaptation'). The procedures which support the doctrinaire building that constitutes the school system, in articulation with the attempts to maintain or modify the appropriation of the discourses with the knowledge and the power they carry with themselves, are difficult to separate one from the other (Foucault, 1977 [1971]). It becomes, therefore, indispensable to identify and organize the reading of facts which compound these discourses: to locate the debates and to analyse the controversies, to identify the themes and arguments; to describe the structure of the intrigue; and finally, to perceive the constitution of the 'societies of discourses' through ideas, theories and concepts which are used in the colonial government, in a general sense, and their

effects upon the government of the colonized subjects, in particular (Foucault, 1966 and 1969). Nikolas Rose once wrote that the concepts ‘are more important for what they do than for what they mean’ (Rose, 1999: 9). I would like to add, quoting António Nóvoa (1998), that we cannot understand the colonial discourse without being able, ‘to think about the *other* in time of our own thinking’, asking questions about how discursive events about this *other* are produced, and how these statements are related to each other in order to constitute a ‘discursive practice’ (Foucault, 2005 [1969]: 38–39, 68 and 159).

Notes

1. About that we can show some paradigmatic examples, either in France or in Portugal: Jules Ferry, a most bitter assimilator in the metropolis, reviews his position after an inquest which took place in Senegal; Antonio Enes was very critical in relation to the role of the Church in the education, at the end, whilst General Governor of Moçambique goes in defence of an important role for the missionaries in the colonial context; Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo, who defended the persecution of religious orders in the metropolis considered, at the end, their destruction in the colonies appalling, etc.
2. While strategies of power, the principles of government imply in complex and variable relations between the calculations and actions of those who look for exercising the domination over a territory, a population, a nation and a microphysics of power acting at a capillary level among the varied practices of control which develop at the level of a given territory. “To govern at a distance” involves processes of translating different kinds through which associations between the objectives of the authorities which wish to govern and the individual projects of organization, groups and individuals which are subjects to the government are forged. Cf. N. Rose (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 19 and 48.
3. Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchel & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 103.
4. I recall for the purpose the three African conferences: the Conference of Berlin, 1884; the Conference of Brussels, 1891; the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, and later on the Convention of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1919.
5. Cf. Sir Harry H. Johnston (1910). *The Negro in the new world*. New York: Macmillan; in spite of Sir Johnston’s words of praise for the Portuguese about the procedures of colonization used in the African colonization, we shall not forget his position as Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society of London and his diplomatic post as Consul of England in Moçambique (1890), when the British Crown fought with Portugal for the limits of the frontier in the South. In fact, in publications at a later date, Harry Johnston abandoned the diplomatic register even inverting the sense of the praise. See Johnston, H. H. (1924). Race problems in the new Africa. *African Affairs*, 2(4).
6. Cf. Joseph Gaucher (1968). *Les Débuts de l’Enseignement en Afrique Francophone*: Jean Dart et l’École Mutuelle de Saint-Louis du Sénégal, Paris.
7. As Ruth Ginio attempted to show in an article published in *Cahiers d’études africaines*, most of the chiefs who were integrated in the French administrative system were not “traditional” rulers, but were appointed and trained by the French. In fact, only on rare occasions, African chiefs who had ruled before French colonization received the titles of *Chef supérieur* or *Roi*, and were allowed to continue to rule over their territories. Cf. Ginio, R. (2002). French colonial reading of ethnographic research: The case of the “desertion” of the Abron King and its aftermath. *Cahiers d’études africaines*, 166(XLII-2), 337–357.
8. Delafosse, M. (1923). “Politique coloniale. Pour ou contre la décentralisation. L’excès en tout est un défaut”. *Dépêche coloniale*, 1^{er} Août.
9. I refer to the concepts of “*bricolage*” and “scaffolding” in the semantic area attributed respectively by Tomaz Tadeu da Silva and Thomas Popkewitz. Cf. Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (2000). *Teoria Cultural e Educação. Um vocabulário crítico*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, pp. 21–22; Thomas S. Popkewitz (1998). *Struggling for the soul. The politics of schooling and the construction of the teacher*. New York & London: Teachers College/Columbia University, pp. 30–31.

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EDUCATION AND STATE FORMATION IN ITALY

Donatella Palomba

Introduction

In many respects, the evolution of the Italian education system since the Unity of Italy (1861) can be investigated according to an interpretation that is not too far from the one usually adopted in international literature about education and state formation. At a deeper level, however, failing to take adequately into account the distinctive features of Italy's socio-political situation might prevent an understanding of the process itself.

This chapter is intended to make the following point: from its origin in 1861 to very recent years, the Italian State has constantly suffered from a lack of legitimation and full sovereignty, which has strongly affected all its political events and has had a particular influence on the raising of national awareness and the possible role of education therein. Although the reasons for this phenomenon have not always been the same during the time span considered, the full acknowledgement of the legitimacy and sovereignty of the Italian State has been limited for a much longer time (and more severely) than is emphasised, especially in the literature on Italy's education system.

This has brought about a somehow paradoxical situation, marked by a long-standing national feeling on the one hand (suffice it to remember Dante's *invettive* in the *Comedy* or Petrarch's *Canzone all'Italia* in the fourteenth century), and a relatively belated and troubled process of state formation on the other hand, with sovereignty being continuously challenged and apparently never fully achieved. In turn, this has negatively affected the development of a sense of belonging to the new nation state – the weakness of this sense of belonging having often been denounced from the Unity of Italy up until today.

In order to understand the roots of this situation, issues of international policy and international balances need to be considered in the first instance. Upon the unification of Italy, these balances were seriously challenged by the deterioration in the relations with the Pope and the Vatican State. Later on, they played a key role for different reasons, both early in the twentieth century and after the Second World War, to an extent that has probably not been investigated enough yet, especially in terms of education.

During the period from the Unity of Italy to the Second World War, the legitimacy of the Italian State was first challenged by the Pope not recognising the State itself, with all the implications this had both domestically and internationally in the relations with

European Catholic powers. Later on, the Concordat signed by Mussolini's Government and the Holy See (1929) somehow settled this *vulnus*. Very soon, however, the authoritarian nature of the Fascist regime questioned in turn the full recognition of the Italian State's democratic legitimacy vis-à-vis many other countries.

In the years after the end of the Second World War, the newborn Italian Republic had to prove its *bona fide* democratic nature and break with its authoritarian past, on the one hand; on the other hand, its sovereignty – meant as the real possibility of Italy's choosing its own government – was conditional on the geopolitical situation resulting from the Yalta Agreement reached by the victorious powers to set out post-war world balances.

This conditioning had a profound effect on the ways in which democracy evolved in Italy, which needed to re-establish its institutions and, in particular, try and define the features of an education system that was supposed to shape the 'new' democratic citizen, according to guidelines that were particularly complicated by a tangle of domestic and international factors in which both Catholic and communist forces played a crucial role.

Therefore, the deep change in international balances from 1989 onwards had a very strong impact on both the politics and institutions of the Italian State, by restoring greater autonomy while upsetting a reference framework that had lasted for almost five decades. That was the so-called transition to the Second Republic. This transition period is actually still in place and, once again, has profoundly affected the education system too.

This chapter intends therefore to follow two directions: on the one hand, analysing the evolution, structure, and features of Italy's education system according to an interpretation that is similar to that applicable to most other European nation states; on the other hand, constantly refocusing on the distinctiveness of the Italian situation as the key interpretation of this analysis.

The Problematic Framework

The Unity of Italy was achieved – as in other countries – through a process of reunification of areas that had been previously governed by rulers of different dynasties or had been under the direct rule of a foreign government (as was the case with Lombardy and Veneto under the Austrian Empire). In addition, a significant part of the country was under the Vatican State, headed by the Pope.

As a consequence, the Italian State was founded in opposition to the Papal State, by first (1860) annexing most territories that had once belonged to the Pope, except Latium and Rome. About ten years later (in 1870), with the well-known 'Breach of Porta Pia', Italian troops marched into Rome and proclaimed it the capital of the new State, while the Pope retreated into the Vatican enclave. As the years went by, the conflict became less fierce, although it was not until 1929 that the Lateran Pacts signed by the Fascist Government led to mutual recognition, with the birth of the Vatican City State. Nevertheless, this recognition did not completely settle the dispute.

There is a very extensive bibliography of historical and juridical texts on Church–State relations and the 'laicity' of the State (Veneruso, 1972, 2003; Lariccia, 1971) which cannot be dwelt upon here. There is no doubt, however, that education – namely

the school system – was one of the major battlefields in the Church–State conflict, for quite understandable reasons. The notion of the national education system as the primary institution of citizens' education – consequently involving public responsibility – clashed with the Church's view of education as natural right of families which, however, must be enlightened and guided by straight faith: this implies that education institutions to which families must/can entrust their children cannot but be inspired by, and accountable to, the guardian of faith itself, i.e. the Catholic Church.

This conflict was not something peculiar to Italy. The specificity of the situation in Italy was that the very legitimacy of the Italian State – and, consequently, of its educational action – had not been acknowledged by the Church for a long time, because the State had been established by an act of 'aggression' against the Papal State and the Pope himself was both a Head of State and universal religious authority; hence the contrast over education was of major significance.

This aspect, while not being the only criterion to be taken into account for the interpretation of the history of united Italy and of its education system, should however be considered as the background and framework within which events took place, in order to realise the distinctiveness of the situation in Italy, as compared to other countries, at the time of the state formation.

The Birth of the Italian Kingdom and the Casati Law

In the first semester of 1859 a highly surprising event took place in the frame of the European political evolution: Cavour, Prime Minister of a small Italian State, the Kingdom of Sardinia, skilfully took advantage of Paris's mistakes in the evaluation of the Italian situation and of the even greater diplomatic mistakes by Vienna. He thus succeeded in channelling the centuries-old conflict between the two mightiest European states, France and Austria, into a war which would lay the foundations of an Italian Nation State (Ugolini, 2001).

When the two great empires, the Napoleonic and the Asburgic, realised that the only state to take advantage of the war was the Kingdom of Sardinia, they tried – without effect – to stop the fight (Villafranca's armistice), to engage an impossible reverse motion.

In fact Great Britain, trying to prevent at all costs the war from overflowing the Italian theatre and trespassing on European and worldwide territory, adopted Cavour's policy, that is the thesis according to which the establishment of the Italian Kingdom was the price to pay to recover the international equilibrium and thus make up for Paris's and Vienna's incautious and deleterious policy.

So in just two years, in this international context, the unification of Italy was accomplished, bringing about the quick establishment of a 21-million inhabitant new national state.

By February 1861, in Turin, the Italian Parliament started its sessions, in a somewhat gloomy atmosphere for the new State that had to face several serious problems big enough to justify the lack of international confidence in its life expectancy.

The first problem was related to the completion of national unity: still outside the kingdom's boundaries were Veneto and Latium, and above all Rome, considered by acclamation as the new State's capital. But Rome was already the capital of a state, the

Papal State, whose sovereign, Pius IX, also held religious powers of divine origin and with universal jurisdiction.

Thus the second problem was to persuade the Pope-King to split his two powers, temporal and religious, and give up the first one. That problem had already been debated for many years by the international secular and catholic circles. Pius IX's ultimate answer came – unequivocally – when, in the spring of 1860, some former papal territories expressed their will to recognize Vittorio Emanuele II as their own king. The Pope excommunicated the Piedmontese king and all those who made an attempt on his territories; he did not recognize the new State and consequently ordered the Catholics not to take part to the institutional life of the Italian kingdom. This created a deep inner cleavage in the new Nation and, on the international side, made it hard for Catholic States to recognize the Italian State.

This international isolation made it even harder to solve another problem, maybe the gravest for the new ruling class: the financial crisis due to the sum of the seven pre-unitary states' budget deficits. It was evident that Italy had to increase its income internally and cut expenditure: failing to do that would mean losing the newly gained independence.

And then the issue which was perhaps the most important: one State was made out of seven, but there was the need to create those unifying norms (such as laws, weights, and measures) and those infrastructures (such as streets, railways, and postal services) necessary to make the unification real and to make people perceive it as an effective reality. To echo a famous motto, 'once Italy had been created, Italians had to be made', through many complex actions in which education (discussed below) had a role. For a few months, at the beginning of 1861, it was thought to have its politics managed by an administratively decentralized State, but the risks connected to such a hypothesis (catholic opposition, international isolation) forced the ruling class to take a decision to centralise – in an effort to reduce internal strife.

For the preservation of the unity a basic consensus was achieved by all the political forces of the Italian peninsula, the liberal and conservative right wing as well as the democratic and revolutionary left wing. In the first 15 years of its institutional life, owing to such consensus, the Italian State could complete its unification. (In 1866 Veneto was annexed, followed by Rome and Latium in 1870.) It could also achieve the legal, administrative, financial, and transport unification of the country and be recognized by the other states. Notwithstanding such positive outcomes, the problems related to the Catholic opposition and to the structural financial weakness intensified.

After 1870, the Pope was far from acknowledging the loss of his temporal power: he declared himself 'prisoner' in the Vatican, and systematically incited the Catholics not to support the new State's institutions (*Non expedit*),¹ in expectation of a providential restoration of the *status quo ante*. The new State, with its structural weaknesses, just about had the economic strength to support the unity already achieved, but it was not capable of investing enough to create the hoped-for transformation from a rural to an industrial economy.

Any reform in nineteenth-century Italy had to satisfy two main conditions: it had to cost the bare minimum needed, and it had to be able to survive the inevitable Catholic opposition.

Education laws were the first to have to fulfil such conditions. So did the Casati law, enacted by the Piedmontese Government with plenipotentiary powers in November 1859 – at the very beginning of the unification process. The law, comprising 380 articles, fully regulated all parts of the educational system. When it was approved, it was neither enthusiastically welcomed nor explicitly rejected: it was considered as a temporary law for a temporary political situation. Its main purpose was to show the willingness of the Kingdom of Sardinia to meet the requirements of Lombardy, which was then the only new region annexed. Gabrio Casati was the first Milanese in the government and his law was intended, at the moment in which it was passed, only for the Piedmontese and Lombard territories.

Actually, the Casati Law ruled Italian education up to 1923, when, under the Fascist Government, it was replaced by the Gentile Reform. This juridical longevity was due to the fact that after the unification of Italy it was quickly realised that such a law – outlined and brought into force in only four months – responded perfectly to the delicate social and financial equilibriums maturing in the new State after 1861. Gabrio Casati was a conservative Catholic, and he had intended the law to be non-ideological, not too directive of families and communes, and not very expensive for the Treasury. Moreover, his law had the merit of having been accepted by Piedmontese and Lombard Catholics without too many reservations.

Relying on such qualities, the Casati Law was progressively enforced in the whole Italian Kingdom as unification was being achieved. Right from its first enforcement, many scholars and experts of education highlighted its faults and contradictions, but such claims faded whenever it came to suggesting an alternative text, for fear of having to face insurmountable ideological, political, and financial problems.

The law provided for a four-year elementary school, divided into two periods of two years each. Attendance of the first two years was compulsory for all pupils aged between six and eight. After elementary school, different branches of secondary education were established: classical secondary education, divided into a five-year lower cycle (*ginnasio*) and a three-year upper cycle (*liceo*); lower and upper technical education (a three-year technical school followed by a three-year technical institute); and two- or three-year ‘normal’ schools for the training of elementary teachers.

This law – and relevant enforcement regulation, passed in 1860 – set its mark on the very concept of Italy’s education system and established its foundation for many decades. It is therefore proper to dwell upon it in order to highlight the features that are strongly linked to state formation.

The Casati Law was traditionally criticised by Italian education historiography in the second half of the twentieth century for being selective, for providing different branches of education with a clear hierarchy, and for being ‘centralistic’, as it imposed the same system on the whole country, leaving little autonomy to local authorities.

Despite the fact that this criticism, among others, was raised right upon the passing of the law (Semeraro, 1996; Talamo, 1960), one might argue that the emphasis placed on it in the twentieth century suffered from an *a posteriori* interpretation given on the basis of the hottest issues of that period, rather than based on a careful consideration of the context in the mid-nineteenth century.

As regards centralisation, in the situation outlined above, while the country was getting unified with so much resistance and there remained the unsolved problem of the relations with the Pope, it is no wonder that the ruling class, which had bound its destiny to unification, chose to keep a firm central grasp, especially considering that in many regions the Church exerted a strong influence on schools and that a significant part of the teaching staff was made up of clerics, even in public schools.

However, the 'centralist' policy preference met with some hesitation and opposition, not least because the liberal ruling class was in turn quite opposed to a statist view of education (Soldani & Turi, 1993: 18), and, as stated above, had seriously considered a more decentralised approach. Therefore, efforts were made to try and reconcile the different demands. In the covering report of the law itself, the choice was discussed also on a comparative basis. With respect to some European models – the British one, with a very limited state role; the Belgian one, with private and public schools competing; the German one, with the highest degree of state authority over education – Italy chose a 'system of medium liberty, supported by those cautions that keep it into its boundaries and by those guarantees that defend it from manifest and hidden enemies that might spoil it and its fruit' (*Relazione*, 1859, in Talamo, 1960: 73). The reference to the opponents of the new State could not have been clearer.

As to the criticism about the school system structure – with particular regard to the mutual positions of classical and technical education – the (few) views that interpret the Casati Law without forgetting to set it in both a historical and comparative context seem much more convincing.

According to Barbagli:

The most interesting thing – which has instead been neglected by many scholars, all intent to prove the reactionary nature of the Casati Law – is that the education system resulting from that law – if compared to those existing in Europe at that time and those that followed in Italy from 1923 onwards – was relatively open, in that its internal structure was such as to foster relatively high university attendance rates. (Barbagli, 1974: 81)

Barbagli continues the analysis by stressing that there was no internal differentiation in elementary education in terms of schools for pupils willing to pursue their studies and schools for those who did not mean to. Furthermore 'more than at the elementary school level, however, the relative openness of Italy's education system was to be found at the lower or upper secondary education level' (Barbagli, 1974: 82). The opportunities of entering higher education were not exclusively restricted to students coming from academic secondary schools: access to the Faculties of Science and Engineering was possible for pupils coming from the physics and mathematics branch of the *Istituto Tecnico Superiore* (upper secondary technical school) (Barbagli, 1974: 82–83).

In short, one of the distinctive traits of the Casati Law was that no school in the whole education system was conceived as a 'blind alley'. This feature can be understood in relation to the education policy undertaken by the Italian ruling class, which was supposed to ensure the growth of the new State, also from a political standpoint.

If this growth was to be founded on education, it needed to find a practicable way between the need for selection and that for socialization. That meant not restricting participation in the school system too much, in a situation in which schooling was already hindered by socio-economic backwardness, especially in some areas of the country. The main target was therefore the education of the middle classes, through relatively 'open' channels at secondary level, with a view to possibly fostering some social mobility. If the focus on technical education might have been considered inadequate by some of the most advanced productive forces – especially in some regions of northern Italy (Semeraro, 1996) – it was however probably even more than the global economic situation of the country required and allowed for. The model of social control through education adopted by the ruling class clashed with resistance from reactionary groups, while, on the other hand, the social demand for education – especially at the elementary level – was still low, even in the North.

'Our school system resulted, as it were, from the convergence of the education policy undertaken by the Italian ruling class and the difficulties in creating an adequate demand for education among people' (Barbagli, 1974: 99). The relative openness of the education system stemmed from the fact that in a situation of poor attendance, greater selection would have been counterproductive.

The law was quite successful in promoting the education of middle classes: enrolments grew considerably – especially from 1870 onwards – in technical institutes above all. Gradually, during the following 15 years, the concern became that lower classes too be reached in a more direct way, by promoting elementary schooling and, in particular, by enforcing compulsory education, also in order to bridge the gap between school levels.²

In 1874, the new Italian State balanced its budget for the first time. In 1876, when the first left-wing government came to power, one of the first measures adopted was a law (*Legge Coppino*) that aimed to make compulsory schooling as real as possible, providing sanctions for offenders and regulations to facilitate the establishment and maintenance of schools in communes.

The Coppino Law also began to better define the 'formation of citizens' in elementary school syllabi. Rather than a true subject, the Casati Law had envisaged 'readings' on national history – though mainly on the Savoia dynasty's – national geography, and citizens' duties to God, their families, and the country (Santerini, 2001: 19). The Coppino Law, instead, included the *First Notions on the Duties of Men and Citizens* among the subjects taught in elementary school syllabi – this was particularly meaningful, considering that the law equally abolished the compulsory teaching of religion in elementary schools.

Then, the last two decades of the nineteenth century were marked by a much greater emphasis on the formation of citizens in elementary school. This topic was included in the 1888 curricula – inspired by educational and pedagogical positivism – which had been developed by Aristide Gabelli, a renowned educationalist (Santerini, 2001). The need for education as 'national pedagogy' was even further emphasised in the curricula designed in 1894 by Baccelli, which criticised those of 1888 in that they had focused too much on knowledge content and not enough on general education (Ascenzi, 2004: 98 onwards). The strengthening of 'national pedagogy' certainly responded to the need

to ‘provide new and greater legitimation to the political class that had achieved unification’, at a time when socialist and Catholic opposition was growing; elementary education was thought to be the best channel for this legitimation, as emphasised by Minister Baccelli himself (Ascenzi, 2004: 113).

In that context, the call to ‘make Italians’, usually credited to Massimo d’Azeglio, was revived. The famous sentence ‘We have made Italy, now we must make Italians’ was not proclaimed as such by d’Azeglio; instead, it was pronounced in 1896 by Ferdinando Martini, former Minister of Education, who recalled and emphasised a different expression by Massimo d’Azeglio himself³ (Soldani & Turi, 1993: 17). Regardless of the philological dispute, this episode confirms that the issue of the role of education in the formation of citizens had become crucial.

Under Giolitti’s governments (1903–1914), the State budget was more under control, and opposition became less fierce between most liberal forces and a significant portion of Catholic ones; this allowed major changes to be introduced in school structures. In 1904, the Orlando Law raised the compulsory age to 12 years, among a set of measures intended to widen social participation in education.

In 1911, the Daneo-Credaro Law shifted responsibility for elementary education from communes – where Catholic influence had been very strong in many cases – to the State. Due to Catholic opposition, the measure was only enforced in those communes that were not provincial capitals. The law also included further measures for popular education.

Therefore, on the eve of the First World War, the relative easing of tension with Catholics (the *non expedit*, in particular, had become less strict) and the better economic situation led to greater emphasis being placed on the development of the education system at the lower levels. The opportunity of introducing a more comprehensive structure at lower secondary level began to be considered. On the other hand, in the same decades, the rapid growth in secondary-school-attendance rates caused problems in terms of jobs available for school-leavers and also in terms of education quality – as argued by many contemporary politicians and intellectuals. As a consequence, the introduction of measures to restrict the number of secondary school pupils began to be discussed and was supported by non-conservatives as well (Canestri & Ricuperati, 1976; Semeraro, 1996). Idealist philosopher Giovanni Gentile recalled this controversy and these positions when he was called to serve as the Minister of Education after the rise of Fascism and worked out provisions to reform the education system.

The *Riforma Gentile*

The so-called Gentile Reform revised the education system as a whole, reorganising its central and local administration with a significant reduction of the number of bodies involved, and introduced several provisions covering virtually all key aspects of Italy’s education system.⁴

With regard to the school system structure, the reform designed a system whereby, after a five-year elementary school cycle, a differentiated structure was provided.

Compulsory education was raised to 14 years of age, and a dead-end channel was created: the so-called complementary school (*scuola complementare*), lasting three years, for pupils who did not mean to pursue their studies. Classical education kept its structure: a five-year lower cycle (*ginnasio*) and a three-year upper cycle (*liceo*). In addition, a science branch was created: the *liceo scientifico*.⁵ Technical education was supplied by technical institutes, while ‘normal schools’ were changed into elementary teacher-training schools (*istituti magistrali*). A *liceo femminile* (girls’ upper secondary school) was also created: it did not make pupils eligible for higher education and was meant (among other things) to divert a significant number of girls’ enrolments from teacher-training schools, thus depleting the supply of female teachers.

Consistently with Gentile’s philosophical approach, the school system was founded on the pre-eminence of philosophical and classical studies, namely philosophy. Nevertheless, at lower levels, where the ‘light’ of philosophy could not shine, religion recovered its educational role; hence, in elementary schools, ‘the teaching of Christian doctrine according to the catholic tradition was considered as the foundation and crowning of all degrees of elementary education’ (Royal Decree 1923, Article 3).

Therefore, the Gentile Reform changed the school system – and the socialisation and selection approach adopted until then – not least in connection with the concerns voiced by many politicians and intellectuals in previous years. Secondary school enrolment was to be reduced, in order to safeguard the quality of education and to better match the labour market demand. On the other hand, however, driving too many pupils out of the school system prematurely would have caused a problem of lack of socialisation – a big risk, indeed, at a time when the new regime was just starting to establish itself. The matter, therefore, was not so much reducing the global number of pupils as reducing it in ‘open’ channels. That was the aim of creating a dead-end school after the elementary cycle – a solution that the Casati Law had never envisaged. Three-year complementary schools were supposed to be the backbone of education for the people: designed for the ‘humble citizen’ (*il modesto cittadino*) (Canestri & Recuperati, 1976: 141) and ideally meant to provide ‘education for all’, if compulsory schooling until the age of 14 had been complied with.

If this aspect can be interpreted in the light of the openness/closeness issue described above, the reform action as a whole is a complex interpretation problem (Canestri, 1983) which cannot be addressed here as it should. The complexity of interpretation stems from a tangle of elements. On the one hand, the historical context referred to – i.e. the early years of Fascism (before the notorious murder of Matteotti, in 1925, marked its transformation into a ‘regime’) – was a transition period with elements of continuity as well as of rupture, with the previous situation having an influence on the government’s action. On the other hand, Gentile was a philosopher and intellectual with a complex personality (Coli, 2004) holding an ideal and conceptual view of Fascism and of the role of education, which was not necessarily in tune with practical policymaking needs.

Therefore, the *Riforma Gentile*, defined by Mussolini as ‘the most fascist of reforms’, was actually an object of appreciation and criticism that cannot be identified and linked with any clear-cut political groups.

It was certainly an elitist selective reform and, as such, was criticised by socially committed groups. In Gentile’s philosophical and intellectual view, however, the elite

had to be strictly selected according to its merits: this was something that disappointed bourgeois middle classes, whose approval was instead sought after by Fascism. On the other hand, the idea of an essentially humanistic elite culture was a cause of concern to emerging industrialists, while Catholics – who were satisfied with some aspects of the reform, like the compulsory teaching of Catholic religion in elementary schools – could not agree to the idealistic secular framework of Gentile's Reform as a whole. One should be reminded that the reform had been designed in cooperation with first-class intellectuals, representatives of a culture that was far from reactionary (including Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, who had drawn up the 1923 elementary school curricula⁶).

The discontent coming also from sectors of public opinion that the Government wished instead to please led to the so-called policy of readjustments carried on by the successors of Gentile (who left his post as a minister in the middle of 1924). Gentile himself referred to this policy as a form of 'betrayal', especially with regard to some provisions aimed at lessening the selectivity and strictness of education.

Measures were adopted to reform 'dead-end' schools, which had been completely unsuccessful in attracting enrolments. As a result, between 1929 and 1931, the lower secondary education cycle was reorganised by creating the so-called *scuole di avviamento al lavoro* (schools preparing for work) to replace complementary schools, thus reintroducing at least the opportunity for pupils to be made eligible for technical institutes and teacher-training schools.

The Fascist 'Regeneration'

In Gentile's vision, linked to the Ethical State and to an education conceived as a philosophy of spirit, the connection between the educational system and the State, is undoubtedly very strong, as having an authoritarian impact on all aspects of school life. In this light, Mussolini's definition as 'the most Fascist of reforms' is perhaps well grounded. On the other hand, however, the development of the system as it had been conceived by Gentile clashed with the political need to maintain the consensus of the different social strata (Canestri & Ricuperati, 1976: 142), and was, in some respects, inadequate to bring about an in-depth educational 'Fascistisation', which was subsequently achieved through different routes, not limited to school.

Numerous measures were adopted to this end by the various ministers who followed Gentile. Suffice it to mention the establishment of *Opera Nazionale Balilla*, a youth organization aimed at controlling physical education in schools, which, in 1929, came directly under the authority of the National Education Ministry (*Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale*); the adoption, again in 1929, of the State Common Text (*Testo Unico di Stato*) for elementary schools, followed, in the 1930s, by deep changes in curricula and in many aspects of school life, for the purpose of a 'Fascist regeneration of schools' (Pazzaglia & Sani, 2001).

In 1929 the signing of the Lateran Pacts brought about the recognition of the Italian State by the Holy See with a 70 years' delay, and the establishment of the Vatican City State. The Pacts mark a crucial phase in Italian history, their importance going beyond the Fascist era. Despite strong opposition, they would in fact be subsequently included

in the Constitution of the new Italian Republic which came into force in 1948, and be replaced by a new treaty as recently as 1984.

The delicate *quid pro quo* at the basis of the Pacts has been made the object of several studies and has been differently interpreted, especially with reference to the new balance of powers established between the State and the Church (Spadolini, 1967; Margiotta Broglio, 1969). Undoubtedly, the State did make several concessions: with reference to education, Catholic religion was recognised to be the ‘foundation and crowning’ no longer of elementary school alone, but of the entire school system. On the other hand, at the same time the State was forcibly indoctrinating pupils (to the point of speaking of ‘Fascist Mystics’ in education). Hence, education of the young came to be once again the setting for a confrontation for control over citizen formation, including outside the school, as, for instance, in the field of youth association movements (Jemolo, 1955).

Considerable concessions had therefore been made to obtain the recognition of the State by the Holy See, which also meant getting rid of that delegitimization which had had such a strong impact on Italian political life. Paradoxically, a guarantee of the fact that these concessions would not imply that the State would entirely surrender its prerogatives came precisely from its authoritarian character – although this very nature would impact on the democratic legitimisation of the State itself.

A deeper analysis than the one that can be done here would look at the *Carta della Scuola*, presented by Giuseppe Bottai, who had become Minister of Education in 1936. As it was intended to be ‘the document of the full Fascist maturity in the political/programmatic approach to the relationship between economy, work, society and education’ (Bertoni Jovine, 1958: 364), a careful examination would allow to better understand the general concept of the relation of education and society in the last period of the Fascist regime. However, it remained mostly unimplemented, owing to wartime and then to the fall of Fascism itself, except for a measure which was relevant in itself and for its future developments, i.e. the law, passed in 1940, that unified the lower courses of the secondary schools (*ginnasio*, technical schools and teacher-training schools), leaving out vocational and artisan courses (the latter not leading to any further study).

After the Second World War

Following the end of the Second World War, the reconstruction of the defeated Italian nation had to go well beyond merely making good the material devastation: it had to face once again, in a sense, the issue of state formation.

As a result of the referendum of 2 June 1946 Italy abolished monarchy in favour of the Republic. The years which immediately followed the Second World War were marked by a unitary approach to reconstruction, with a government that saw the participation of all the anti-Fascist forces which, together, after long and complex discussions, drafted the new Republic’s Constitution, which came into force on 1 January 1948. The Constitution fully took into account the need to counterbalance forces that could cause the country to revert to the past, both recent and distant. On that need for ‘countering’,

the necessary agreement had been reached among forces which were deeply different and even opposed owing to their ideological background, political structure, and social representativeness, i.e. Catholic forces, liberal ones, and those influenced by Marxism.

Soon enough, though, a number of factors, the most important being the worsening of the international scenario, led to the break-up of this unity. This was replaced by a situation whereby more than the endorsement of the national spirit, what prevailed were those which have been defined as 'separate belongings' (Scoppola, 1993: 32), i.e. allegiances to the political and ideological forces mentioned above, which in turn referred to different supranational forces, in a world which was about to split.

A decisive event was the first general elections, which were held in 1948. The victory of left-wing forces would have strongly unbalanced international equilibria as they had come out of the agreements negotiated by the victorious powers. However, even after the moderate block dominated by the Christian Democrats prevailed, the revolutionary perspective was still the main scenario for the left-wing forces influenced by Marxism, preventing them from fully endorsing 'normal' reformist policies.

On the other hand, the Catholics were for the first time fully taking part in Italian political life and, while recognising the State, they could not but be influenced by their past history, both in their relations within Italy and with the Vatican State. The difficulties encountered in building up a national identity were compounded by the 'very high price paid for the *Questione Romana*' and the *non expedit* (Scoppola, 1993: 27; Rusconi, 1993).

The majority of Italian citizens' ideal allegiance to one or the other of the forces that presented themselves as two largely universal 'churches' made it even more difficult to build an ethically grounded, albeit non-nationalistic, sense of nation. The prospect of an agreement between the two, if any, existed on a different plane. As recently as the 1970s, when precisely such an agreement appeared to be feasible, the scenario envisaged by at least some of its major protagonists 'was not to obtain a physiological dialectic in Italian democracy, between forces homologated within the system, but, on the contrary, that of building a new society resulting from the encounter between two worlds, the Catholic and the Communist ones' (Scoppola, 1997: 393).

However, what weighed more heavily in the development of Italian democracy, nailing some way or another citizens to their separate allegiances, was the impossibility of alternate government, which has made Italian democracy a 'stalled democracy'.

In fact, with the Yalta agreements in 1945, Italy found itself belonging to the Western bloc, while having at the same time a powerful Communist party – the strongest in the West – which, however, had no real chances to come to power and create a turnover in the government.

Hence, while the country strived to resume its position on the international scene (Italy joined the United Nations in 1955), its sovereignty was hampered by the impossibility of an alternative government, which affected the very nature of democracy.

With the passing of the years, at the beginning of the 1960s, the governing majority was expanded to include the Socialist party; but this did not extend to the entire left. In the mid-1970s the so-called historic compromise between Catholic and left-wing forces was explored, and went as far as granting 'external support' by the Communist Party (PCI) to the government, but the hypothesis of a more direct involvement of

the Communists was not realized. Notwithstanding the consolidated presence of PCI in local governments, the further step of full participation in the government of the country seemed to be still impossible. As, however, a partly cooperative dynamic existed, there came to be a peculiar situation of ‘consociate democracy’ as it has been sometimes called, in which many agreements could be found, but with no realistic perspective of an alternation in government.

This allowed the country to be governed without forcing those international equilibriums that had proved themselves inviolable, but was obviously negative for democratic dialectic. The majority forces did not fear to be unsaddled and be passed on to the opposition; the opposition, in turn, was not actually asked to elaborate a realistic and organic alternative policy at national level. A possibility of alternation was only envisageable when the post-war equilibria changed, as late as the end of the 1980s. Amongst the many consequences of this manifestly distorted situation, many important ones concerned education.

The Role of Education

Immediately after the armistice (1943), the crucial role to be played by education in the reconstruction of the country called the attention and the action of the Allied Control Commission, which, however, never pushed its action too far. Namely, Carleton Washburne committed himself, involving Italian educationalists as well, to the elaboration of curricula for primary school (adopted in 1945) which were based on the notion of a democratic formation of citizens. Later on, at the time of the drafting of the Constitution, the school was assigned a relevant role, but debate in the Constituent Assembly mainly focused on the space that the new Republic should grant to private schools, which in Italy were almost exclusively Catholic. Once again the educational issue revolved around the relations between the State and the Church. After a complex debate (Palomba, 1985; Ambrosoli, 1982) an agreement was reached whereby private citizens and bodies were free to establish schools, but with no right to State aid. ‘Organizations and private citizens are entitled to found schools and educational institutions, with no charges for the State’ (Article 33 of the Italian Constitution).

After the task of the Constituent Assembly was completed, for almost a decade left-wing opposition parties did not include education among their political priorities (Canestri & Ricuperati, 1976; Semeraro, 1996; Ventura, 1998). In the 1950s in Italy schools were under the control of the majority party, the Christian Democrats, whose ministers managed them without introducing significant reforms, but rather through constant administrative actions (so-called *leggine*, i.e. by-laws) which aimed at maintaining a certain balance, ensuring control over state schools while granting private ones all the space that could be allowed in compliance with the Constitution.

In that period, the school system developed rapidly. In the decade 1951–1961, the number of students and the rate of participation in lower and upper secondary schools doubled. The growth, notwithstanding all its imbalances, corresponded to a moment of intense and quick development, where the quantitative extension itself brought about an enlargement of the social participation to education, thus showing also a qualitative

improvement. After a period of 15 years, however, the need to plan the development according to a socially more adequate model raised the problem of a more advanced reformism, following the international trend at the beginning of the 1960s.

It was the moment of the so-called left turn, which brought about, in December 1963, the first government including the Socialist Party. The entry of the Socialists in the institutions softened the contrast between the representativeness of the institutions themselves and social reality, while still fully respecting the basic features of the system, that is of a State of liberal structure dealing with the social ethics of a large part of the Catholic forces, and without any direct participation of the Communist party to the government.

This shift from a static situation to a more dynamic period of discussion and debate involved many fields – including education – in a ‘reformist’ perspective. This project, however, never quite succeeded in coming into being (CENSIS, 1970).

One of the greater obstacles to the development of authentic reformist action was undoubtedly the difficulty in interpreting univocally the concept of reform itself. In the 1960s and 1970s the ‘meliorist’ hypothesis intertwined with structural reform ones, which were aimed at radical transformations of the system, in order to overcome the bourgeois nature of the State and of its social provisions. So, even if the ‘revolutionary’ perspective as such was no longer on the agenda of the left-wing forces, it was replaced by the call for ‘structural reforms’, which were often burdened ideologically with revolutionary meanings and intentions.

In terms of the political proposals and the cultural orientation of left-wing parties, this translated into a framework of reference in which on the one hand the importance of education for greater social justice emerged, and on the other hand the forms in which education presented itself were rejected. In this perspective, the education reform was seen as a ‘tool to put an end to the class organisation of the existing school’ (Ventura, 1998: 193), and school itself as ‘the major battlefield for a different social and economic development’, as it was stated in an article published in 1972 by *L’Unità*, the official newspaper of the Italian Communist Party (quoted in Chiosso, 1977: 75).

The refusal to recognise the democratic legitimacy of any differentiation – seen as the cause and effect of class-based discrimination – was one of the main reasons for the emergence of the myth of a ‘unified school’, the ‘Holy Grail of the left’ (Polesel, 2006: 550), which affected not only the far left, but also many intellectuals and educationalists, who came to share, for different reasons, the ‘comprehensive approach’, intended, in most cases, as a total lack of diversification.

As is known, the role of education in society was one of the key topics in the sociological debate of those years. As pointed out by Benadusi (1984), a positive image of the social role of education – shared by some sociologists who may be labelled as liberal-functionalist, even if from different (progressive or conservative) perspectives – confronted the image of education upheld by those who emphasised that it was an ideological State apparatus (Althusser) and a tool to reproduce the structures and values of capitalist society (Bourdieu), thus denying the meaningfulness and effectiveness of any reform ‘within the system’. However, amongst those who shared a positive view of education from a ‘progressive’ point of view, the positive attitude was not so much towards the present role of the school, but rather on the ‘school-that-could-be’

(Benadusi, 1984: XI). The debate was very lively in Italy, and was not without influence in the actual policy adopted. In a context in which gradual reformism had very few champions, it ended up merging in the demand for global or ‘structural’ reforms of most non-conservative intellectuals and scholars.

With regard to lower secondary education, a political agreement was reached, which led in December 1962⁷ to the passing of a law that, while confirming the constitutional obligation of an eight-year compulsory school, unified the old academically oriented lower secondary schools with the vocationally oriented *scuole di avviamento al lavoro*.

Scuola media unica (unified lower secondary school) was a fully comprehensive structure, whose purpose was to deliver the common basic education required for every citizen, whether willing to continue studying or not. Throughout the years, this ‘comprehensiveness’ was further improved by doing away with some residual optional elements which could suggest the possibility of a choice or selection: namely, Latin courses in the third year, upon which admission to *liceo classico*⁸ was conditional.

Once the reform passed, it seemed natural to start reorganising upper secondary education as well. However, despite the significant number of bills submitted, several decades were not enough to implement a consistent policy at upper secondary level.

These difficulties show the weakening of social consensus when moving up from basic education. The consensus on some basic elements of ‘education for all’ had developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, almost as a ‘social pact’ on what the basic formation of citizens needed to be. In a way, it could be said, that it was the educational implication of the recognition of human, social, and political rights. As discussed above, the appropriateness of a less differentiated lower secondary education system had been debated in Italy since the early twentieth century. Later on, in 1940, a provision – although a partial one – to unify the system was passed by Giuseppe Bottai. Hence, the ground had already been prepared. Unification at the compulsory level had gained a large and solid social consensus, and the change suggested responded to the actual political and cultural level as well as to the socio-economic development of the country, while also meeting the solidaristic approach shared by the major forces.

A further proof that it was possible to find some agreement in order to implement measures concerning the basic levels of education, even on sensitive points, was the creation of a pre-primary State school in 1968, after memorable fights in Parliament.⁹ In fact, until that moment the presence of the State was missing at that educational level, while private religious institutions were largely present, together with a less widespread presence of local authorities. The growth of the public presence was gradual but not slow, promoting a significant improvement and in the end a generalisation of the participation rate (CENSIS). These data concerning childhood education – a subject so rich in cultural and emotional significance – reveal the transformation of Italian habits, attitudes, and behaviours that went together with the social and economic transformations in the second half of the twentieth century.

Conflict arises when dealing with the ways of differentiation within society, the articulation of social classes and types of work, and therefore the corresponding education articulation at the secondary level. In the 1960s and 1970s, the correspondence of the school structure to a social stratification was questioned. There were criticisms

of the sharp differentiations between *licei*, technical institutes, vocational institutes, and teacher-training schools, that were still, basically, the same of the Gentile reform (the ‘organ-pipes chart’). However, notwithstanding the great number of bills proposed, the attempt of putting in place a different structure of the secondary school did not succeed.

Agreement was found in the fact that the situation was unsatisfactory, but the only shared answer to the rising criticism was to abolish some of the existing bonds, virtually without adopting ‘positive’ measures other than experimental ones. This policy was intended to be temporary, but, as the lack of agreement persisted, it was actually long-lasting and brought about profound changes in the secondary school and the university.

In 1969, three separate measures were adopted, which, taken together, caused the abolition of the regulatory framework that previously conditioned the students’ educational future according to the choices made after the years of compulsory school. Such measures included: (a) the so-called liberalisation of access to university, according to which it was possible to enrol at all university faculties, for those who had completed a five-year secondary school, irrespective of the kind of school they had followed¹⁰; (b) the law modifying the procedure for the secondary-school-leaving-examination, extending the qualification of ‘maturità’ to all the secondary school final examinations¹¹; and (c) the law introducing in vocational institutes – until then not considered as proper secondary schools – some experimental courses intended to allow students to get a five-year diploma, called ‘maturità’ as well,¹² therefore allowing them university access.

All this brought a profound transformation of secondary education. The three measures taken together led to a substantial equivalence between the different study courses, in terms of further educational opportunities, duration of the course and value of the final diploma, thus transforming the prospects resulting from the attendance of a given school, even without a reform of its articulation and contents. It can be observed that, in a way, these measures brought to the highest point the trend towards the abolition of dead-end courses in the school system – with the ensuing effect of de-professionalisation of the system itself – that had periodically been adopted in the history of Italian education policy. As was the case before, it was possible to detect in this action the double intent to meet the aspirations for sociocultural mobility of middle and working classes and to provide ways to absorb jobless secondary-school-leavers.

Admittedly, these were intended to be temporary choices, a ‘breach’ in the old school system, not meant to last. However, the egalitarian frame was desired, and was intended to indicate the direction to be followed to build a new school: but a positive consensus on this issue was not found – and is still hard to find.

However, even if an ‘organic’ reform of the upper secondary school was not achieved, innovation, sometimes relevant, was introduced through several partial measures. To quote a perceptive comment by a non-Italian author, ‘the political landscape of Italy is such that developments at the margin are often the only kind which can be effected, and, therefore, such changes are often of a significance which may surprise the foreign observer’ (Polesel, 2006: 552).

A relevant role has been played by experimental courses that the schools were allowed to create following a law passed in 1974. At the upper secondary level, these

courses offered an opportunity to concretely test many of the emerging reform hypotheses. Actually they have represented permanent innovative features adopted by the schools rather than ‘experimentations’.

In the ensuing years their number had grown, also due to rules that were passed in favour of school autonomy. Consequently, in an essentially unaltered structural framework, many initiatives have been blossoming from individual schools (OCSE-MPI, 1983).

In a later period, there was an attempt at the central level to ‘promote a systemic innovation in a whole cycle of post-compulsory education, even without a legislative framework of reference’ (Niceforo, 1990: 47). An *ad hoc* committee (*Commissione Brocca*, after the name of its President) was established in 1989, with the task of elaborating and proposing new curricula for the first two years of post-compulsory education, aimed at the creation of more flexible learning paths in classical as well as in technical schools. It was once again the administrative way of promoting and managing innovation – and it ended up, if not in a ‘systemic’ change, in more innovative ‘experimental’ courses being permanently included in the system.

Besides the thorny question of upper secondary school, however, in the decades here considered several provisions were adopted about different aspects of the school system. One of the main principles inspiring the action was still the egalitarian principle, together with a strong trend towards participation at all levels. To this overall inspiring *motif* corresponded several measures, from the integration of the handicapped in ordinary schooling to the adoption of new evaluation procedures,¹³ from the liberalization of the university entrance to the enlargement of social participation in the school government.¹⁴

Most of the measures did meet highly sensitive problems. Their main limit lay in the fact that, if on the one hand they addressed concrete questions, on the other, very often they were once again implicitly referring to a school-that-could-be, in a society still-to-be-built, thereby implying a global reform of the educational system which by then was clearly not very realistic. No wonder then if in the end they turned out to be disappointing and fragmentary, being the result of a combination of radical spurs from the bottom and a lack of clear political decisions (Benadusi, 1989).

Still, it has to be considered that, in the Italian context of the 1970s, the illusion – the utopia – of ‘another possible world’ lingered on, sometimes influencing the institutional policies and generating, in some dramatic moments, subversive hypotheses, which fortunately in the end were always belied by facts. Education has to be seen against this background.

Italy After 1989

In more recent times, the egalitarian approach, tied to a radical idea of education and oriented to ‘another-possible-world’, was deeply affected by the changes that took place in the 1980s and most of all in the last two decades. During this period, in Italy as elsewhere the keywords have been quality in education and a need for an external evaluation of the effectiveness of education and training, in the context of a European and an international setting which was very demanding in terms of efficiency and competitiveness.

To fully understand the nature and the meaning of the change the Italian society and education had to face, we need once more to go back to consider certain Italian peculiarities in the rapidly evolving international context, particularly regarding the consequences of the fall of communism.

Italy was much more affected by the fall of the Berlin Wall than most of the other western countries; the end of bipolarism shattered its delicate equilibrium of 'frontier' country, which was heavily conditioned in its democratic dialectic. As Lepre noted, 'Italy had been a borderland between the two systems, and at the same time it had been internally cut across by the border itself' (Lepre, 1993: 21).

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union put an end to this situation; it was said that the post-war period was definitively over. Thus Italy had to re-arrange its political-institutional dynamics according to a radically changed context, where the composition of the governments did not necessarily have to be predetermined.

The first part of the 1990s saw a great turmoil in political life. On the one hand, there was the redefinition of the name and programmes of the Communist Party (PCI): it became Partito Democratico della Sinistra (PDS) in 1990 and then Democratici di Sinistra (DS), paying for these shifts with a split on its left, which gave birth to *Rifondazione Comunista* – Communist Refounding Party. On the other hand, there was a fall of those parties that had governed Italy for almost 50 years, above all Christian Democracy and the Socialist Party. The ruling elite of these latter parties was overwhelmed by the corruption scandals linked to political financing but the deep roots of the turmoil are to be found in the crisis of the equilibrium that had run Europe and the world from Yalta on, where Italy, borderland between two blocs, was one of the keystones.

It was necessary to redefine almost everything. Amongst other things, the electoral system was changed, giving way to the so-called second republic. Also, the proportional system was abandoned, to adopt a mechanism close to the majority system, based on two main coalitions, even though it allows the presence of different parties within each alliance.

The fall of the former leading parties seemed to open the way to the left-wing ones, legitimated at last. Actually, the period of waiting was longer than it was expected, as a newly founded moderate party, Forza Italia, came unexpectedly to fill the gap left by the recent changes, and won the general elections of 1994, in alliance with other forces. Yet in a short time the coalition split up, giving way to a 'technical government', and the left-wing coalition assumed power with the elections of 1996.

This coalition completed its five years of government, despite the many difficulties and the changing of several prime ministers. In 2001 the right-wing coalition won again; in 2006 the Left came back into power. Italy seemed to have eventually found its way to alternation in government.

However, the transformation of the political forces is still going on. New aggregations and new coalition parties, both Left and Right, are constantly being formed.

Concerning school policies, some relevant points can be pinpointed. The most important one is the renewed need for a wide action of reform, maybe not to build a new society as before, but because it is felt that such a changed society needs to reorganise many of its aspects, including education. Therefore, some reformist features can be discerned, not aiming to bring about a less violent revolution, but trying to fulfil the need to reorganise the educational system to face a changed and continuously evolving society.

The need for major changes in the education system has been invoked virtually everywhere in the last years. The point about Italy is that the country is once again at a crucial moment of state formation. From this perspective, the question of the ‘formation of the citizen’ comes up again, with all the difficulties stemming from the previous and the recent history.

In this dynamic, the European unification plays a most relevant role. ‘Conforming to Europe’ becomes a sort of password. The reference to Europe is used as a strong argument to support reformist measures that are felt to be necessary but which jeopardised well-established equilibriums. ‘Europe’ therefore can help to find a common framework of reference, inside which the ‘new’ Italian identity can take shape.

The Italian School System in the Last Decade

In 1996, for the first time a left-wing coalition came to power that included the Democratic Left Party (*Partito democratico della Sinistra*, born from the transformation of the Communist Party) and with the external support of the Communist Refounding Party. The Minister of Education, Luigi Berlinguer, symbolised this change. He is the cousin of Enrico, who was the Secretary of the Communist Party in the crucial 1970s.

Luigi Berlinguer undertook great interventions in every aspect of the educational system, from school to university, from teachers’ training to the Ministry’s structure, from the relations between public and private schools—which came at last to a legislative regulation after more than 50 years from the Constitution—to ‘maturità’ examination, from school autonomy to the territorial reorganisation, and the reform of regional institutes for educational research (Niceforo, 2001; Berlinguer, 2001). Most measures were implemented; some of them remained in force, even, if with some modifications, during the years in which the political Right governed, while others were abrogated.

What the left-wing did not succeed to implement was a real reform of the school structure. The law for school reform (Law n.30, February 2000) was approved on the eve of the termination of the legislature’s terms of office. During the electoral campaign the opposition explicitly promised that in case of victory they would first abrogate that law and propose a new and different reform. And so it happened. In spring 2001 the right-wing won the elections, the law’s application was immediately suspended and two years later (April 2003) the new government approved a delega-law¹⁵ to rearrange the whole school and training system, whose first decrees, concerning compulsory school, were approved in the first months of 2004, while the decrees concerning secondary school were passed in 2005. But these measures in turn did not enjoy a long life, being suspended by a Ministerial Decree of the new left-wing government in May 2006.

The present situation is therefore complex, and not easy to describe, as the concrete school reality is an inextricable interlacing and overlapping of measures kept but modified, cancelled reforms, new reforms, some already approved and gradually coming into force, others still to be defined in detail – all this of course interacting with the pre-existing general features of the system.¹⁶ Irrespective of any judgement about the content of the proposed measures, this process clashes with the typical difficulties of a

substantial reformist action, having to deal with many previous situations, overlapping sets of rules and well-established interests, all problems that, to be overcome, need at the same time decision, consensus-building, political will, and competence.

But above all, the dynamics that have been described show how, in the alternation, the ‘separate belongings’ are still strong, or, to be more accurate, are felt and perceived as such. Especially the first leftist government was tempted to use structural reforms in such a harsh way that it recalled the revolutionary spirit of the previous decades, in method if not in content, reforming at the same time all the sectors of the educational system with what has been called a sort of Jacobin approach. Then, as described just above, each further change in government produced an allegedly global upheaval. Actually, the contents of the different measures are far less distant than declared (once again the most difficult issue being upper secondary school) – but still the idea that the alternation is not so much between two ‘homologated forces within the system’ as between different – perhaps even mutually exclusive – conceptions of society is still alive. At least it still cannot be denied altogether even by the most realistic of political forces, which cannot disregard the lingering of attitudes shaped in so many years of ‘stalled democracy’.

More than anything else, this shows the determining influence that Italy’s peculiar position between the two blocs has had over the Italian political and institutional life, and it is curious to see how the awareness of this influence is lacking in most international and comparative studies on education. Yet one of the last walls between ‘east’ and ‘west’ fell 15 years after the Berlin Wall; it was the wall that until recently divided Gorizia, in Italy, from Nova Gorica, in Slovenia. Only the entry of Slovenia in the EU allowed this wall to fall, while still keeping the division of the city in two different states. This can symbolically represent the particular relevance for our country – not always fully perceived – of the transformation of the international set-up.

Notes

1. Decree by which the Holy See on 10 September 1874 gave a negative answer about the possible participation of Italian Catholics in the elections and in general in the political life of the State. The prohibition was attenuated in 1905, and abolished in 1919.
2. The gap was such that in 1866, Cesare Correnti denounced Italy’s ‘unusual record’ in terms of number of secondary schools and students compared to other countries, while it ranked last in terms of number of popular and primary schools, despite its highest rate of increase in the demand for these schools (Barbagli, 1974: 69).
3. The original text of *I Miei Ricordi* by Massimo d’Azeglio was only brought back to light in the years after the Second World War. That historical and philological episode cannot be dwelt upon herein, but see Soldani and Turi (1993: 17) with particular reference to the sentence quoted above.
4. Rather than one text, it was actually a set of provisions – passed between the end of 1922 and the middle of 1924 – which, however, responded to a consistent design and are usually considered as a whole as the ‘Gentile’s Reform’. The reform is normally dated 1923, the year when most of its provisions were passed.
5. Upper secondary school with an emphasis on science subjects.
6. When the Fascist regime showed its nature more clearly, however, many intellectuals who had first supported it moved away from it – like Lombardo Radice himself.
7. Law 31.XII.1962, n.1859.
8. Law 16.VI.1977, n.348. ‘Liceo classico’: upper secondary school with an emphasis on humanities.
9. Law 18.IV.1968, n.444.

10. Law 11.XII.1969, n.910.
11. Law 5.IV.1969, n.119.
12. Law 27.X.1969, n.754.
13. Law 4.X.1977, n.517.
14. DPR 31.V.1974, n.416.
15. A delega-law is a law that defines the general criteria, delegating the government to emanate specific measures for their practical application.
16. In this situation, it does not seem worthwhile to try giving a description of the system at the moment of writing, which would certainly be more than obsolete when the text will be published. The best reference is to Eurydice data, especially the accurate and frequently updated National Summary sheets.

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SOCIAL CHANGE AND CONFIGURATIONS OF RHETORIC: SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION–INCLUSION IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN CONTEMPORARY SPAIN

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History and Politics in the Educational Policy Formation of Contemporary Spain

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Spanish education experienced a full historical cycle closely related to the profound political change that the country experienced during that period of time. The 1970s witnessed the decline and definitive disappearance of the General Franco dictatorship. Immediately after his death in 1975 a process of political transition commenced that was complete but peaceful and based on the accord of the most relevant political parties and social groups. The first fruit of this process was a new Constitution, which was approved by universal suffrage in 1978. This Constitution established a new political regime that is a parliamentary monarchy, similar to those of some other European countries. Accordingly, in 1986 Spain was admitted as a full member of the European Union. For the first time in the history of the country, an ambitious project was undertaken to decentralize the national territory, which resulted in its division into autonomous communities with a significant degree of self-governance (see Judt, 2006, 516–523, for a brief but effective historical narrative of the events of this period).

To these and other political changes, one must also factor in a process of rapid and relatively successful modernization that had just begun in the late 1950s, after the most authoritarian years of the regime, in which Spain began a new era with its “economic stabilization plan” of 1959 supervised by the World Bank, and during the 1960s through the so-called Economic and Social Development Plans (created following the French model of “indicative” economic planning of the postwar era, and technocratically accomplished by a leading elite of high-level civil servants linked to the Opus Dei) (Balfour, 2000). With the advent of democracy after General Franco’s death, the modernization processes accelerated, after the signing of the so-called Social Pact of La Moncloa by the political parties and trade unions of workers and entrepreneurs, with significant consequences for all aspects of the social life of the country. During the 1990s Spain succeeded in situating itself among the most developed countries of the world, experiencing excellent economic indicators and a significant transformation of

social structures and lifestyles (see Puelles, 2000). In the field of education, a number of major reforms were promoted by a succession of governments of distinct ideological orientations. Obviously, much of this phenomenon is similar to what occurred in other Western countries. What distinguishes the Spanish case is the historic *acceleration* of these processes in that country (see McNair, 1984; Boyd-Barrett & O'Malley, 1995; Bonal, 1998; Escolano, 2002; Cuesta, 2005).

Our objective in this chapter is to analyze the politics of education during this crucial period, but we will focus attention particularly on what was the last great reform of the twentieth century, that which was proffered in 1990 by the Socialist Party during its first phase of governance (1982–1996). The effects of this reform persist to this day, the socialists having returned to power following the Madrid terrorist bombings of March 2004. In this sense, our “historical” remarks are really quite contemporary. Our intention is not so much to describe accomplished deeds, but to analyze the interpretations, the images, and the assessments that distinct social actors have applied to the consequences of this socialist reform. Principally, we will analyze their discourse about the impact that these changes in the governance of education have had on processes of social integration and exclusion. It must be remembered that from the start this reform was grounded in a powerful social rhetoric dominated by such expressions as “equality,” “democracy,” “participation,” and “innovation” (see Gramigna, 2006 for a discussion of “the myth of innovation” in contemporary educational reforms).

But let us briefly return to the beginning of this historical cycle, to the final phase of the regime of General Franco. From the 1960s the rejection of the dictatorship gradually grew as it came to be regarded as absolutely illegitimate and anachronistic in the contemporary European context (and Spain soon applied for a preferential relationship or agreement with the European Economic Community after its creation in 1957 – a complicated issue because of the authoritarian status of the regime – which was only granted after 1970). This attitude of rejection extended throughout the university and the labour communities, both of which were clearly conscious of the fact that Spaniards did not have access to the most elementary political rights. Yet, together with them, there were other elements of society that had accommodated to life under the Franco regime, a situation that contributed to a certain relaxation of political repression, and, above all the manifest economic development of the country in those years, which ended with the transformation of a predominantly rural into a modern industrialized state and whose standards of living approached that of most advanced European countries (the annual economic growth of Spain during the 1960s was one of the highest among all OECD countries). On the other hand, the same government of General Franco, in this final stage of the dictatorship, was aware of the waning relevance of many institutions in the face of the changes being experienced by Spanish society. Among these were the educational institutions. As a result, the regime promoted a grand educational reform in 1970 by means of a General Law of Education (*Ley General de Educación*), the greatest transformation imposed on the Spanish educational system since the middle of the nineteenth century and opportunistically presented as the next step of the implementation of the previously quoted Economic and Social Development Plans. Likewise, the new reform led by the Opus Dei shown an almost thaumaturgic modernization of Spain sought to link a seamless, reactionary, and Catholic antiliberalist

sources of the regime to a modern “Europeanized” Spain (Saz Campos, 2004, and for the analysis of the role played by the *Opus Dei*, Casanova, 1982, 1983). From this strategic decision of one of the last Franco administrations was born the fundamental features of the present Spanish educational system.

Through a technocratic reform conceived under the premises of the human capital theory of the 1960s spread out by previous reports conducted by the UNESCO, OECD, and the World Bank (by which education began to be considered in Spain as investment and consumption, and not only skilled workers, middle- and high-level technicians were necessary for developing the country but an overall better cultural level of Spanish people), the Franco regime attempted to adopt a progressive rhetoric of social change in order to sustain and extend as much as possible its increasingly precarious national and international credibility and its real deficit of political legitimacy at a time when the regime was seeking to be admitted to the European Common Market. In this sense, the reform enacted in the General Law of Education (*Ley General de Educación*), promoted by a pioneering program of mass-media publicity, aptly characterized as a “political spectacle” (Edelman, 1988), sought to diffuse a new language of social change by means of a mystified articulation of social modernization (Ortega, 1994). This process can be understood as an example of the process that Weiler (1983) called *compensatory legitimation* in his analyses of educational reforms (see Morgenstern de Finkel, 1991, 1993). As one of the leading ministers of Franco’s regime indicated in his very important memoirs, referring to a memo passed to him by a colleague while the ministers were discussing the problematic situation arisen by the revolts held in the Spanish universities just when 1969 was beginning, more than a year and half before the General Law of Education was enacted: “this is sinking by the hour. Let us think what to be done ... [because] we do not have to be an augur for viewing the failure of repression” (López Rodó, 1991, 386).

Ironically, this feature of the political strategy of the 1970 reform has not received adequate analytical attention in Spain. However, this reform ended up profoundly altering a traditionally elitist system, institutionalized a distinctive and effective comprehensive school system inspired by the Scandinavian model through the emerging processes of educational globalization undertaken by OECD and UNESCO recommendations, and brought about wide-ranging curriculum reform.

After the death of Franco and in the context of the so-called Transition to Democracy (*Transición a la Democracia*), numerous educational reforms took place that exposed the fundamental disagreements underlying the diverse political, social, and professional constituencies affected. The parliamentary debates concerning the new Constitution were particularly acrimonious when addressing educational issues. Generally speaking, the political right supported the position of the Catholic Church, which had traditionally exercised an extraordinary influence on public instruction in Spain and still controlled a great part of private education. Leftists sought to increase the control of the state over schools. They also favoured encouraging the participation of parents in the governance of educational institutions and they sought to enhance the equality of the system through programs of social integration. For the left it was essential that political democracy translate into educational democracy. As had already occurred in the nineteenth century and during the Second Republic of Spain (1931–1936), people

began to speak of a “school war.” This tense educational climate persisted throughout the following political stage and, in reality, continues to this very day.

In 1982 the Socialist Party overwhelmingly won the general elections. It was a historical milestone given that this party, which had such a decisive role during the Second Republic in the 1930s, reemerged in the 1970s after a long period of clandestinity during the Franco regime. A new generation of young socialists, headed by Felipe González, was to maintain control over the Spanish government until 1996. Soon after assuming power, they established the *Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación*, or the Organic Law of the Right to Education (LODE, 1985), that developed some essential points of the Constitution of 1978. This extraordinarily polemical law explicitly consecrated “the principle of participation of the members of the educational community” as a key factor of educational policy and the State established controls to prevent discriminatory practices that even applied to private schools. As could be expected, the new regulation of educational institutions was harshly criticized by the proprietors of schools and by some parents’ associations in the private sector. Protests were frequently articulated in the streets and in the media and parliamentary procedures for the approval of the law were slow and tortuous. The defenders of private education, among them the Catholic Church, argued that this law represented an unacceptable interference of the State with the rights of families and the liberty of instruction that were also recognized in the new Constitution.

In 1990 the Socialist Party undertook a new modernization of the Spanish educational system – the first since the reform of 1970 – that would put an even greater emphasis on the comprehensive nature of the school by avoiding defined tracking policies (Bonal, 1998; Puellas, 2000; Fernández, 1999, 2003). This new reform was legally formalized as the *Law of General Planning of the Education System* (LOGSE, 1990). Obligatory schooling was extended to the age of 16 and wide-ranging changes in the curriculum were undertaken. Among the most important of these changes were the introduction of the so-called cross-curriculum areas of study and new fields of social learning concerning gender, multiculturalism, and the environment (see an overview in English in Boyd-Barrett & O’Malley, 1995).

The curriculum designed by the Socialist reform was theoretically based in cognitive constructivism and defended the creation of a new type of school culture and a new educational community through the development of appropriate moral values and attitudes (in fact the reform was designed by leading professors of psychology of education – and not from pedagogy as it is frequently thought – at the level of a *total psychologization* where language was consciously saturated “with constructivism, aptitude, psychological diversification ... but not social classes, racism, cultural bias, school failure.” See Torres (2007, 121) and Varela (1991) for a provocative understanding of this reform as a reform designed for the middle classes, by which we arrive at a real triumph of psychological pedagogies focused on the learner and the psychological significance of the content and procedures administered by teachers being converted to animators, counsellors, or coaches basically). With the increase in conflict in schools, “living together” gradually became a priority focus of interest, as would also occur with “multiculturalism” attendant with the growing influx of immigrants, mainly from Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. In the second half of the

1990s, the number of Latin American immigrants in Spain doubled, while the African immigrants tripled. In these circumstances, “educating for values” and “intercultural education” came to be well known and frequently discussed subjects in a curricular context that the Socialist reform attempted to “flexibilize.”

Nevertheless, after an initial phase of intense pushing for reform during the 1980s, during which the rhetoric of the old ideological traditions of the left dominated, the Socialist Party gradually diminished its enthusiasm for some of the reforms initially championed. Pragmatically, the governing socialists began to take into account that the emphasis that they had placed, for example, on social participation was much closer to the utopian ideas of the 1970s than to the responsible realism that, they thought, ought to characterize the action of a governing political party. These types of arguments were deployed at times to justify what came to be regarded as a necessary pragmatism and some socialist leaders came to reconsider some of their earliest proposed reforms. Not a few social critics lambasted the socialists for their evident abandonment of the socially advanced and pedagogically reformist politics that had characterized their first years in government. For the most severe but sound critics this shift represented a surrender of principles in the face of the neoliberal currents that were beginning to inundate the educational arena or “market” in the rest of the world (see Rozada, 2002, for the case of the Spanish educational reforms introduced in the last decades).

In 1996, after their victory in general elections, the conservative Popular Party formed a new government that immediately began to redirect the main aims of the Socialist education policy (a national evaluation of the educational system was conducted for the first time in history; see García Garrido *et al.*, 1998). After obtaining another majority in the 2000 elections, the Popular Party pushed through Parliament the Law of Educational Quality (*Ley de Calidad de la Educación, LOCE*, 2002), which openly questioned the overall foundations of the previous reform, introducing some substantial changes in the obligatory period of education that have for the most part not been implemented (see a recent analysis of this period and about the debate of this law in Rambla, 2006).¹ In an atmosphere in which the predominant impression was one of chaos in the classroom, with insistent calls for recovery of lost authority and order, some measures began to be taken to improve the situation.

As noted above, the analysis which follows centres exclusively on the application and development of the socialist reform under the various governments of Felipe González (1982–1996), although the LOGSE also remained legally in force under the first government of the Popular Party (1996–2000). During the González era, the Socialist Party attempted to build a comprehensive, integrative system to combat the social inequalities in Spain at that time. In these circumstances, the development of a comprehensive school was seriously hampered, as shown by many diverse studies that focused on the lasting consequences of the rhetoric of “social redemption” that accompanied the Socialist reform of the 1990s (Peruga & Torres, 1997; San Segundo, 1998; Carabaña, 1999; Echevarría, 1999; Rambla & Bonal, 2000; Sevilla, 2003).

In this context, the result was not so much a weakening of a dual educational system, but, indeed, its reinforcement, thus adding another indisputable source of social exclusion to factors such as race, gender, or social marginalization. We are, of course, referring to the progressive devaluation of the public network of schools in favor of

<p>The Franco Dictatorship (1939–1975)</p>	<p>1970: <i>Ley General de Educación</i> (The General Law of Education) The first general reform of the Spanish school system in the twentieth century. Modernization of the system in accordance with a general principle of comprehensiveness.</p>
<p>The Transition to Democracy (1975–1982)</p> <p>1976–1977: The first transformations of the Franco regime 1977: The first general elections and the Constituent Parliament</p> <p>1978: Approval of the new Constitution and the restoration of democracy 1979–1982: Centrist governments 1982: The electoral victory of the Socialist Party 1982–1996: Socialist governments</p>	<p>Diverse reforms of the General Law of Education of 1970</p> <p>Instruction in the Catholic religion ceases to be obligatory in public schools. A new system of governance is established in the schools with a certain level of participation by the educational community. A certain level of autonomy is established for universities.</p> <p>Processes of experimentation and pedagogical renovation 1983: <i>Ley de Reforma Universitaria</i> (The Law of University Reform) The autonomy of the universities is enhanced. 1985: <i>Ley del Derecho a la Educación</i> (The Law of Educational Rights) Conflicts between the Church and State and between public and private education 1990: <i>Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo</i> (The Law of the General Organization of the Educational System)</p>
<p>1996–2004: Conservative governments</p> <p>1996: Electoral victory of the conservative Popular Party</p>	<p>The second great reform of the school system of the twentieth century. Key principles: comprehensiveness, equality, and innovation. A system is established for the permanent training of teachers. 2002: <i>Ley de Calidad de la Educación</i> (The Law of Educational Quality) Conservative reform of the Socialist law. The level of comprehensiveness of the system is reduced. Measures favourable to private education and the instruction of religion in schools are introduced.</p>
<p>2004: The new electoral victory of the Socialists</p>	<p>2006: A new general reform: the <i>Ley Orgánica de Educación</i> (The Organic Law of Education) A return to the law of 1990. Conflicts between the Church and State worsen.</p>

Figure 1. History, politics, and educational reforms in contemporary Spain

the private sector. At present more than 35% of the school population (in gross figures closer to 50% in the more developed regions such as Catalonia or the Basque Country) attends grant-maintained private schools, many of which depend on the Catholic Church and its religious orders. Public schools are becoming the schools of the least socially and economically privileged children, while grant-maintained schools monopolize the middle classes. This parallel system, traditional in Spanish education

(a general historical account in Boyd, 1997), is being reproduced in the public system itself, as a possibly spurious consequence of the principle of autonomy. Particularly in urban areas, the public educational network is gradually breaking up in a manner that reflects the geographical location of the center, the pupils' social origins, and the duration of the school day. There are clearly marginal public schools used only by families living in the vicinity. On the other hand, there are prestigious public schools in extraordinary demand by both teachers and families, even though they may live some distance away. In practice, the two represent utterly different institutional strands. In general terms, the immigrant population living in suburban or poor areas makes use of the lower-quality centers, thus adding to their already complex problems (see Fundación Encuentro, 1997, for one of the first empirical analyses carried out about this problematic situation, and Rambla, 1998; Olmedo Reinoso, 2008 & Abrantes, 2008, for most recent debates and data). This ongoing process in the Spanish educational system is one of the major sources of social exclusion (see McAll, 1995, and Green, Preston & Janmaat, 2006, ch.5, for the conclusion that new choice-based reforms introduced in the last decades may undermine educational equality, and thus social cohesion), as it is also embedded in the context of a too weak Spanish educational equity policy (see Calero, 2007).

Taking into account the ever-increasing complexity of these processes (see Figure 1 for a chronological synthesis), we can say that social exclusion is the result of the interactions (with all their deficiencies and distortions) among different classes of social actors, rather than an end state or condition attributable to a particular population or group. In this sense, social exclusion can be understood in an increasingly diverse manner, as a processual, accumulative, multidimensional social reality operating in different social spheres, most particularly in education (Littlewood & Herkommer, 1999; Moreno, 2000, ch. 1; Goguel d'Allondans, 2003). In this text, we analyze the presence of this and other key concepts in the discourse of various educational actors² on the construction of the Spanish school of today – how they imagine it and its problems – taking the reforms mentioned above as our point of reference. We focus on an analysis restricted to the educational actors' images of education, of the school and of the pupils in an educational climate marked by the Socialist reform of the 1990s.

School in the Discourse of Educational Actors

In the context of the neoliberal restructuring of global capitalism, a succession of changes took place in European educational systems in the last decades of the twentieth century. In many cases, such as Spain, more or less far-reaching educational reforms were carried out under “modernizing left-wing” governments. These reforms attempted to explore the possibilities of the post-fordist economic model by reactivating the debate on education in terms of equity *versus* efficiency. In other cases, the precepts of what is commonly known as the “New Right” could be detected in the “creation of a quasi-market within which schools would compete” (Brown & Lauder, 1997, 176; Calero & Bonal, 1999; Barlett et al., 2002).

Without a doubt, behind every educational reform there lies a more or less rhetorically defined political project framed as an effort to construct a new type of citizen

that is only relatively defined, as well as models or images of infancy and the pupil, of the teacher, of the school, and of education. These models and images are also only relatively precise and are subjected to a complex and intense verbal process that brings out the contrasting viewpoints characterizing the various educational actors. Although reforms attempt to present solid models and clear-cut orientations for decision-making, they are often a source of (sometimes hidden) division, dispute, and confusion. Their effects are therefore contradictory and paradoxical. Together with the optimistic projection of the future, nostalgia grows for apparently safer times past. Discourse becomes increasingly fragmented against the apparent unity of the theory.

Particularly in the Spanish case – and in the context of a country coming from a fascist-style dictatorship which constantly and systematically used propaganda and rhetoric for opportunistically conveying its economic and social reforms mentioned before – the use of rhetoric for legitimizing discourses in educational reforms has had a consistent traditional role on the formation of social subjectivity (see Bolívar & Rodríguez Diéguez, 2002). Keeping in mind that a common function of communication is to persuade, and conceiving that “rhetoric, like other modes of discursive organization, is not simply the organization of speech [but] the organization of persuasive discourse is simultaneously the organization of social ‘things’ and social practices” (Valverde, 1990, 67), the whole educational reform process during the Socialist government ended up as so much “flowery rhetoric” making use of constructivist psychological language that overstates the protagonist role played by teachers. The reform process began in the early 1980s with a rhetoric that only developed consistency with the ascension to power at the ministry of some leading educational psychology scholars (when the conservatives eventually replaced the socialists, the Popular Party at first continued making use of progressive, albeit less “flowery”, rhetoric for concealing their reforms which favoured a more selective educational system, and increasing private education).

One of Spain’s most influential educators, an executive adviser to the Minister of Education during the first Socialist government and a frequent consultant in successive Socialist governments, eloquently expressed this development:

The leftist discourse of the Socialist governments diluted quite quickly into a gallinaceous politics of low-level flight. ... The serious politics of the medium and the long-term was replaced by schooling renewal jargon that did little to reform the system, serving more as a placebo than anything else. Instead of tackling reform issues of great import (improving teacher education, developing the teaching profession, enlarging school facilities, combating inequalities, etc.), they spent dozens of thousands of millions in taking meetings and in filling the administrations with “liberated” teachers [i.e., faculty who took leaves of absence from school work to assume official posts at the Administration] who wrote scripts and curricular material intended to translate the language of reform for other teachers. ... A psychological discourse became policy and orthodoxy effectively expelling any other approach. A real political shift was replaced by a clever waffle that gave teachers the illusion of movement that was, in fact, a device for maintaining the status quo.” (Gimeno Sacristán, 1999, 32–33)

The LOGSE (*Law of General Planning of the Education System*, 1990) appeared in the narratives of most of the actors as a turning point in the history of education, both for those who considered themselves its ideological framers and for those charged with its practical execution. For the latter, however, this was a reform imposed on them from above, in the context of a hierarchical, vertical organization in which their voices had scarcely been taken into account. Even considering their differences of viewpoint, many educational actors shared the idea that the school, or rather, education, represents the future of any nation, despite the continuous fractures and disjunctions occurring between the design of educational policy and its effective implementation. They continue to place their confidence and hopes in the school as a means to achieve a more just and plural society and a better world. We can observe the construction of “narratives of salvation,” that is, narratives that link the self-actualization of individuals in the schools with the capacity of the nation to accomplish its “natural” destiny in the areas of economics, politics, and culture (Meyer *et al.*, 1997; Popkewitz, 1998). This “generalization” from the individual is explained in a historical context of an existing “world culture” dominated by broad processes of rationalization that have finished by generating guidelines for the universalistic interpretations of a scientific-rational order and, as a result, symbolic standards of behaviour (Meyer *et al.*, 1987; Meyer & Jefferson, 2000; Meyer & Ramirez, 2000).

School and Social Change: Between Confidence and Scepticism

The school has changed, just as all of society, of which it is the reflection, has changed. In this sense, the school is seen as part of a structural entity – the social system – strictly conditioned by an economic and political hegemonic model. The school is, thus, an extremely dependent social agency, whose obvious changes are not homogeneously evaluated by the different educational actors, some of whom question if it really has changed, i.e., if the reforms are ultimately no more than an illusion.

However, the social importance of the school, as a powerful agent of socialization is persistently highlighted and approved. Just like the family, the school provides the necessary resources for establishing a degree of rationality and progress in the life of individuals and the social community. This image of the school in close association with society and its development is not new, but seems to have become more relevant. Even the traditional social leadership of the family in children’s education is now shared with the school, in which are placed desires and hopes as fundamental spaces for the construction of the social identity of the children.

Together with this predominantly social discourse, we may also consider other narratives linked to it, such as the creation of individuality, the loss of social capital, or interpersonal trust. As some authors have already pointed out (e.g., Putnam, 1995; Torcal & Montero, 2000), today’s democratic societies all suffer from both increasing individualism and a lack of social trust, which is a feature that should be typical of this type of society. So, beyond the view of the school as a socializing or social institution, there emerges this other discourse of the “rebirth of individuality” that is very widespread in the European Union (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2001). Indeed, although *globality*, understood from a social viewpoint, and *individuality* are inexorably linked as two sides of the same coin, we noted a striking silence on such a major question in

the entirety of the discourse of the actors. None of them make the slightest reference to global processes, which, together with local identities, could be shaping key aspects of contemporary school and society, such as the type of citizen we want and what is required of the school. Despite being omnipresent in the media, globalization is here surprisingly absent.

Combating Inequality: The Reform as Social Imperative

The Socialist educational reform of the 1990s was a historic necessity in order to transform and modernize the Spanish school and thus respond to important social demands, such as equality of opportunity, attention to diversity, integration of differences, and the reduction of exclusion. The vast majority of actors coincided in their affirmation that the school had changed in these respects as a result of the reform.

The educational model is now ruled by an integrating concept following principles such as the defence of equality and respect for diversity. These principles extend to connotations of “transcendental sign,” as Derrida would say, i.e., ideas blessed by success and not questioned or problematized by anyone, at least until their implementation is analyzed. For many, the school is even seen as a social avant-garde, driving and protagonizing changes that go beyond the strict space traditionally assigned to it. This rejuvenates it as an institution and provides optimism through the confidence placed in it by society, despite the inertias and resistance attributed to the teaching staff and educational administration. Naturally, these promising images contrast with the more nostalgic and sceptical images of the teachers and some sectors of civil society.

On the basis of the differences of opinion transmitted by the various narratives, we can, however, conclude that they all corroborate the need for the reform as a means of adapting the school to social change and as a means, as well, of constructing a new, competent, and competitive citizen ready for the times in which we are living. Once again, the main actors present the school, and more precisely the education reform as the image of a history of progress or salvation incarnate in the representation of this new citizen. It is curious, and paradoxical, that these “stories of salvation,”³ as commonly occurs in mythical projections, tend to be linked with myths of origin, with former and better times that are ultimately remembered with nostalgia. We shall return to this question.

The School, Compensator of Inequalities or Creator of Subjectivities

There is a general insistence that the school should pursue the personal development of individuals in order to enable them to respond independently to the challenges which the complexity of today’s society might present them with. Schools should produce students who, above all, have their own minds, are critical, and are able to search for and manage information. At the same time, the school must propose the integration into the system of those pupils who were previously forced to leave it without finishing their studies for whatever reason (accumulated failure, the need to work, etc.) or were forced to opt for devalued vocational training in a dual system in which social and academic prestige were only found in the studies leading to the university. The educational reform of the 1990s

thus represented a new horizon of democratization for a system that was opening up to diversity, reevaluating vocational training and encouraging new style of learning.

However, the school is not a panacea. The high degree of hope aroused by the reform weakens when it is observed that the school cannot solve all the problems created by society, nor attend to all of its demands, which in many cases are exaggerated or unattainable. This “realism” contrasts with the optimism implicit in the legislative texts and discourses of the same political actors at the inception of the reform process ten years previously. It is extremely difficult to generalize the educational changes originally set out in the norms to culturally and economically deficient groups and communities. The actors, even when displaying their faith in the equalizing power of the educational system, seem to express more the desire than the conviction that the school will satisfactorily solve the educational consequences of human diversity and social inequality.

The discourses built up by educational actors are rather more than the expression of personal beliefs and experiences – they establish categories and classify and normalize the functions attributed to the school. Behind the words of praise for its function as an institution, there may lay hidden interpretations that one way or another dampen these initial, complacent images. To defend a compensatory school means, at bottom, benevolently to legitimize differences, even though it is a commonly accepted opinion, almost a stereotype, that the school, especially when it is public, is a hospitable space and that only society marginalizes and excludes. There is a clear conception of social inclusion–exclusion expressed in the discourses of most of the educational actors which suggests that their reason systems do not realize that the school also creates barriers through which it distributes its subjects.

Indeed, we can see how the discourses examined here implicitly and explicitly suggest norms and resort to categories associated with a number of resources designed to improve the school. However, at the same time, they establish normalizing mechanisms steeped in the ambiguous, fluctuating rhetoric of “quality,” designed to inoculate the pupils with the idea of success or failure. Some categorical images, to which we shall return later, sharply confirm that, in spite of egalitarian rhetoric, the school continues to represent a classification space aimed at producing the citizen of the future. Proof of this are the persistent attempts to fit the student into an established social order whose characteristics are reflected in certain nostalgias pervading educational thinking that prevent the school from forging an imagery capable of reformulating itself into something new.

Order and Discipline, Myths for a School of Nostalgia

Nostalgia, of course, is the clearest sign of a process of cultural acceleration, which comes full circle in a short time and, therefore, implies a certain sentimental return to origins. There has been a truly spectacular generation and expansion of changes in the European school since the 1960s (somewhat later in Spain than elsewhere). These changes, based on a generalized reforming rhetoric, have produced a feeling that we were entering a new historic stage, have reshaped the identities of the educational actors and have introduced disorder into the system while waiting for the changes to

gradually be assimilated. However, it is well known that, for example, an appreciable sector of secondary school teachers has embraced an attitude of regret for lost “quality” as a form of resistance to the changes that have occurred in this stage of schooling. This nostalgia has reproduced discourses well established in the educational tradition, such as the question of personal effort and other similar values that the Popular Party’s *Law of Quality* (2002) foregrounds. The fixation with so-called tradition (even the invention of traditions as a cultural strategy) is a relevant characteristic of late modernism and a symptom of confusion in the face of change (see Giddens, 2000). In their statements, teachers even recall the rites and ceremonies of the school of old when the distribution of roles and rules of behavior were set out and clearly defined for the different groups present in the school community (González Faraco, 2002). When traditions fade or are questioned, as in contemporary education, our perception of the ego is disturbed and, when its identity is unstable, one usually resorts to resistance, escapism, or fixation with tradition to make a present of the past. The widespread theories of teachers’ discontent help to provide “scientific” arguments for these “retrospective” attitudes. Whatever the case, it is true that in this as in many other cultural processes, nostalgia acts as a mechanism to domesticate the new (Sahlins, 2000).

According to a large number of educational actors, discipline, order, and organization are held to be intrinsic values of the school, whose devaluation today may be due to several related causes: the crisis of values suffered by today’s society, the transfer of all of society’s evils to the school, the teacher’s loss of authority and social prestige, scant participation of the family, etc. Behind these imputations we can detect memories and cultural representations that could play a central part in the construction of a system of inclusion and exclusion (Meyer *et al.*, 1997). The school is still a fundamental brick in the edifice of society, but it must also be acknowledged that the problems of living together in schools have increased, and with them lack of discipline and even violence. The management problems of some secondary schools are increasingly evident. For many actors the extension of obligatory schooling to the age of 16 was a source of many of these problems, particularly in the areas of high social risk.

Much of the actors’ attention is concentrated on the obligatory stage of secondary education because it presents most of the problems. The educational actors’ narratives divide the pupils into two opposing categories: “those motivated to study and learn” and “those without motivation who are bored” and “would like to leave school, but are forced to stay.” This dialectic causes disagreement and tension among the teachers, who claim not to know how to deal with these pupils in a differentiated fashion and therefore criticize or reject the supposed advantages of the integrating model of the reform. Once again, we find an ambivalent, paradoxical, and, to a large extent, broken discourse. On the one hand, we are presented with the vision of an open, comprehensive, egalitarian school that compensates for inequality – a welcoming school with room for all. On the other hand, we hear the discourse of the lamented, peaceful, well-ordered school, built on the model of the ideal pupil, the cosmopolitan citizen prepared to face and resolve problems, the citizen competent in the knowledge and learning society (see Popkewitz, 2007, for exploring today’s historical turn of the changing principles of cosmopolitanism in educational reforms and research designed to produce greater involvement and participation in contemporary societies). In this situation, a central role is played by

the teacher's loss of authority and social prestige, by the disappearance or decline of the teaching profession's vocational character, and by the weakening of the family's educational capacity as a result of changes in family roles, especially that of the mother, mainly because of the increasing number of working women.

In such extremely common discourses, education is seen as a strategy by which to acquire a set of "rules" designed to create a model citizen appropriate to the demands of today's society – what we have called the "cosmopolitan citizen." We have already argued that these narratives incorporate systems of reason that speak of individuals as reasonable, adapted, enterprising people. In other words, they organize a social cartography that rewards some and punishes or excludes others.

Living together is only possible with rules. The increasing weakness of family socialization has made the school the main social institution responsible for setting up a social order governed by rules that inspire confidence because of the reliability of their results. Teachers are given the role of "guide" in the new models of organization, based on efficiency and control in any educational sphere including policy and curriculum. It is not surprising that evaluation is exalted and old concepts such as "conduct" and "behavior" returns to the forefront of educational culture and their decisive influence on the failure or success of the pupils is underscored.

Although some actors recall, in a negative light, the image of that discipline-oriented, hierarchical, authoritarian, and class-conscious school that legitimized profound social inequalities, their discourse continues to be implicitly dominated by the need to recover lost order, symbolic discipline, and their role as director of learning. In other words, a return to the past disguised at times by a veneer of modernity.

Enterprise as a Model for an Efficient School

It has been very attractive for theoreticians of education and the social sciences in general to draw parallels, correspondences, and comparisons between the world of education and the world of business. Many have proposed the application of business principles in the school. No one, in fact, wanted to give the impression of turning back to old product-oriented models, but many of the actors connected with school administration and management, and even Socialist Party members or sympathizers, think that the firm should be the mirror in which the school views itself – as looking to the business practices to bolster its public legitimacy – if it wants to improve its competitiveness and efficiency and not be replaced by other educational agencies.

Some actors apply the idea of "corporative efficiency" to the school because, from their point of view, it would optimize management, increase its members' degree of responsibility, and have a favorable effect on the pupils' learning. Albeit not explicitly, it is a conception that seeks a more efficient school, dedicated to the improvement of results through control and more efficient organization of human and financial resources, independently of, but not contradicting the adoption of managerial models based on decentralization and the autonomy of schools. These principles are usually found in the rhetoric of the reforms we have analyzed, which shifted toward diverse forms of decentralization, devolution, and deregulation as key mechanisms of restructuring. These principles are particularly evident in the school-based management system launched in

the Socialist governments in Spain and continued by the Popular Party after 1996 (for a contextual analysis see Whitty *et al.*, 1998, and Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004).

The essential function of the school is the formation of citizens, which should be understood as their “integration into the socioeconomic world.” Being a good citizen therefore means being a good worker and a good professional and, in order to become one, the school must provide its pupils with knowledge and skills that are useful in the labour market. However, it cannot be said that this managerial vision of the school is widely shared explicitly by educational actors. Proposals that lead us to think of desirable isomorphisms between school and firm are not frequent either. However, the idea is more commonly held that the pupils are learners in a system that should be aware of, and even at the service of, the labour market. In these circumstances, it does not seem accidental that the so-called technological paradigm (“the official pedagogy” as Basil Bernstein would put it) should predominate in the Spanish pedagogical arena since, at bottom, it helps to legitimize through science these types of efficiency-based postulates.

The discourse of the actors reflects the innovations introduced by the Socialist reform and, through them, the characteristics of the new legitimizing framework of Spanish education. But, as we have seen above, they also speak to the inadequacies, weaknesses, or perversions of the reform process, as experienced in their professional work. These critical discourses diverge, cross, and, at times, coalesce around certain subjects – excessive bureaucracy; the imbalances between public schools and private grant-supported schools; the lack of material and human resources; and other issues concerning teachers, such as work overload, lack of social recognition, and broad discontent with a reformist rhetoric that does not result in action. The never-ending argument about theory and practice is well represented here.

School actors call for more participation in educational decisions, but do not see any structural alternatives on the horizon to facilitate this participation, nor do they provide specific measures that might give back their lost protagonism. Meanwhile, the political actors pass on to the educational administration the responsibility of interpreting and implementing the texts resulting from the reform. They claim that to carry out the changes in organization and operation of the school it is absolutely necessary to have a professionalized head teacher and team to execute the policy of the administration. This does not prevent them from accepting the ideas of community representation and participation in school governance, or even proposing more decentralized models of educational management.

In this context of frank disagreement between school and political actors, paradoxical situations can arise, such as the rapid application of the new school day in Andalusia, which moved from an “all-day” school (with morning and afternoon sessions) to a “half day” (*jornada continuada* from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.). In this case, the independent criteria of the schools were upheld against the differences between the school community (in favor of a half-day school) and the educational administration (opposed to the idea, as it might prove harmful for pupils from less favoured social layers, with the attendant risk of exclusion) (Pereyra, 2002). The Andalusian administration finally had to accept a decision advocated by the majority of the participants in the governance of each school.

Once again we find a poorly articulated process of normalization, constructed with inadequate criteria, some infelicitous improvisation, and a minimum of equanimity. The

identity spaces of the various educational actors are restricted to their own particular field of view, without attempting to analyze, discuss, or reflect on the broad consequences that the adoption of a specific measure could entail. The decisions are upheld and the arguments justified because they say they are invariably directed toward the improvement of quality in the educational process. But an avalanche of reformative categories, such as decentralization, autonomy, efficiency, progress, and quality colors all of their discourses, which become tautological exercises, with no attempt made either to go further into theoretical questions or to reflect on their own practice.

Inclusion–Exclusion as an Effect of Educational Governance: Hopes, Doubts, and Contradictions

When speaking of governance we are not referring descriptively to the rules imposed by particular administrative measures or social imperatives, but to the rational construction of mechanisms, patterns, and decisions that make up the conscience and thought of individuals. In other words, we understand governance not just as a set of processes of production and distribution of social goods through institutions and personal interaction, but governance is considered here as systems of knowledge that propose “solutions to problems” in social policy and practice. From this point of view, and leaving aside the rhetoric most commonly used in this sphere, the key question is whether and to what extent the school, so often described confusingly by educational actors, constructs or sustains individual and collective criteria of division, marginalization, and exclusion. To speak of exclusion also implies inclusion, for conceptually they are two terms in the same semantic field (although at opposite extremes), but it is also to speak of two different things, as they rarely present a similar level of normalization.

Bearing in mind this link between the two concepts, we shall now try to observe and analyze through the discourse of the educational actors themselves how the process of inclusion–exclusion manifests itself and operates in the school. For the majority, the question of exclusion is foreign to the school environment, where, on the contrary, “attention to diversity,” integration, and equity are promoted.

This integrating image, in which failure is merely a “natural” process or the effect of a cause outside the system, is widely shared as a premise, but takes on very different tones when the analysis probes practice in specific contexts. Indeed, to understand education is to understand its context. As a result, the question of inclusion–exclusion takes on differentiating characteristics and produces divergent discourses. The actors tended to talk of two types of exclusion: “school failure” and “self-exclusion.” The first is associated with pupils with special educational needs and “self-exclusion” refers to students with problems of social origin, such as drugs, alcoholism, delinquency, etc. In any case, it is not the school but society that marginalizes and excludes them. Behind these arguments lies an eminently individualistic discourse that makes the differences seem natural and frees the system of all guilt. The system only has to apply the principles of reason (distinctions, differentiations, and categories of knowledge) that will or will not qualify the individual for action or participation. In other cases, there is some recognition that the school system can exclude, but then exclusion is understood conventionally, i.e., according to the degree of participation in society of the individuals and groups according to certain social standards.

This discourse on the capacity of the school for inclusion or exclusion breaks down around the problem of the duality of the system. A dialectical spiral occurs between those who accuse the private school of selective practices and those who defend the right to establish independently their own educational model. The two interpret the relations between educational governance and social inclusion–exclusion in significantly different ways, i.e., they apply antagonistic systems of reason in an attempt to legitimize their respective attitudes. The result is an involved, fragmented, belligerent discursive scenario.

For some the fight against exclusion should mainly be based on an ethical and pedagogical program centered on an education in human and Christian values and on a dialogue between parents and tutors taking joint decisions about the personal treatment of the pupils. For others, there is no point in limiting oneself to the school if we want to deal with the problem of exclusion, because its origin is above all social, especially social marginality, although we must not forget the excluding effects of educational failure and other personal circumstances. From this point of view, the most suitable ways to combat exclusion should be dialogue between pupil, family, and teacher, the development of attitudes inclined to accept the other, improvement in the family's education, and a cooperative approach with other administrative institutions and social organizations.

Although they are not lacking in scepticism, most of the actors seem to be confident that the school can reduce inequality: schools are, after all, open, plural institutions that receive all types of pupils. In this sense, the school has an important role to play in the consolidation of a more just and democratic society, in which those now excluded would have the chance to participate more fully in all social spheres. This participation could be tried out in schools, but the ultimate responsibility for making it a reality lies with the family. However, for the moment the family's involvement is insufficient, as shown by the low indices of family voting in the elections for school councils.

One of the most persistent arguments found in the educational actors' discourses is the increasing confidence deposited in the school, which runs parallel to the call for the family to again take more responsibility for its children's education. However, among those who state such faith in the democratizing power of the school, there are hardly any with viable proposals for introducing changes in the governance of education in order to tackle problems such as low family involvement in their children's school life, premature abandonment of school, or other situations with potential to cause exclusion. Discursive strategies such as silence, blaming others, or resorting to politically correct statements lead us to think that, behind the expressions of confidence in the democratizing power of the school, there is an implicit understanding that such confidence is merely an illusion.

Light and Shade without Rhetoric: By Way of Conclusion

In the context of a country contemporarily come into being from a long fascistized dictatorship which systematically maneuvered with rhetorical and symbolical illusions of social change without introducing and implementing deep political and socioeconomical transformations, the Socialist reform of the 1990s through the analysis of its actors' discourse appears as an indistinct, ambivalent narration arising out of the gap between a few illuminating intellectual discoveries and darker practical implications. The optimism they express about the social changes occurring during this decade turns to scepticism regarding the changes experienced by the school, which, they understand not to be exclusively due to the educational reforms.

These contrasts can probably best be seen among the teaching staff. In-service teacher training, for example, has improved substantially. However, the social prestige of teaching has declined, the practice of the profession has deteriorated (excessive workloads, hard to accept social expectations, etc.), and relations with the political administration have become increasingly strained. Democratization, autonomy, and bureaucratization have become typical factors in the imagery and narratives of school actors. Despite the fact that the educational reform should have meant greater democratization and autonomy of management, the teachers continuously complain of bureaucratization and the deficient administrative organization of education.

On the other hand, the one essential change in the structure of the system brought about by the LOGSE was the extending of obligatory education to the age of 16, with the subsequent creation of a new stage of secondary education, i.e., a strong drive toward a comprehensive school. However, this decision has led to numerous problems related to the desire of some pupils to leave the system before that age (school objectors) or to the excessive diversification of the pupils caused by different programs of integration or compensation. Many school actors believe that this increase in the comprehensive period of instruction is only of benefit to, and actually was invented for, the most disadvantaged pupils, with no regard for those who are characterized as “above average.” These discourses make very clear the tension between comprehensiveness – the typical option of education policies in the welfare state – and efficiency, the preferential aim of neoliberal policies (Simola *et al.*, 2002).

The same constants apply to the relationship between the family and its relation with the school. The family naturally continues to be considered key as a socializing agent and, therefore, essential for the development of the new educational system. Yet its participation in school life – highly valued by the reform – has fallen short of expectations. If the family does not participate, the system begins to break down – this is one of the most repeated conclusions in the interviews analyzed, especially when the object of consideration is inclusion and exclusion. For many, the cause of exclusion resides not in the school but in the family, in society, and in the very individuals who suffer it. As registered in our “cognitive unconscious” (or the realm of thought that is completely and irrevocably inaccessible to direct conscious introspection: see Lakoff & Johnson, 1999), school, by itself, rarely excludes.

This rhetorical exoneration of the school is predictably present in narratives that give this institution a sort of “magic aura” inscribed in a “story of salvation” to which all individuals are summoned regardless of their origin or condition. However, as we all know, this is a strategy of deception, proved by the preeminence of nostalgia among many teachers or the hard-line defence of that ideal pupil, the highly competitive “cosmopolitan” student mentioned earlier.

But let us firstly admit that the effect of including the excluded is not necessarily inclusion. As Goodwin (1996) suggested, the frontiers or limits of marginalization are mobile and constantly shifting. The solution proposed by educational actors for these “readjustments” is an amalgam of ambiguous measures such as dialogue or education in values or other supposedly integrating and equally imprecise formulae meant to encourage the egalitarian dimension of education. What really happens, then, is that what is in fact a sociopolitical problem is denaturalized and turned into an individual question of moral or ethical conscience. The narrative effect of this transformation is a

host of weak, diffuse images (a “humanitarian soup” as the Spanish leading sociologist Manuel Castells would say) that do not reward reflection or lead to the invention of new creative formulae of governance that could be useful in overcoming the spaces of classification and normalization so firmly embedded in the school system.

In a more general view, we could say that social inclusion–exclusion in the educational sphere causes the emergence of different, socially distorted school cultures. The prevailing models (discourses and images) are those that opt for a school based on success and results, where there are no insurmountable barriers for individual effort and perseverance in study, as against the other models and traditions that put emphasis on social and economic factors (Silver, 1994). The question of equity is translated into a system of reason that labels, differentiates, and divides the subjectivity of educational actors and agents according to certain normalization procedures.

School educates, that is, it qualifies and capacitates students, but at the same time it normalizes them depending on their comprehension of, and proximity to, this new and all embracing, but likewise contradictory, legitimacy. This “new legitimacy” has been queried in various ways by educational actors, whose image of the school is distinct from that optimistically presented by the Socialist reform of the 1990s. Many of them felt tired and disappointed upon seeing how, behind all the modernizing rhetoric of efficiency and quality, there remains an insufficiently creative school guided by traditionalist models and values. The future is uncertain. Freedom and autonomy are a mirage and the level of student achievement continues to drop alarmingly (in particular in secondary education). Teachers are trapped by the demands of the educational authorities, the families, and society, but above all they feel they are undervalued and alone in the face of a task that is beyond them. The “ideal” student imagined and desired by the educational reform, society, and teachers bears little resemblance to the “real,” unmotivated, and even aggressive student who is actually present in the classroom (González Faraco, 2003). School has changed but its future is the murkiest image of all.

Such scepticism and uncertainty contrast with the extraordinary confidence shared by the vast majority of the educational community in the egalitarian condition of today’s school. The same is not true when deciding on the reasons for failure and exclusion. For the students, it is a fundamentally personal process, whereas for the other educational actors its origin is essentially social. The latter admit self-exclusion, but consider that exclusion is a socially produced artifact (Jamrozik & Nocella, 1998) and that only society is capable of setting it right, so that the initial confidence in the school’s integrating capacity now becomes doubtful. However, no one doubts that public and private schools (a decisive duality in the Spanish educational system) differ in their perception of social inclusion and exclusion and other closely linked concepts such as “equal opportunity,” “attention to diversity,” and “school autonomy.”

Taking these differences into account, the most widespread impression is still that the school cannot solve problems that society has not been able to solve heretofore, that it is not ready to accept all sorts of pupils, and that it has little to offer pupils with difficulties, who end up excluding themselves. Therefore, it merely confirms the marginalization of those that society has already marginalized. Consequently, for many educational actors progress toward cultural plurality, which should not be a plurality

of cultures but a plurality of culturally defined communities (Bauman, 2000, 86), is no more than a beautiful dream.

This confused panorama presents many interrogatives, but there is one above all, directly related to education and its relations with social inclusion and exclusion, that we find especially worrying: what is to become of the school system and those involved in it if it is not openly recognized that its capacity for exclusion, differentiation, and segregation remains intact, even though it is masked and hidden beneath flowery rhetoric?

Notes

1. In March 2004, the Socialist Party returned to power. One of the priorities of its program was to halt the application of the Law of Quality (LOCE) and reform it along the basic premises of the LOGSE. In April 2006, the Spanish Parliament approved the new Organic Law of Education (Ley Orgánica de la Educación, 2006). The Conservative Party voted against the new reform. One of the few important innovations introduced by the new law is referred to the development of schooling for children from 3 to 6 years old which is becoming free.
2. To this end, we used a large number of interviews based on the theoretical categories of the EGSIE, an international project of comparative research carried out between 1998 and 2002. *Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion in Europe* (EGSIE) was a Targeted Socio-Economic Research (TSER) project of the XII Directorate General Research of the European Commission coordinated by Sverker Lindblad and having Thomas S. Popkewitz as an international expert. We conducted 82 interviews, mostly from the regions of Andalusia and the Canary Islands, which may be characterized by their peripheral geographical location within the European Union and by their modest economic development by Spanish standards (see: Lindblad & Popkewitz, 1999, 2000, 2001; Popkewitz, Lindblad & Strandberg, 1999). (See also other publications arisen from this project: Pereyra, 2001; Johannesson et al., 2002; Lindblad et al., 2002; Lundhal, 2002; Rinne et al., 2003; Alves & Canário, 2002 and 2004). The Spanish version of the final report of the Spanish case appears in Luengo (2005, ch. 7 & 8).
3. The political discourse of school reform is dominated by the “millenarian” idea of the beginning of a new age (Popkewitz et al., 1986). In this sense, one teacher’s mention of “evangelism” in the 1990s Socialist reform is not accidental.

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MODERNITY, STATE-FORMATION, NATION BUILDING, AND EDUCATION IN GREECE

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In Europe, North America, Asia, and certain countries of the Middle East, e.g., Turkey, Lebanon, Israel, and Cyprus, institutionalized education in schools and universities and more broadly *paideia/culture*, have been considered to be important mechanisms in the formation of modern states and the building of nations since the period of the Enlightenment in the closing decades of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. From this perspective, education has been examined both as a factor contributing to nation/state-building and as a function of it (Green, 1990). By the role of education in the process of state-formation and nation-building in modern democratic polities one understands its (education's) role in cultivating social cohesion, citizenship, national culture, and national identity as well as in the education and training of personnel for the civil bureaucracy and the national and local state government apparatuses.

This chapter investigates the formation of the modern nation-state of Greece and the role of education, both in the narrow sense of schooling and in the broader sense of *paideia*, in this nation-building process. The case of Greece represents an empire-to-nation-state transformation, namely, the emergence and construction of a modern national state from the Ottoman Empire after a War of Independence in the 1820s. The afflatus for the political formation of the Greek nation-state and the concomitant formation of a national system of education was the Western European mixture of institutions and magma of significations known as the Enlightenment, which, inter alia, included constitutionalism, republicanism, democracy, the notion of the 'citizen' (*citoyen*), progress, rationalism, liberty/freedom, secularism, nationalism, the nation-state, the separation of Church and State, and a national public/state system of education (Harvey, 1990).

The method of approach of this study may be called 'comparative historical analysis.' Following an overview of the premodern traditional Ottoman Empire setting, the Greek nation-building historical trajectory will be examined, paying particular attention to the role of education in the modernization and concomitant nation-state building process. The key concepts in this historical analysis are empire, state, nation, modernity, modernization, westernization, Europeanization, secularism, education, democracy, education, and *paideia*.

The Premodern Ottoman Empire Setting: An Overview

In its pre-nineteenth century ideal-typical form the Ottoman Empire could be described as a multiethnic, multireligious, and polyglot sociopolitical formation, in which power and authority, centering in Constantinople (later Istanbul), were vested in, and emanated from, a dynastic, divinely sanctioned Sultan-Caliph, and wielded by him and his palace clique through a hierarchically organized administrative, military, and religious (Muslim) bureaucracy. The Sultan's authority and supervision over his multiple ethno-religious "subjects" (Muslims, Christians, and Jews) were carried out through the system of *millets* (religious 'nations'). The Orthodox Greeks, together with the other orthodox ethnic groups, scattered all over the Empire (the Serbs, the Romanians, the Bulgarians, the Vlachs, and the Orthodox Albanians and Arabs), constituted the *Millet-i Rum* (Greek Orthodox *millet*) which until well into the nineteenth century was the largest and most prominent. This institutional arrangement, according to an authority on the subject, "provided on the one hand, a degree of religious, cultural and ethnic continuity within these (the non-Muslim) communities, while on the other it permitted their incorporation into the Ottoman administrative, economic and political system" (Karpát, 1982: 141–142).

Ottoman society was differentiated, vertically and horizontally, along social, cultural, religious, and political lines. More specifically, it was divided into a privileged, politically and religiously Muslim-dominant Ottoman, and mainly Turkish ruling class, and a nondominant, religiously heterogeneous and politically disenfranchised "subject class," the *rayas*. Each of these classes had clearly defined legal rights, duties/obligations, and functions: the rulers—predominantly Moslems—were responsible for governing, exploiting, and defending the imperial wealth, and the subject class for providing the imperial wealth, as well as for catering to their own religious, social, cultural, and educational needs (Vryonis, 1976: 46, 54–55).

The subject class was, in turn, bifurcated into Muslims and Dimmis (non-Muslims) and into urban and rural dwellers (peasants), again with differentiated status and power attached to each category. The non-Muslim groups were separated from their Muslim counterpart and from each other culturally, politically, legally, and economically. Added to such divisions and bifurcations one must note the urban–rural dichotomies as well as the geographic dispersal of the members of each *millet*, which was especially the case with the Greek Orthodox *millet*.

As was the case with all the *millets*, many members of the Greek Orthodox *millet* lived in isolated rural and self-sustaining small villages. Another characteristic was that religion exerted an important influence in the society in general, and in education in particular. And, although those who were educated were accorded a favored position in the society, the majority of the Greeks, as well as the Turks and the other ethno-religious groups were illiterate or semi-educated. Lastly, the identity of all groups in the Ottoman Empire was quintessentially religious than "ethnic." The Greeks, during the period of the *Tourkokratia* (the Ottoman period from 1453 to 1821) were known as *Romioi*, an appellation that signified their Greek Orthodox "religious" rather than "ethnic" identity. It was not until the period of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, in the latter half of the

eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth century, that the Greeks began to identify themselves as both Orthodox Christians and ethnic Greeks.

Compared to the other ethno-religious groups of the Ottoman Empire, and unlike the Ottoman ruling Turks, the urban Greeks cultivated their entrepreneurial and commercial interests. In some parts of the Empire, notably in Constantinople/Istanbul, the Greeks virtually controlled banking, commerce, and small business. Most importantly: while the Ottoman Turks, for religious, political, and historic reasons, considered European ideas, culture, and education alien and threatening, the more enlightened Greeks, with some qualifications, identified themselves with Western ideas and civilization, particularly during the post-European Enlightenment period. Numerous Greek communities existed in all the major European capitals and cities (e.g., Paris and Vienna), maintaining lines of communication with the Greeks of Anatolia, Constantinople and the Greek chersonese/peninsula. Contacts with the Western world on the part of the Greeks during the *Tourkokratia*, especially during the century or so preceding the War of Independence in the 1820s and the establishment of the modern Greek state in 1830, were further strengthened by the so-called *Phanariotes*, Greek Ottoman subjects who, because of their education and socioeconomic status, had attained high administrative positions—*dragomans* of the Porte, diplomatic emissaries in foreign countries, rulers of principalities under Ottoman suzerainty—in the Ottoman political hierarchy. Furthermore, the Christian character of Europe facilitated cultural links between the Europeans and the Greeks, which were reinforced by a common anti-Muslim Ottoman Turkish attitude. The Orthodox Russians, for example, in the guise of Orthodox Christian redeemers, constantly harassed the Sultans, aroused the coreligionist Greeks, and sprinkled the Empire with imperial agents.

Education in the Greek Orthodox *millet* was the responsibility of the Greek Orthodox Church headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Local communities or parishes in greater Constantinople and in most cities and towns of Anatolia and the Greek peninsula maintained “common” (*koina*) and/or “Hellenic” (*hellenika*) schools from church contributions and private donations. In the villages the local priest was also the teacher. Certain schools, attached to the Patriarchate in the Phanar section of Istanbul, notably the Great National School (*He Megali tou Genous Scholi*), were regarded as the training grounds of the intellectual and religious leaders as well as many of the schoolteachers of the Greek Orthodox *millet*.

The parish schools and the higher schools in Istanbul sought to develop in the Greek youth primarily a religious not an ethnic identity through catechism in the principles, dogmas, and precepts of the Greek Orthodox faith. With an important differentiating qualification: within the framework of the relative autonomy of the *millet* system of Ottoman government in education, what we have elsewhere called “controlled toleration” (Kazamias, 1991), Greek schools in certain areas also taught the Greek language, Greek philosophy, and Greek literature. Given this distinguishing factor, one could say that education in the schools of the Greek Orthodox *millet* opened up wide intellectual and cultural horizons for the Greek children (Kazamias, 1966; Kazamias, 1968).

The Advent/Challenge of Euro-Western Modernity and Nation- /State-Building

Social, political, and intellectual historians have maintained/argued that the European Enlightenment and the concomitant political and economic changes towards the latter decades of the eighteenth century and the ensuing decades of the nineteenth century ushered in the modern era and the associated modernization/modernity dynamic in Euro-American history. The Euro-Western Enlightenment ideas of freedom, national independence, and nation-state building had a strong and decisive influence on the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire much earlier than they did on the other Ottoman subjects. By 1830, the Greeks had attained independence and soon after established what the historian K. P. Kostis has appropriately called a “proto-modern state” (Kostis, 2006: 57). The Ottoman Sultans, on the other hand, introduced some western/modern techniques, institutions, and ideas into the Empire in the nineteenth century, mainly in order to consolidate the dissipating authority and efficiency of the government, and thus strengthen a reformed Islamic Empire-State. It was not until the opening decades of the twentieth century that efforts were made to restructure rather than reform the Empire, and not until 1923 and after, that a radical break, similar to that of the Greeks a hundred years earlier was made with the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire-State, after an internal “revolution,” and the establishment in its place of the modern Turkish Republic.

Euro-Western Modernity and the “Proto-Modern” Greek Nation-State

In the last three decades of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries, there was a noticeable intellectual and cultural “neo-Hellenic” national awakening among the Greeks stemming largely from Greek émigrés and from Greek mercantile *paroikies* or communities, mainly outside the boundaries of the Empire, in central Europe, the Balkans, southern Russia, and throughout the Mediterranean (Clogg, 1992: 23–25). Nurtured in the Euro-Western Enlightenment ideas of freedom and national independence, and French Jacobinism, Greek intellectuals and political activists (e.g., Adamantios Korais and Rhigas Velestinlis/Pheraios), through word and deed, exhorted the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire to recapture the spirit of their illustrious ancestors, to rise against the Ottoman rulers, and to “resurrect” the Greek “nation.” In the face of Ottoman decay and the weakening of the Sultan’s power over the provincial governors, in the Peloponnese and Epirus in particular, the Greek insurrectionists, with outside help, were able to overthrow Ottoman rule and thus opened the way for the establishment of an independent state (Kitromilides, 2000).

In the first decade of independence (1833–1843) the form of the newly established state or system of government was an absolute monarchy imposed by the European powers—England, France, and Russia. Absolute power was wielded by the imported Prince Otto of Bavaria, who was enthroned as king and who, in turn, was aided by a coterie of Bavarian “ministers” and officials (Svoronos, 1976: 77ff). “In form,” Keith

Legg, a student of comparative politics, has written, “the Greek kingdom was similar to a colonial administration ... all appointments and revenue remained the prerogative of the king; there was no constitution or representative assembly, and the participation of Greeks in the formal decision-making structures of the kingdom was negligible” (Legg, 1969: 55).

By 1864, the new Greek state developed into a western form of constitutional monarchy, “equipped with the trappings of liberal parliamentary democracy” (Clogg, 1992: 51). In 1862, King Otto was dethroned and a new Assembly (*Voule*) was elected, represented disproportionately by a rising wealthy bourgeoisie who were supported by the large landowners (Svoronos, 1976: 96). In 1863, another European prince—Prince George of the Danish House of the Glucksburgs—was enthroned as King George I of the Hellenes and in 1864, a new Constitution was promulgated (Clogg, 1992: 55–56).

The Greek state/polity, as constructed by the Constitution of 1864, has been characterized as Constitutional Monarchy, Crowned Democracy (Svoronos, 1976), and even as Parliamentary Democracy (Dertilis, 2005). The Constitution of 1864, continued to grant the King considerable power: he was declared “irresponsible”; he could appoint and dismiss his ministers and all officers and officials; and he could suspend or prorogue the *Voule* (Clogg, 1992: 51; Bickford-Smith, 1893: 263). Furthermore, while the press was declared “free” and “censorship” was prohibited, publications could be seized “in case of insult to the Christian religion, or to the person of the King.” And while all Greeks were declared “equal before the law,” only Greek citizens could be admitted into the public service (Kazamias, 1974: 20). At the same time, the Constitution of 1864 contained distinct democratic elements, viz., “all authority emanated from the Nation, certain royal privileges were limited, legislative authority was the responsibility of the popularly elected *Voule* and executive power belonged to the King, which he exercised through his responsible ministers” (Svoronos, 1976: 76).

In more recent historical studies (Dertilis, 2005; Kostis, 2006) the Greek political system that was established during the postindependence early period (1833–1864) has been characterized as a “proto-modern” liberal democratic state. According to Dertilis (2005: 764–765):

Greece is one of the first counties in the world that adopted the right of universal male suffrage, and established a form of democratic parliamentary regime, however incomplete, problematic, intermittently unstable and with varying degrees of democratization and authoritarianism it may be characterized ... [this system] was implanted into an entrenched older system of patronage which linked the patrons of the upper classes with the farmers/the agricultural population. This implantation created a special/unique and equalizing mixture of democracy and patronage/clientism.

In addition to such democratic deficits as “patronage” and “authoritarianism,” the appellation “proto-modern” rather than “modern” to characterize the newly formed Greek state, is appropriate because, as the historian Kostis quite rightly points out, the Greek polity was not entirely “secularist” in that there was no clear Church–State separation, as is commonly the case with “modern nation states” (Kostis, 2006: 51).

It should be noted here that by a royal decree in 1833, the Orthodox Church, hitherto under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, was proclaimed to be independent from the Patriarchate, and be known as the “autocephalous” national Church of Greece with its own independent Head and Holy Synod. By the same token, however, although Orthodoxy was recognized as the established religion of the new state and was granted “a privileged position in relation to other religious establishments,” by the royal decree of 1833 the Church recognized the King as its head, thus making it “subservient to the state” and essentially turning it “into a state agency under the supervision of a ministry, called the Ministry of Education and Religions” (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2002/2004: 141–42).

The restrictions on the power of the Church over political, social, and cultural activity—including education— notwithstanding, religion as a body of doctrines and beliefs, and as an organized institution—the Church—continued to be an important element in the constitution and the functioning of the independent nation-state. Religion and the Church were particularly important in the field of education and the general cultural orientation of the people. Religious instruction and other religious exercises (e.g., church attendance on Sundays and holidays) were compulsory for all schoolchildren. In the formation of the “proto-modern” and later “modern” state, the Greek Orthodox Church did not relinquish its traditional function/role of articulating and guarding the ethos of the Greek nation or the ideals, values, and aspirations of the common Greek. It was the Bishop of Patras that signaled the uprising in the Morea in 1821; and priests had fought in the War of Independence literally with guns and figuratively with icons and prayers. The ideology of an expanded Greek State—the *Megali Idea* (Grand Idea)—which pervaded Greek national life down to the first decades of the twentieth century, was in part fanned by many clergymen who continued to look toward Russian help to reestablish the older Christian Byzantine Empire. In short, to the Church, faith (*pistis*), nationalism (*ethnikismos*), Hellenism (*ellinismos*), and education (*paideia*) were inextricably intertwined (Kokosalakis, 2004: 26–39).

Education and the Proto-Modern Hellenocentric Nation-State

Education/schooling, the historian Hobsbaum has written, in the nineteenth century “was the most powerful weapon ... for forming nations” (quoted by Green, 1990: 35). The importance of education in the building of the Greek nation-state was emphasized by the Greek intellectuals mentioned above, who lived in Europe in the years prior to the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821 and who were nurtured in the European Enlightenment ideas of individual liberty, constitutionalism, republicanism liberalism, equality before the law, the nation-state, popular sovereignty, citizenship, and national consciousness. (Petropoulos, 1968:140). A leading figure in the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, as noted above, was Adamantios Korais (1748–1833). A classical scholar living in Paris, Korais, according to John Campbell and Philip Sherrard, two Oxford scholars, “envisaged the “emancipation” of Greece in

terms of the secular liberalism and humanist enlightenment of the contemporary West” (Campbell & Sherrard, 1968: 41). Koraes believed that to attain true freedom, the largely uneducated Greek Christian Orthodox Ottoman subjects—the *rayas*—must be enlightened and educated by being imbued with the ideas and values of western liberalism and classical Greek *paideia* (culture) and by developing “a formal [Greek] language for scholars and the state” (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2002: 8). And, in line with the political ideology of the Enlightenment, Count John Kapodistrias, who in 1828 was elected as the first “Governor” or President of Greece by the revolutionary Assembly of Troezen, also placed high value on education as an instrument of political development, state-formation, and nation-building. “The spread of education and the acquisition of freedom,” according to his biographer, “constitute for Kapodistrias two coextensive meanings (Koukou, 1958: 32). Kapodistrias was also impressed by the modern pedagogical ideas of Pestalozzi, as developed by de Fellenberg in Switzerland, which he introduced into the Ionian Islands and later into free Greece. At the same time, Kapodistrias believed that good education must be based on the ethical principles and spiritual values of the Christian religion (Kazamias, 1974: II-5).

Kapodistrias’ aim insofar as education was concerned, was to establish elementary schools in every village and province; as to more advanced instruction, his avowed policy was “to institute central schools in the different provinces of the nation” (Kaldis, 1959: 173). But, following Kapodistrias’ assassination, the construction of a “national system of education” as a basic desideratum of state-formation and Greek nation-building was left to King Otto and his Bavarian bureaucracy. This was done in the 1830s with the enactment of three decrees which laid down the statutory basis for the construction of such a system: one decree in 1834 on the organization of elementary education; another in 1836, regulating secondary education; and a third in 1837, establishing a university. Briefly, the so-called Bavarian Plan for a national system of education provided for a centralized, graded, and selective system of education consisting of compulsory elementary schooling for all children between the ages of 5 to 12, first level secondary education in middle schools known as Hellenic schools (grades 5–7), selective upper secondary schools known as Gymnasia (grades 8–11), and a selective university called the Othonian University. As with the new state, the newly constructed system of education was centralized, authoritarian, and bureaucratized. The respective decrees/laws specified in detail the curriculum of the elementary schools, the Hellenic schools, and the Gymnasia, as well as the qualifications, the classification, and the salaries of teachers. Authority and responsibility for all educational matters (appointment, transfer, and dismissal of teachers, curricula/programs of study, supervision of schools) were vested in the central organs of government (Dimaras, 1973; Bouzakis, 1999/2002).

In its institutional structure and governance, the educational system of the “proto-modern” Greek state, as established in the postrevolutionary years, reflected post-Enlightenment continental European modernist patterns, viz., centralization and bureaucratization; compulsory public and essentially secular elementary/popular education; selective secondary and university education; curricula/programs of study that emphasized the nonpractical, nonscientific “humanistic canon” (the classics and

languages). In structure and ideology, the elementary education law of 1834 bore a strong resemblance to the French Guizot Law of 1833; the Hellenic school and the *Gymnasion* were virtual replicas of the German *Lateinische Schule* and *Gymnasium*; and in its mission, organization, faculties, and programs of study, the Othonian University (named after King Otto) reflected the nineteenth century German neo-humanist “idea of the university” associated with Wilhelm von Humboldt (Bouzakis, 1999/2002: 40–45; Phirippis, 2007).

From the above, it can be seen that several features of the newly constructed Greek national system of education were “transferred” to the fledgling proto-modern Greek state from post-Enlightenment Europe, mainly from France and Germany. Such an educational transfer has been criticized by Greek leftist historians as involving the uncritical transplantation and imposition of a Western, centralized, elitist, and classicist educational system that was foreign to the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire and had no relation to the Greek contemporary realities (Bouzakis, 2002; Katsikas & Therianos, 2004). Such an interpretation, however, oversimplifies a complex historical phenomenon and is at best misleading. For one thing, the contemporary Greek intellectuals and commercial elites, as indicated above, were themselves favorably disposed to the introduction of Western European educational ideas and institutional patterns, e.g., centralized state education and classical humanistic curricula, from what they considered to be an Enlightened Europe (see Dimaras, 1973). Another factor that must be considered is that “classicism” did not only occupy a central position in the curriculum of the European secondary schools—the *lycees* in France, the *Gymnasien* in Germany, and the Grammar and Public School in England—and the European universities (Butts, 1947: 429–435); it was also not alien to the schools of the Greek Orthodox *millet* of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, classical Greek education was very prestigious in post-Enlightenment Europe and America (Winterer, 2002). And when the Greek War of Independence broke out, Europe was swept by Philhellenism and classical humanism. In the case of the German neo-humanism and the so-called *Hellenomania* of the nineteenth century as advocated by, among others, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Friedrich Wolf, Gottfried Fichte, Friedrich von Schiller, and Friedrich Schleiermacher, it was believed that the study of the ancients and Greek antiquity (*Altertumswissenschaft*) would regenerate morally and politically the German people after the defeats they had by Napoleon, it would unify them and create a modern German nation (Bernal, 1987: 283–295). Considering these endogenous and exogenous circumstances, it would not be unreasonable to postulate that in the Greek case, the transferred educational cultural forms, notably Classicism, were quite understandable. Indeed, “classical education” in the minds of the Greek intellectuals, especially the influential classical scholar Koraes, was necessary for the liberation and “resurrection” of the Hellenic/Greek nation and culture which were traced to ancient Hellas and medieval Byzantium, and whose continuity was interrupted by the Ottoman conquerors. Modernity in the new state, therefore, meant to a large degree the revival of older/ancient Hellenic and Byzantine Christian values, attitudes, and states of mind. Stated in another way, modernity in the Greek state meant the creation of a modern Greek national identity by reinventing the classical Hellenic and the Byzantine Christian traditions (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2002: 242–243).

Education, the Greek State, and Nation-Building: Transforming the Rayas—the Ottoman Greek Subjects—into Hellenes/Citizens of Hellas

“The nation is not the cause but the result, of the State,” the savant Lord Acton has once said, and further “it is the State which creates the nation, not the nation the State” (Quoted by Emerson, 1962: 114). The mechanisms for forging national identity and building the modern Greek nation-state included: (a) a centralized national educational system—elementary, middle, and secondary schools, and postsecondary higher institutions; (b) a “constructed” common national language; and (c) a “constructed” historical cultural tradition. Modernity and nation-building in the new state meant to a large degree the revival of ancient Hellenic ideas and values, hence in the schools there was a strong emphasis on classical Greek *paideia* coupled with the reinvention of the Byzantine Christian tradition (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2002: 242–243). The cultivation and promotion of Greek national identity, of being “Greek” and Orthodox Christian, was carried out through the manifest curriculum—especially through the emphasis placed on the classical Greek language and culture and the teaching of the Greek Orthodox religion—and through the “hidden” curriculum, e.g., the celebration of national holidays, compulsory churchgoing, and though other Helleno-Christian rituals (Dimaras, 1973; Katsikas & Therianos, 2004). Additionally, the Othonian University, later in the century renamed National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, was conceived to be a national institution and an important mechanism in Greek state-formation and nation-building. Its mission, among other things, was (a) to construct and cultivate a Hellenic ethno-cultural identity through the cultivation of classical Greek *paideia*, and (b) to educate and train echelons for the civil bureaucracy in the national and local state apparatuses (Phirippis, 2007).

Building the Modern Liberal Democratic State—1909/1910–1935—A Paternalist Democratic State?

The 60-year period, following the enactment of the new constitution in 1864, was a period of irredentist Hellenocentric nationalism, territorial expansion, internal upheavals, intermittent wars, the rise of a “bourgeois middle class,” political liberalism, and the adumbration of an interventionist Welfare State. It was also a period of neo-Hellenic cultural revival, of educational reform and “non-reform.” A hegemonic element in the Greek nation-building ideology until 1923 was the so-called Great Idea (*Megali Idea*), the irredentist ideology and policy of creating a greater Helleno-Christian state with the reinstatement of Constantinople, the fallen Byzantine metropolis, as its capital. Modernization and nation-building during this period signified an invented nationalist tradition that combined classical Hellas, Orthodox Byzantium, and Enlightened Europe, and the development of a national system of education with the same constituent elements. Notable among the state-formation developments during this period was the Revolution of Goudi in 1909 by the Military League and the emergence of the

Liberal Party under Eleftherios Venizelos, a rising political star from Crete, representing the rise of the bourgeois middle class as a modernizing liberal political force.

The 1909 Revolution of Goudi marked the end of an era in state-formation and nation-building and the beginning of another, namely, the construction of a modern liberal democratic state. Venizelos and the Liberals, who were voted to power in 1910, envisioned the construction of a modern right-of-center liberal democratic state modeled after the contemporary Western European prototypes. The revision of the Constitution in 1911 was a step in that direction. According to the revised Constitution, individual liberties were guaranteed and the foundations were laid for a Welfare State. Within this constitutional framework, and in line with developments in contemporary Western Europe, the Venizelos liberal state was to be an “interventionist, rather than a *laissez-faire* liberal state” (Tsoucalas, 1981; Tassopoulos, 2006). By 1920, as Eric Hobsbawm has written, Greece was among the many states of Europe west of the Soviet borders that had liberal constitutional governments (Hobsbawm, 1995: 146–147).

Essential tools in the building of the Greek liberal state and concomitantly, in the development of national identity were education, language, and history. During the period of 1863/4–1923 developments in national education were uneven, marked by actions and reactions and the interplay of traditional conservatism and liberal modernity (Dimaras, 2006). In 1899, 1913, and 1917, state-initiated efforts were made to modernize the structure and orientation of the educational system and the school curriculum by bringing it more in line with developments in Western Europe, and adjusting it to the developing capitalist economy and a bourgeois class society (Bouzakis, 2006). Actually, most of the recommended reforms were not enacted and remained on paper only.

Nevertheless, some aspects of the state-initiated reform movement as well as some non-state-initiated modernizing cultural and educational developments during this period are noteworthy. First and foremost, was the state-initiated “language educational reform” (*glosso-ekpaideutiki metarrythmisi*) that centered in the use of the *demotiki*—the spoken form of the Greek language—in the schools. In this connection, it should be noted that since the establishment of the national system of education in the 1830s, the language taught in the schools and the official language of the state was the *katharevousa*, a pure form of modern Greek that was different from the spoken “demotic” form, which also was the language used by the new generation of Greek literati.

The language reform effort and some other notable contemporary non-state educational initiatives such as the establishment in 1908 of the Girls’ Higher Elementary School of Volos by A. Delmouzos, a progressive *demotacist*, and the organization of the *Ekpaideutikos Omilos* (Educational Association) by contemporary leading educational *demotacists* in Athens in 1910, were integral parts of the neo-Hellenic sociocultural movement known as *demoticism* or *demotikismos*. *Demoticism* was a social and cultural modernization movement, in that it extended beyond the confines of pedagogy and the use of the spoken Greek language, i.e., the *demotiki*, in the schools. As such, it was envisaged as the medium for social integration and nation-building. According to Psycharis, a leading personality of the neo-Hellenic cultural revival and *demoticism*:

Two things are required for a nation to become a nation: extension of its territorial boundaries, and the creation of its own literature. When it demonstrates that it

knows what the value of the popular language is and when it is not ashamed of this linguistic form, then we shall see that it has become a nation. (Kordatos, 1943)

Related to language and Greek nation-building was history. After the formation of the Greek state, it was necessary to transform the Greek *rayas*, known as *grae-koi* or *romaioi/romioi* (Romans) into *Hellines polites* (Hellenic/Greek citizens), an appellation that signified the formation of modern ethno-national Greek citizens by returning to the *Hellenes* (Greeks) of classical Hellas (Greece). In this process, history as constructed by the nationalist historian Constantine Paparrigopoulos argued that there was an unbroken continuum in the history of the Greek nation or *ethnos* that was divided into three phases—the Classical Hellenic, the Byzantine Christian, and the Modern European. In this manner, as Gallant notes, Paparrigopoulos “created a unity out of the Greek past and, of equal importance, a unity of all the Greek people” (Gallant, 2001: 72–73. Also see Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2004: 231–235; Clogg, 1992: 2–3).

Other educational mechanisms used to “Hellenise” a regenerated Hellenic national state, in addition to language and history, were geography, architecture, literature, folklore, and archaeology. According to Gallant:

Thus through architecture, education, art and literature, in public festivals and celebrations, came to internalize the new national Hellenic identity that incorporated both the Hellenic and Romeic, both the heritage of the classical world and the Orthodox Christian one. So successful was the process that, as Just, Herzfeld, and others have noted, all sense of it being an “invention” was lost. Instead an identity grounded in “history” became timeless and primordial. As a popular expression has it, “we have always been Greeks.” (Gallant, 2001: 74; Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2004: 243)

Venizelos’ liberal project, that included educational reform, what Tassopoulos has called “inclusive (liberal) constitutionalism” (Tassopoulos, 2006: 252), which was charted during the period 1911–1916, was not to be. Wars—the Balkan wars, World War I, and the disastrous Asia Minor campaign; coups and countercoups; and political crises, most significantly the constitutional crisis known as *Ethnikos Dihasmos* or National Schism, eroded the foundations of the Venizelist modernizing liberal constitutionalism. After an unstable interregnum, Venizelos and the Liberals, who returned to power in 1928, renewed their efforts to modernize the Greek state and strengthen the republican regime during Venizelos’ premiership in 1928–1932. Among these modernizing endeavors were certain institutional changes in the system of democratic governance, e.g., the establishment of the senate and the council of state (as the supreme administrative court), and reform in education and in the Welfare State by enacting a comprehensive scheme of social insurance. According to I. D. Stefanidis:

Social insurance was understood as part and parcel of a fairly paternalist conception of the modern state. The latter ought to care for the welfare and “peace of

mind” of the working class and provide mechanisms that could serve as “a safety valve against violent overthrow and revolution.” Although it did not come into full effect until 1937, law 5377 was a stepping stone to the Greek “welfare state.” (Stefanidis, 2006: 200–201)

In the new elections of 1933, under the plurality electoral system, the anti-Venizelist conservative political forces won a majority and they attained power. But political turmoil continued: two attempted coups, the short-lived Kondylis dictatorship, the restoration of the monarchy, and on August 4, 1936, the Metaxas fascist dictatorship. In the same year, Venizelos died in exile. Summing up the fortunes of the Venizelist liberal project, the historian Tassopoulos wrote:

Under these circumstances, Eleftherios Venizelos’ original project for an inclusive political system, bolstered with the safeguards and guarantees of the rule of law was abandoned and the institutional achievements of his first term in office were reversed and annulled. As a consequence, Greece’s constitutional institutions entered a long period of instability and crisis, which ended only in 1975. (Tassopoulos, 2006: 265)

The erosion of the Venizelist inclusive [liberal] constitutional project notwithstanding, one should not underestimate the historical significance of the already mentioned non-state modernizing educational initiatives, even though they were not entirely successful, or the equally unsuccessful state initiatives during the first Venizelist administration in 1913 and 1917 and the second in 1929. In both “episodes,” an attempt was made to reform and reorient the educational system by making changes in its organizational structure and in the content/curriculum and the pedagogy of schooling (Bouzakis, 2006: 75–78, 96–99). In the second episode (in 1929), Venizelos, the prime minister, declared himself in favor of restricting classical education to the “selected few” and strengthening vocational education, while George Papandreou, under whose Premiership later, in the 1960s, the famous liberal reforms of 1964–1965 were enacted, unequivocally declared that “since education belongs to the State ... the ideals of education are also the ideals of the State ... the ideals of our national education are the ideals of Greek democracy” (Quoted in Kazamias, 1974: 61 also see Kitromilides, 2006).

The Post-World War II Liberal Democratic State: The Political Dominance of the Conservative Right, 1952–1963

Following World War II and the Civil War of the late 1940s, there were significant changes in the Greek political landscape. From the perspective of this chapter, such changes can be interpreted as indicative of Greece’s continued process of developing and consolidating a stable Western European form of liberal democratic polity, or to put it differently, of “democratizing democracy.” One such change was the reconstitution of the multiparty system in the 1950s and 1960s. In addition to a strong ethnocentric and reactionary Right that attained and held power until 1963, there was

a resurgence of the Liberal Center, which, although fragmented, under the leadership of the veteran liberal George Papandreou managed to assume the reins of a short-lived government in 1963. Equally significant was the countable rise of the political Left. With the dismantling of the military dictatorship of 1967–1974, and the restoration of democratic rule in 1974, these reconstituted political forces—Conservative Right, Liberal Center, and Left (Socialist and Communist)—vied for political power in the restored and transformed democratic polity. In the elections that were held in 1974, a reformed rightist Conservative Party—the New Democracy—under K. Karamanlis, won the elections and formed a government. But seven years later, in 1981, the newly formed Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), under Andreas Papandreou, won the elections and formed Greece’s first socialist government. In the ensuing years, the two major parties—PASOK and the New Democrach—succeeded each other in the control of the state government. Today, the neoconservative right-of-center New Democracy is in power, with the left-of-center PASOK and the Communist Party of Greece (Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas, KKE) as the major opposition parties. The Liberal Center as an organized political force all but disappeared, but the contemporary Greek state can legitimately be characterized as a stable Liberal Democratic State.

In the meantime, there was a concurrent change in the Greek polity (*politeuma*), i.e., the constitutional structure of the state. In 1952, a new Constitution was ratified, which reaffirmed the previous principle/provision that the Greek polity was “crowned democracy” or a “constitutional monarchy” with the King retaining the same extensive powers as before. But with the restoration of democracy in the 1970s, the new Constitution of 1975 provided that the form of the Greek polity/state was changed to a Presidential Constitutional Republic/Democracy with all the rights—individual and social—and responsibilities of modern liberal democracies and democratic citizenship. The revised Constitution of 2001, in force today basically reaffirmed the principles and provisions of the 1975 Constitution. The contemporary Greek polity has been characterized as a modern liberal democracy, that is congruent with European and international developments, but with no qualification, namely, the relationship between the Church and the State.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the constructed postindependence “proto-modern” Greek state was not, strictly speaking, “secular” in that there was no clear separation between the state and the Orthodox Church. Orthodoxy was recognized as the established religion of the new state and was granted a privileged position in relation to other religious establishments. It was further noted that, despite restrictions on the power of the Church, religion continued to be an important factor in Greek nation-building. This rather ambiguous Church–State relationship and the role of religion in nation-state formation were reiterated in subsequent constitutions, including the one in force today. Article 3 of the 2001 Constitution states that the “dominant/established religion of Greece is the religion of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ.” At the same time, Article 13 provides of “freedom of religious conscience” which is protected by law. Related to this issue, however, is Article 16 which refers to education/*paideia*, and which states that “*paideia* constitutes a basic mission of the State and aims at the ethical, intellectual, spiritual, vocational and physical *agoge* (education/training) of

the Greeks, the development of ethnic-national and religious consciousness and the formation of free and responsible citizens” (<http://www.parliament.gr/politeuma.asp>).

As in the previous periods examined above, an integral part of the postwar modernization/westernization process of state-formation and nation-building, was the reform of the national system of education. The reconstruction and reorientation of the educational system were deemed all the more necessary in view of Greece’s initial association in the 1960s with the newly created European Economic Community, and after 1975, Greece’s quest to become a full member of the supranational European Union, under the famous motto “We Belong to Europe,” a goal which was accomplished in 1981.

The movement for comprehensive educational reform began in earnest in the 1950s and continued in the ensuing decades. Important reform “episodes” in this trajectory were those of 1964 by the Center Union liberal government of George Papandreou, of 1976–1977 by the New Democracy neoconservative government of Constantine Karamanlis, of 1982–1985 by the PASOK socialist government of Andreas Papandreou and of 1997–1998 by the PASOK “social democratic” government of Costas Simitis. In all these “episodes” the reform discourse revolved around the politico-social and sociocultural principles of “modernization” and “democratization”.

With socialist PASOK’S ascension/accession to power in 1981, the educational reform discourse began to take a more radical ideological trajectory. The educational discourse on PASOK’S political slogan of “change” (*allagi*) was framed mainly around the “policy talk” and “policy practice” of democratization, egalitarianism, “deconcentration and decentralization” in the administration/governance of the state system, “democratic planning in education,” public participation and self-government at the provincial and local levels, restructuring of universities (abolition of the authoritarian system of “chair,” and greater student participation in the decision-making organs of university governance), strengthening and upgrading of technical and vocational education, and restructuring of elementary and secondary education that included, inter alia, the establishment, on an experimental basis, of “comprehensive multilateral” lyceums (EPLs) (Kazamias & Kassotakis, 1995; Ministry of National Education and Religions, 1985; Kazamias & Roussakis, 2003).

PASOK’S educational reform orientation was consonant with the broader socialist reform ideology, called the “third way,” which aimed at a broader politico-socio-economic transformation. It is patently clear that the reform discourses during the first PASOK administration (1981–1985) had socialist leftist overtones and ideas drawn from contemporary ideologies that derived from a revived neo-Marxist tradition. But as A. Papandreou, the prime minister, declared, the vision was “a third-way socialism,” a participatory and democratic socialism, based on popular sovereignty (Papandreou, 1982).

The reforms of the PASOK governments of the 1980s did not measure up to the reformers’ high expectations in paving the way for the declared “third-way” socialist transformation of the modern Greek state and society. After 1985, the “third-way” socialist ideology was all but abandoned. By then, PASOK, still in power, had shifted its negative position regarding Greece’s European orientation (in 1981 Greece became a full member of the European Economic Community, later the European Union), and

had become unequivocally pro-European. Concurrently, its orientation veered towards the developing “neo-European” modernization trajectory, a path more towards a modern “social-liberal democracy” than the earlier “third-way” socialist democracy. This orientation became more evident after PASOK’s return to power in 1993, and especially after the death of A. Papandreou and the election of Costas Simitis as prime minister in 1996.

The PASOK new social-liberal democratic government embarked upon another ambitious program of educational reform that encompassed virtually all aspects of the educational system: governance, control, institutional organization, curricula, pedagogy, teachers, intercultural education, and the education of minorities. The reform discourse—policy talk and policy practice—of the Simitis government continued to revolve around the twin politico-socio-economic concepts/ideologies of “democratization” and “modernization,” with perhaps more emphasis on the latter, hence the characterization of Simitis and the PASOK reformers, e.g., G. Arsenis, the minister of education, as “modernizers.” The Greek educational “crisis” was perceived to be one of the persistence of chronic system pathologies and the “asynchronization” of the educational system with the European Union and the global *cosmos* that was being constructed and in which Greece chose to place itself. The persistent pathologies of Greek education included: (a) a centralized, bureaucratic, hierarchical, and cumbersome system of governance; (b) a double undemocratic educational network (general and vocational) that functioned differentially for social groups and “asynchronously” in relation to society and the world of work; (c) a type of schooling that was characterized by formalism, authoritarian pedagogy, and anachronistic educational knowledge; (d) high dropout rates; (e) inequalities of opportunity between urban and rural areas and among different occupational groups; and (f) social exclusion of ethnic and religious minorities.

The reforms needed to get out of the educational crisis, to correct the deficiencies of the system, and to modernize and democratize it, were spelled out in the government policy document *Education 2000—Toward a paideia of open horizons* (1997). A noticeable new note in the modernizers’ reformist discourse was that education must be functionally related to the economic and social developments in the international world, especially the European Union modernity *cosmos*. At the same time, the reform discourse emphasized such democratic principles and policy goals as: democratic education; participation of school principals, regional administrative officers, and school counselors in the evaluation of schools; teacher participation in the evaluation of students; a degree of decentralization in the planning of education (from the center to the regions); the institutionalization of a “unified lyceum” (*eniaio lykeio*), a “comprehensive” type of upper secondary school; abolition of the *numerous clauses* for a more open access to tertiary institutions; the modernization of the curricula and the “redefinition” of Greek *paideia* by making it less ethnocentric and more Eurocentric; and special programs for religious and ethno-cultural minorities and for children with learning disabilities (Ministry of National Education and Religions, 1997).

In connection with this chapter, it would be relevant here to refer to another reform discourse in the context of the recent Greek modernization and democratization trajectory. This is Law 2413/1996 that referred to intercultural education. It was the

first time that the modern Greek state officially recognized that Greek society was culturally diverse. The recognition of this phenomenon, which was in line with the contemporary European modernization discourse, has raised questions about the traditional ethnocentric character of the Greek educational system. The public discourses in this area have been of two kinds. The first has been called the “democratic humanitarian discourse,” which adopted a philanthropic and egalitarian point of view; it emphasized equal opportunity, nondiscrimination, and general welfare. The second type of discourse has been labeled “the discourse of xenophobia.” In this connection, it should be noted that “ethnocentricity” and the reproduction of national identity traditionally have been characteristic of Greek education. Nowadays, according to E. Zambeta, although these aspects of education are being criticized, many of the education political actors often lapse into ethnocentrism (Zambeta, 2001).

A Stronger “Guardian” or “Headquarter” State

The recent “modernization” and “democratization” reform discourse as presented above, could be interpreted to mean that the intention of the policymakers was to restructure the state steering and control mechanisms in Greek education in the direction of “decentralization” or “deconcentration” in decision-making and the governance of the system. However, on closer examination of all pertinent provisions in the relevant reform texts, a different picture emerges: that of a “stronger” and more “controlling” state. Contrary to the professed principle of the modernization cum democratization of the post-1974 Greek polity, what actually has emerged has been a “stronger” and more regulatory state. Indeed, in “modernizing” the state and its mechanisms of governance that included education, Costas Simitis when prime minister, and his political-ideological confreres in the government used the terms “strategic” and “headquarter state” (Kazamias & Roussakis, 2003: 22).

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THE DEVELOPMENTAL STATE, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND EDUCATION

Wing-Wah Law

Since the modern state's emergence in the sixteenth century, theorists have articulated various approaches to understanding the development of different countries, the relative importance of the role of the state and markets in development, and the models and strategies of development that countries should follow. Of these approaches, the developmental-state thesis (and world systems theory) has been more useful in explaining the state's important role in economic growth and industrialization, particularly in East Asia and Latin America after World War II. Developmental states refer to countries that, compared to Western industrial countries, achieved "late development" (White & Wade, 1988b: 1). They include capitalist countries, such as Germany, Japan, Russia, South Korea, and Taiwan, and socialist countries, such as China, the former Soviet Union, and North Korea. Despite the severe challenges posed by the financial globalization crisis that took place in Asia in 1997, this statist approach is still useful in explaining the intertwined interactions of the state and markets for development and competition within and between national borders.

This chapter first introduces major theoretical frameworks for understanding development, the state, and markets. They include the theories of modernization, dependency, the world system, and the developmental state. The discussion focuses on the latter and the role of education in skills formation in developmental states. Second, the chapter examines challenges to the developmental-state thesis, both theoretically, in the literature of globalization, and practically, as exemplified by the 1997 economic crisis in Asia. Third, the chapter uses the cases of Japan as a capitalist developmental state and China as a socialist counterpart to illustrate the continuing significance of the state, markets, and education in nation-building and rebuilding and how states have used the economic and sociopolitical tasks of education for the cause of development. Finally, the chapter discusses the complex relationship between globalization and nationalism in development.

Major Theoretical Frameworks for Development, States, and Markets

Issues related to development, states, and markets have arisen at different times in the literature of development, particularly in the disciplines of development

economics and international political relations. Major development approaches include modernization theory in the 1940s and 1950s; dependency theory, world systems theory, and the developmental-state thesis from the 1960s to the 1980s; and the discourse about the globalization of world economies in the 1990s.

Theories of Modernization, Dependency, and the World System

Modernization theory and dependency theory both assume that the world is dichotomized, respectively, into modern and traditional sectors in the processes of differentiating social institutions and economic growth (Parsons, 1951; Rostow, 1985), and core and peripheral parts that engage in unequal economic exchange (Frank, 1971). According to both schools, industrialized countries in the West represent modern and core parts of the world, and the Third World countries represent traditional and peripheral ones. However, both schools have been criticized for their dualistic notions of the world, predicting in different ways a deterministically unilinear and pessimistic picture of economic development in Third World countries, undermining the state's role in their developments, and undervaluing their cultures (Martinussen, 1997; Worsley, 1985). These two schools also fail to explain the growth paths of a minority of latecomers in Latin America and Asia between the 1960s and 1980s, which differed from those of advanced developed countries in the West (Haggard, 1990).

The economic performance of these latecomers can be better explained by world systems theory and the developmental-state thesis. In contrast with dependency theorists, world systems theorists argue that the reliance on core countries by noncore ones does not necessarily lead to their economic underdevelopment. According to Wallerstein (1974, 1979), the world system consists of the capitalist world economy and the interstate system. The single, capitalist world economy comprises three tiers: core, semiperiphery, and periphery. All countries engage in the capitalist relation of unequal exchange in an endless pursuit of capital and labor. The "political superstructure of the capitalist world-economy," as further suggested by Wallerstein and Phillips (1991: 141), is the interstate system. Member states possess different capacities to intervene in the operation of the world market and can adjust their economic strategies to regulate the inflow and outflow of capital. They therefore may be able to change their status, for instance, from periphery to semiperiphery, or from semiperiphery to core, if they can achieve "development," or if they end up in "regression" (Wallerstein, 1975). However, Wallerstein's (1974, 1979) world systems theory has been criticized for advocating an over-deterministic domination of the world by capitalism and for undermining the qualitative differences between capitalist and the former socialist countries; paying too much attention to the system level while lacking specificity in understanding social relationships and institutions; and overemphasizing the ruling class's capacity to manipulate the system, but undermining the contribution of the ruled and social agencies to development through various efforts, including resistance to domination (Worsley, 1985).

The Developmental-State Thesis: The State's Role in Markets, Development, and Education

In a different way, the developmental-state thesis has provided an alternative line of thinking by bringing the state back in. Unlike dependency theory, which is based mainly on selected cases in Latin America, the development-state thesis was derived mainly from investigations on the rapid industrialization of capitalist economies in East Asia, including Japan, which was seen as a rising global economic power in the 1960s, and the four Asian Dragons (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) in the 1970s and 1980s (Amsden, 1989; Castells, 1992; Johnson, 1982; Wu, 1994). Unlike dependency theory, which holds a pessimistic view of development, researchers often use this statist approach to explain the economic growth of the second generation of Asia's newly industrialized economies, such as China, Malaysia, and Thailand, that emerged in the 1980s. Compared with world systems theory, the developmental-state thesis pays more attention to the state's relationships with the market and domestic institutions, and how they work together in the process of nation formation.

Developmental-state theorists also differ from neoliberal scholars in how they explain these late or late-latecomers. Neoliberal scholars and the World Bank attributed the late development of East Asian economies to the emergence of free markets within their territories and regions, and the economic failure of Latin American countries to excessive intervention (Kay, 2002). However, proponents of the developmental-state thesis challenged neoliberal beliefs in minimalist state and free-market-driven development and argued for the state's critical role, and its economic and social functions in development and economic progress. With reference to Japan, Johnson (1982) developed an institutionalist approach to understanding the developmental state. He argued that economic development can be successful without a totally free market when it is supported by guidance from the state and favorable political conditions (see more discussion about Japan later). Leftwich (2000) went even further by arguing for the primacy of politics over economics. In a milder version, Wade (1990) proposed a "guided market" approach and argued that in the case of Taiwan, the state's intervention in the market is not unimportant and both state's policies and market's dynamics can contribute to economic growth.

In such developmental economies, the respective states established development as the top priority in their long-term national interests; created a favorable environment with low economic risk and low cost to attract investors at home or from abroad; intensively intervened in market and development processes by controlling the composition of what is profitable, guiding and taming domestic and international market forces, and harnessing them for national economic interests; and cultivated a collective consciousness and urgency for development in policymaking and social mobilization (such as the use of external threats by the nation's foes) to achieve this development task (Evans, 1987; Gereffi, 1990; Johnson, 1982; White & Wade, 1988a). The developmental economies in East Asia, as Castells (1992) noted, have five commonalities: the existence of emergent situations that demand urgency for development and survival, the adoption of an outward economic orientation, the lack of a rural landowning class, an ability to govern the labor force and re-skill it for development, and high ability

and flexibility to adapt to rapid changes in the global economy. Many factors can account for differences in developmental states' economic performances: differences in the state's capacity and relations with the economy; the state's choice of appropriate development strategies; domestic preconditions, such as national histories, cultures, and social class structure; and international factors, like international relations (Evans, 1987; Gereffi, 1990; Kay, 2002; Vartiainen, 1999).

In addition to these factors, numerous theorists have cited education and training as an important engine for economic growth during postwar period, particularly in East Asian developmental states. In developmental states, the state is a principal shaper of education for nation-building. There are strong reasons for the state to be involved. First, market failure in education can be rectified by the state's intervention. Although neoliberal and the World Bank have advocated the state's nonintervention in markets, they also have recognized the necessity of the state's intervention when the market fails in education, particularly universal primary or secondary education (Ashton *et al.*, 1999). Second, the state can use education to serve state formation and development. Buchert (1998) argued that the purpose of education is to fulfill the broader social development goals stipulated by the state, predominantly those related to economic, political, social, and cultural developments that are determined by local, national, regional, and international contexts.

To be more specific, education in developmental states, as in other societies, addresses two major themes related to state formation: economic and sociopolitical. Human capital theorists see education and training as important means to acquire, accumulate, and enhance a society's resources. Schultz (1961, 1971) argued that people can invest in human capital through education and training to acquire knowledge and skills and that enhancing human capital can increase human performance and earnings, and, in turn, strengthen the economy and raise living standards. Becker (1998) used two Asian developmental states, Taiwan and South Korea, to illustrate that investment in human capital is a major way to encourage development and alleviate poverty. However, Blaug (1987) criticized human capital theory for overestimating education's contribution to economic growth; and, according to Livingstone (1997), the theory fails to recognize the multifaceted character of learning, particularly in knowledge-based societies. Despite these criticisms, Castells (1992) argued that the developmental state's ability to redefine its manpower needs and re-skill its citizens is key to achieving economic success. The World Bank (1993) has considered the increase in state's investment in education as an important impetus to East Asia's miraculous economic growth.

Based on the cases of the Four Dragons in East Asia, Ashton *et al.* (1999) proposed a skill formation model to explain how developmental states influence both education and the economy for development. First, the state can use trade and industrial policies to influence the markets in which companies compete and the economy's overall direction, thus influencing employers' demands for skills during specific times. Second, to ensure an appropriate match between the demand for, and supply of, skills, the state can use existing and future human resources requirements to guide its education and training systems. Third, to achieve this task, the state also has a strong control over educational and training institutions so that it can respond quickly to meet the labor market's changing demands.

Besides fulfilling economic tasks, education in developmental states is entrusted with sociopolitical and cultural tasks for state formation. In East Asia, values education has been seen to contribute to economic growth and to establish and sustain the state's political legitimacy and independence (Castells, 1992). Green (1997) pointed out that one major role of the education system is to spread the dominant cultures, foster a sense of nationhood or statehood (e.g., by generalizing the use of the dominant language or dialect), and develop and maintain social cohesion and political and cultural unity. In some developmental economies in East Asia (such as Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan), one major impetus to emphasizing values education as a strategic component of development was external threats resulting from their "antagonistic or at least strained relationship" with a neighboring power (Morris, 1996: 96). To survive external threats, these developmental states used education to cultivate a collective urgency for rapid economic development and a strong and distinctive sense of national solidarity and identity.

Re-questioning the State's Role in Education and the Globalized Market

The developmental-state thesis can explain the upward mobility of developmental economies, such as Taiwan, from peripheral to semiperipheral status in the international economic hierarchy (Gold, 1986, 1988) and the stagnancy of developmental economies in Latin America (Gereffi, 1990). However, since the late-twentieth century, the developmental-state thesis, particularly its emphasis on the state's significant role in development and education in Asian economies, has been severely challenged by globalization, particularly after the 1997 Asian financial crisis.

The 1990s witnessed the development of a huge academic literature on globalization in various disciplines (Held *et al.*, 1998; Marsh *et al.*, 2006). The postwar period witnessed the conspicuous intensification and acceleration of the movement of people, capital, goods and services, information, and images across national borders. According to Giddens (1999), this spatial-temporal compression has affected various dimensions of human activities and even created new economic, social, and cultural areas that may transcend borders. This, in turn, has increased the interconnectivity and interdependence of states, economies, societies, and peoples.

There are multiple views on the relation between the state and globalization in development (Held *et al.*, 1998; Sorensen, 2006). Skeptics such as Hirst and Thompson (1996) have argued that the world is far from global and considered globalization as nothing but a myth. Radical scholars have contended that globalization challenges and undermines the states' power and autonomy and predicted some convergent effects of globalization on human activities, such as the "end of history" (Fukuyama, 1992), the "end of geography" (O'Brien, 1992), a "borderless world," the "end of the nation state" (Ohmae, 1990, 1995), and the death of the "national citizen" (Urry, 1998). Common to these predictions are emphases on the de-differentiation and even erosion of traditional borders, and the diminishing role of the nation-state and national governance. In particular, the state's power is doubly squeezed by shifting upward to regional institutions (such as the European Union in the case of its member countries)

or transnational or supranational agencies (such as the World Trade Organization), and downward to subnational, nongovernmental entities (such as large, private companies) (Delanty, 2000). Between the two extremes of skeptics and radical scholars are those theorists who both recognize the world's increasing interconnectivity and interdependence and argue for the nation-states' continuing key role, as well as their divergent responses to globalization on various dimensions, including economy, culture, and education (Currie & Subotzky, 2000; Green, 1999; Sassen, 2000, 2002).

Education scholars also have addressed the tension between convergence and divergence in response to globalization. Radicalists such as Usher and Edwards (1994) predicted the state's loss of control over education and the increasing convergence of education systems on global or regional norms. However, more scholars have argued for the coexistence of convergence and divergence. On the one hand, the changing global economy requires a redefinition of manpower needs and new skills formation, and therefore new imperatives for education. As Green (1999) observed, there is considerable convergence in policy rhetoric and objectives in education in many countries, including developmental states. Education also is regarded as a primary means of promoting "skills of globalization" for competing and living together in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world (Marginson, 1999). On the other hand, nation-states, as Green (1999) argued, still control their education systems, and they differ in policy details, structures, and processes because of different national conditions (including political traditions and institutions, economic structures, and manpower planning) and different paces of development.

Developmental States, Globalization, and Nationalism: Japan and China

Japan and China illustrate the continuing significant role of the state in development and education and how education can be used for nation-building. In East Asia, Japan is a capitalist developmental state that belongs to the first generation of developmental states in East Asia right after World War II, whereas China is a socialist development state and belongs to the second generation. This section argues that both societies have dual phobias: the phobia of lagging behind other countries and/or being unable to sustain their development in the pursuit of global capital, and the phobia of losing their collective political identity while competing in an increasingly interconnected world. As a result, education in these two developmental states is caught in a dilemma between globalization and nationalism, specifically, between the economic task of education for equipping manpower for competition in the global economy and the sociopolitical task of education to preserve the collective political identity.

Japan and China as Developmental States

After opening its ports to Western powers in the 1850s, Japan began to industrialize and modernize. In early twentieth century, it became a regional military and economic power. Despite its military defeat in World War II, Japan achieved unprecedented economic growth between the 1960s and 1980s and became a world economic power.

Johnson (1982) identified four major factors that contributed to Japan's success as the first developmental state in East Asia. They included: a small and efficient state bureaucracy managed by the best talents available in the system; a political system that enabled state institutions to be autonomous, take initiative, and operate effectively; the state-private sector cooperation with the coexistence of market-conforming and state-intervention chemistry; and a state-related agency that shared the state's management responsibility in leading and implementing the state's development agenda, such as the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI). However, in the 1990s, Japan's economy began to experience a considerable slowdown, which was further complicated by unemployment issues, the rapid advancement of an aging society together with low birthrates, and the challenges of the rise of the information society and internationalization (MEXT, 2001c). The Japanese state also worried about two related social trends: an overemphasis on respect for individual rights and an underemphasis on social duties and responsibilities, and young people's social disengagement by drawing away from society to their own worlds (MEXT, 2001a).

China started its development later than Japan. After assuming power in 1949, the Communist Party of China (CPC) officially transplanted the former Soviet model of a central, planned economy and socialism in the Chinese soil. Market forces were banned, and private ownership and the private sector were prohibited. However, in the late 1970s, China gradually began to shift its development strategy, in Martinussen's (1997) terminology, from a noncapitalist path to socialism (by dissociating from world economy and relying on a state-controlled planned economy) to a capitalist path to socialism (by adopting capitalist principles and a market economy) to create the necessary material conditions for socialist development. Liew (2005) argued that since the introduction of market forces into its socialist economy in the 1980s, China's pathway to rapid economic development has tended to fit the developmental-state type, rather than the liberalization models of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. China's state under the leadership of the CPC has actively mediated market reform and controlled the process of transformation from a centrally planned economy to a socialist market economy. In particular, China's state has adopted four major development strategies: using capitalist principles and market forces to revitalize its declining socialist economy; engaging in a deliberate and gradual shift of economic structure from the primary to secondary and tertiary sectors; letting some areas and people prosper ahead of others; and diversifying economic activity to pursue global capital and reduce economic protectionism (Law, 2006b).

In these two East Asian developmental states, education is used as a vital means to enhance the quality of their human capital and to serve as an important development tool for industrialization. In Japan, education has been regarded as an important engine, particularly for the postwar economic miracle. In the 1860s, Japanese national leaders began establishing public education with a view to using it to modernize Japan and catch up with Western industrial countries. Since then, prewar educational development has been designated as a most important national policy area (Kida, 1986). In the early twentieth century, Japan achieved universal primary education, established a selective multitracked secondary education system, and developed a highly selective, elitist higher education system. This educational investment enabled Japan to maximize its human resources by producing a massive educated and trainable workforce

and elite for catching up with Western countries (Schoppa, 1991). After its defeat in World War II, the Japan's state obtained its people's support for the nation's reconstruction through education (Kida, 1986). It extended universal education from six to nine years, and later expanded senior education and higher education. This became an important source of skilled labor force for postwar nation-rebuilding. However, Japan's education system has been criticized for high centralization because the state can exert considerable influence on local governments through the pressure of the peoples' strong demand for equal opportunity for education and the provision of standardized services to all citizens. The Japanese state uses three major measures to influence local school education: the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology's (MEXT) prescription of criteria and standards in curriculum through the Courses of Study; the disbursement of general educational grants to local governments and the granting of special national aid for various items; and the national contribution to half of salary expenditures of educational personnel, particularly in public schools of compulsory education (Kida, 1986).

Unlike Japan, China began using education to develop its human capital at a rather late stage. Despite Chinese civilization's long history, education in imperial China was limited to the elite and associated with officialdom. In 1949 (the founding year of the People's Republic of China), it was estimated that 80% of its population was illiterate. Despite an emphasis on vocational competence in nation-building, Mao Zedong held a low view of human capital and used the class struggle of the masses to fight against intellectuals and professionals, particularly during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). When Deng Xiaoping resumed power in late 1970s, he shifted from Mao's ideological approach to a pragmatic one. Deng (1977, 1978, 1985) saw education and science and technology as key to the nation's prosperity, advocated respecting knowledge and talents, and suggested that China's national strength depended on the Chinese workforce's qualifications and the quantity and quality of intellectuals. China also has a strong wish to use education to turn its huge population (1.3 billion in 2005) from a national liability to national asset (China's Education and Human Resource Development Project Team, 2003). To achieve this end, China's state adopted a series of strategies, including the speeding up of the campaign for eliminating illiteracy among people over age 15, and the introduction of universal basic education of nine years in 1986 to improve the basic literacy and skills for the labor force at the lowest, but largest stratum; the rapid expansion in the 1980s of the vocational track (and the corresponding reduction of the academic track) in senior secondary education to provide subprofessionals at the middle stratum; and the drastic expansion of higher education in the late 1990s to increase the quantity and enhance the quality of talents at the high stratum (Law, 2000).

The Economic Phobia of Lagging Behind, and Education Reform for Economic Globalization

Despite an emphasis on skills formation, some have questioned whether the education systems of Japan and China are capable of equipping students with the necessary abilities to face the challenges of economic globalization in the twenty-first century. Since the 1960s, many have wondered whether the Japanese education system could help

Japan become an economic power in the region and the world. In the late 1960s and mid-1980s, respectively, the Japanese state initiated two major education reforms to increase students' choices, reduce examination pressure, and deal with school violence and students' misbehavior (Schoppa, 1991). Despite the two reform initiatives, these long-standing issues remained unresolved and the general public was dissatisfied with the education system and school curriculum (Peter & Curtis, 2002).

During the third reform at the turn of the millennium, Japan admitted that its education was "deteriorating" (National Commission on Educational Reform, 2000). First, the Japanese education system was criticized for failing to prepare students to cope with social change, meet the new manpower needs and demands, and rise to the challenges arising from globalization and the rapid progress of science and technology (MEXT, 2001a). Second, Japan's students suffer from high examination pressure and information cramming (Bossy, 2000). Because of this, the Japanese school curriculum, as admitted by the Curriculum Council (1998), had not satisfactorily equipped Japanese children with an ability to study, make judgments, express opinions, and use different perspectives. Third, Japanese education faces some serious educational issues, including bullying and violence on campus, disruptive behaviors in class, truancy, and juvenile delinquency (MEXT, 2001c).

Similar to Japan, China admitted that its education system lagged behind changing social needs in the twenty-first century. First, the overall quality of the Chinese labor force is still low and has difficulty competing in the global knowledge economy. The average length of schooling for people over age 15 is about eight years and is three to six years shorter than that of developed countries and newly industrialized economies (Ministry of Education, 2004a). The population's average level of popular science and technology is far below that of Japan, the European Union, and the United States (China's Education and Human Resource Development Project Team, 2003). Second, many schools emphasize rote learning and drilling and focus on outdated book knowledge that is difficult for students to learn (Ministry of Education, 2001b). Third, on average Chinese students are "relatively weak in creativity, practical dimension, employability, and founding their own business" (Ministry of Education, 2004a: 46).

Despite the inadequacy of their respective education systems, the states of Japan and China continue to believe that education can prevent them from lagging behind others and help them sustain their development. In Japan, this strong belief is explicitly reflected in various education reform proposals and particularly the title of the 2004 education reform plan, *Japan! Rise Again!* (MEXT, 2005). In China, the *2003–2007 Action Plan for Invigorating Education* reiterated that education "is the very basis of the long-term development of the nation" (Ministry of Education, 2005: 1). To deal with external challenges from globalization and long-standing domestic educational problems, in the early 2000s, both developmental states began to reform their school curricula and shift from a skill-formation model to a model that emphasizes developing students' abilities to meet changing social needs.

Earlier in the education reform in the 1980s, Japan began to use education as a means to cope with internationalization, and tried to use globalization to justify the urgent need for education reform. The ad hoc National Council on Educational Reform (1985: 18) (which was established by Premier Nakasone) even warned that if Japan

wanted “to survive and develop in the age of internationalization, it is essential . . . [to] design [Japan’s] education reform from the standpoint of internationalization.” As observed by Lincicome (1993), this Council advocated the concept of “cosmopolitan Japanese” who can communicate in at least one foreign language, have a thorough knowledge of foreign countries and cultures, appreciate the cultures of other peoples, and have an international consciousness. A similar urgency to equip Japanese students to face economic globalization can be found in the 2001 Education Reform Plan for the 21st Century (also called the Rainbow Plan) (MEXT, 2001b). Parallel to this plan is the introduction of a new school curriculum reform in 2002. The Japanese state advocated a shift in pedagogy from a teacher-centric and textbook-centric approach to student-focused and self-directed learning, and it emphasized the development of students’ willingness to learn independently and their independence in thinking, making judgments, engaging in self-expression, and acting for themselves (Yoshikawa, c. 2000). In particular, students from grade three to grade nine are now required to take Integrated Studies, in which they can undertake their own research, go on field trips, and tackle real-life problems with hand-on activities.

In China, the curricular reforms of primary and secondary education are intended to strengthen the relevance of students’ study to their daily lives and modern social and technological developments; to help enhance students’ motivation to learn actively and their willingness to explore and develop various abilities (including the collection and processing of information, acquisition of new knowledge, problem analysis and solving, and collaboration and exchange); to equip them with the basic knowledge and skills of lifelong learning; and to help them develop a proper worldview and global outlook, in addition to developing a love for China, the ruling party, and Chinese cultures (Ministry of Education, 2001b, 2003).

Japan and China selected Information Technology (IT) and English as important transnational skills to be fostered among students for living in an increasingly connected world. The Japanese state is attempting to make Japan an internationally competitive nation built on IT (i.e., e-Japan) within the first decade of the third millennium (Information Technology Strategic Headquarters, 2001). The Curriculum Council (1998) encourages the implementation of consistent and systematic information education and the use of computers in class-learning activities at all stages of school education. In 2002, the Japanese state changed IT and Computers (including basic computer skills) from an elective to a compulsory subject in the junior secondary curriculum, and in 2003, it introduced a compulsory course in IT for all students in senior secondary schools. Unlike Japan, China has no plan to make itself an e-nation. Despite this, in 2001 the China started an effort to popularize IT education in school education within 10 years (Ministry of Education, 2000). By 2005, IT courses were offered in secondary schools across the nation and in primary schools in relatively developed areas.

In these two non-English-speaking developmental states, English is seen as a means to increase interconnectivity with the rest of the world and to enhance human capital in the pursuit of global capital. In the early 2000s, Japan wanted to equip “Japanese with English abilities”: speaking, listening, reading, and writing. The MEXT (2002) admitted that Japan’s development in the global economy had been hindered by a lack of

sufficient English proficiency. To rectify this, the MEXT (2003) issued the Action Plan to Cultivate Japanese with English Abilities. Japan has selected English as the major common foreign language for its children to master and expects that English-capable Japanese can help Japan link to the rest of the world, gain the world's understanding and trust, enhance Japan's presence in the international community, and improve its national development. Primary students are now provided with conversational activities. In the new Courses of Study that were implemented in 2002, English became a compulsory subject in junior and senior secondary education.

China recognized the significance of English much earlier than Japan. After reconnecting with Western countries in the late 1970s, China replaced Russian with English as one of the most important foreign languages, and students began to receive English lessons in junior secondary education. Because of the intensification of economic globalization and informatization, the Ministry of Education (2001a) recognized the increasing importance of foreign languages, particularly English, and set the learning and mastery of at least one foreign language as the "basic requirement of citizens in the twenty-first century." However, the Ministry of Education (2001d) deemed that the average English proficiency of the Chinese people has lagged behind the needs of national economic and social developments. Consequently, from 2001 English instruction began to be officially extended from junior secondary education to primary three across the nation (Ministry of Education, 2001a). Schools are required to provide at least four learning activities per week, cutting one lesson on Chinese language if necessary. Some urban areas, such as Shanghai and Beijing, have extended the provision of English lessons to primary one students. Three years later, the Ministry of Education (2004b) asked colleges and universities to reform the curricula of university foundation English for students whose major is not English language, with a view to enhancing overall English proficiency, particularly in listening and speaking.

The Sociopolitical Phobia of Losing National Identity and Revitalizing Nationalism in the Curriculum

In addition to an economic phobia, both Japan and China fear losing their collective political identities in the process of modernization and economic globalization. In response, they have reasserted the importance of preserving their collective political and cultural identity, in particular, by reviving nationalism in their school curricula. Despite the struggles for modernization since World War II, Japan had been proud of its national spirit and cultural traditions. However, whilst preparing its people for globalization, the Japanese state has feared losing its national characteristics and cultural identity. In the 1980s the Japanese state began to be aware of the increasing tension between being a "Japanese citizen" and being a "world citizen" (National Council on Educational Reform, 1985: 18). The Central Council for Education (1997) even expressed its fear that in the future, Japanese people may lack a sufficient understanding of traditional culture and the culture may be lost because of a lack of successors to perpetuate it.

Similar to, but more complicated than Japan, at the turn of the millennium, China, as a late developmental state, fears the loss of its socialist collective political identity. The rapid downfall of the former socialist block in the late 1980s and 1990s leaves

China as one of very few remaining socialist countries, and since then, this has created a national identity crisis for its people and the nation in the international community (Law, 2006a), which has been exacerbated by the ruling party's identity crisis. The change of development strategy (as described earlier) brought forth a series of domestic problems, such as widening gaps between urban and rural areas and between the rich and poor; intensified social unrest and conflicts; widespread materialistic values; and the widespread power abuse of party cadres and officials (including very top-ranked CPC members, such as Beijing's Mayor in 1995 and Shanghai's municipal party secretary in 2006, who were sacked for corruption). The massive student demonstration in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989 represented the popular challenge to the legitimacy of the CPC's leadership and led to military suppression with the use of state force (Fewsmith, 2002). All these negative consequences of economic reform were deemed a serious threat to China's social stability and the CPC's political leadership.

To deal with their sociopolitical phobias, China and Japan revitalized their citizenship education. Since the 1980s, the Japanese state has attempted to deal with the global-national-local tension by reconstructing Japan as a culturally oriented nation in the globalizing world with a two-pronged approach. On the one hand, the Japanese state encourages schools to foster values related to global citizenship, such as a rich sense of humanity, respect for life and human rights, an appreciation of different cultures, a spirit of international cooperation, and living together in harmony. On the other hand, the Japanese state repeatedly promotes the concept of being Japanese more than global citizenship. In his address at a meeting on educational reform, Prime Minister Nakasone (1984) expressed that the education reform in the mid-1980s could help "preserve and further develop the traditional Japanese culture," improve children's moral and behavioral standards, and also prepare Japanese citizens "to contribute to the international community with a Japanese consciousness." Whilst promoting the digitization of education, the Japanese government attempts to reform its education system with a view to making a "culturally oriented nation" through helping students foster self-discipline, consideration for others, and a deep respect for traditional culture and social norms (MEXT, 2001c).

In particular, the Japanese state used two major means to reinforce and consolidate the sociopolitical function of education for preserving Japan's traditions and cultures. The first means to maintain the national identity of Japanese living in a globalizing world is to legalize this function of schools by amending the Fundamental Law of Education under the leadership of Prime Minister Koizumi (Akito, 2002). Per Koizumi's request, the Central Council for Education (2003) proposed to amend the law to emphasize the school's importance in fostering among students a sense of civic responsibility, a respect for tradition and culture, and love of the nation and home. In 2006, the Japanese parliament enacted a patriotic bill calling on schools to inculcate in students respect for tradition and culture and love for the nation and homeland.

The MEXT (2001a) used the curriculum as the second means to inculcate Japanese people with Japan's traditions and culture. Students are exhorted to deepen their understanding of, and pride in, national and local histories, cultures, and traditions (MEXT, 2000). To sustain Japan's traditional cultures, schools are urged to provide students with

hands-on activities in traditional arts and crafts and teach them traditional performing arts and traditional manufacturing techniques (Central Council for Education, 1997). To foster a sense of social collectivity and deal with the children's moral degeneracy, Japan's Education Reform Plan for the 21st Century (MEXT, 2001a) requires schools to teach children social rules and basic morals at every stage of their development.

In contrast with Japan, China used laws to enforce the sociopolitical function of education much earlier. Chinese laws stipulate that schools train and equip successors of socialist construction and pass on to them CPC-prescribed values, including the "five loves" (love of home country, people, labor, science, and socialism), and the "five-isms" (patriotism, collectivism, internationalism, communism, and dialectical and historical materialism) to combat feudal, capitalist decadent ideas (National People's Congress, 1995, 1999). Unlike Japan, which does not have drastic social transformation, in the 1980s China began to make a paradigm shift to a more accommodative framework for socialist citizenship by opening up to the world; recognizing the market as a lever of diversification and pluralization; reinstating law as an external regulating force; revitalizing virtues as an internal, self-impelling force of social conformity; and repackaging the ruling party as a political vanguard of all classes (Law, 2006a). As a result, China's state redefined its citizenship education curriculum and reasserted the importance of citizenship education in nation-rebuilding. It has a strong urge to make use of citizenship education to help students identify with the present socialist system and political system across the nation regardless of regional, ethnic, and cultural differences (Wan, 2004).

The paradigm shift of socialist citizenship in China is also reflected in the change of its citizenship curriculum by incorporating a multileveled framework with elements of citizenship from global, national, and subnational levels (Ministry of Education, 2001c, 2002). Despite having a more accommodative framework, more emphasis is placed on the national than global or local level. This is reflected in the textbook revisions for citizenship education in primary and secondary schools after the CPC National Congress drew conclusions about these sociopolitical changes in China in the mid-1990s and early 2000s. As compared with previous versions, these two revisions, as shown by Law (2006a), carry both continuities and changes. On the one hand, these political textbooks continue to help students recognize the CPC's paramount leadership in and the working class's contribution to socialist modernization; understand the meaning of national symbols (such as national flag and anthem); and learn about the self-sacrificing spirit of role models, such as Lei Feng and the Chinese people's courage in their fight against foreign aggressors. On the other hand, the revised political textbooks changed in ways that reflect the inadequacy of socialism in modernizing China. For example, they replaced the party line on class struggle with cooperation among people and the peaceful coexistence of different ethnic groups. The textbooks also shifted from totally rejecting Western modernization, cultures, and characters to accommodating them; changed from playing down Chinese culture to including Chinese classical stories and characters and designating some Chinese values as good, traditional ones (such as hard work, filial obedience to parents, and willingness to help others); and placed a new emphasis on the importance of personal efforts and continuous improvement and discouraged unhealthy materialistic competition. These changes

in political textbooks reflect socialist China's significant readjustment in rebuilding the relative positions of socialism, capitalism, endogenous traditional Chinese cultures, and contemporary values.

Conclusion

The various models of development share two common concerns: the relative role of the state and markets in development and the relevance of the development models of developed countries to their less-developed counterparts. The developmental-state thesis recognizes the contributions of both the state and markets to development, particularly their supplementary and complementary roles. The various interactions between the state and market forces and the strategies they use can yield different results, such as different forms of and paths to development, and different extents of development ranging from regression to progression. In this sense, the developmental state is dynamic rather than static. It is a "diachronic phenomenon" occurring in different forms over a long period of time, adapting itself to new forms in new epochs (Woo-Cumings, 1999: 15).

Despite the challenges posed by the discourse of globalization and the 1997 crisis of financial globalization in Asia, the developmental-state thesis is still a useful framework for explaining the dual (economic and sociopolitical) phobias of countries like Japan and China in the pursuit of global capital and the sustenance of their national identities, and how their states use the economic and sociopolitical functions of education to address the dilemma between globalization and nationalism. The cases of Japan and China support Krasner's (1999) view that although globalization has challenged the effectiveness of state control, it has not fundamentally transformed the state's sovereignty, nor has it qualitatively changed the state's authority. Increased internationalization and deregulation has not replaced nation-states with global actors or local states. On the contrary, like other East Asian developmental economies (Weiss, 1998), the states of Japan and China continue to be powerful actors in the international polity and economy. Instead of being maneuvered by globalization, states can actively use it as both a common hegemonic justification for, and an external impetus to, urgent reform of their education systems.

The cases of these two East Asian developmental states also support Sassen's (1999) argument that the global is embedded in the national. Global processes need to take place and be materialized within national borders. In the world economy, the new division of labor has not changed the fact that labor markets are still embedded mainly in national contexts (Abrahamson, 2004). States are still the ultimate guarantors of the rights of global capital and the protectors of contracts and property rights. In education, the state can redefine policies to shift the orientation of education from skills formation to the fostering and enhancement of students' basic abilities for living and coping with a changing society and market at domestic and global levels. The state continues to be a principal selector and translator of global imperatives for education, including proficiencies in the transnational skills of IT and English. Thus the selection and translation of global educational imperatives are mainly local processes that are subject to the constraints of local players and conditions.

Moreover, despite the adoption of a multileveled framework for citizenship curriculum, states can promote and emphasize nationalism more than globalism for their domestic purposes and needs. The intensification of interconnectivity and interdependence between economies and between societies does not necessarily marginalize the state's role in nation-building or rebuilding, nor must it bring forth an overwhelming homogenization of human activities into a limited number of patterns. On the contrary, in countries like Japan and China, the temporal-spatial compression of human activities can induce an intense fear about the possibility of losing collective political and cultural identity. This, in turn, can create an opportunity for states to reassert in their citizenship curricula the distinction of nation-specific political and cultural traditions from those of other states and peoples in a globalizing world. Highlighting the importance of recognizing and respecting other cultures and peoples can be seen as another way to reinforce the sociopolitical and cultural distinctions between "we" and "they."

In a changing world, states are arguably transitional and developmental. They face changing domestic needs and conditions, changing external challenges from other member states, or both. They can respond by proactively or reactively revising their strategies of development; modifying their social structures and institutions; adjusting the interrelationships among the state, markets, and society; and/or enhancing their competitiveness for international competition while maintaining cooperation with other countries. In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, societal politics and economies are increasingly intertwined, rather than separated, as are the state and market forces. Globalization can stimulate and reinforce both the convergence and diversity of human activities at the local, national, and global levels. On behalf of its people, economy, and society, the state plays a significant role in both negotiating globalization for domestic development and promoting nationalism for domestic social cohesion by establishing its distinctions from its counterparts in international competition.

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THE DEVELOPING STATES AND EDUCATION: AFRICA

John Metzler

Introduction

In March 2007 the world joined Africa in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the independence of Ghana, the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence from colonial rule. Recognizing this seminal event in modern African history along with the subsequent ushering in of the postcolonial era across Africa that began in earnest in the early 1960s, it is an opportune time for a critical retrospective on the place and role of schooling (formal education) in postcolonial African nation-states. This critical review will be undertaken without adopting either an *Afro-pessimism* or an *Afro-optimism* perspective that dominates contemporary discourse on Africa (Ayittey, 2002; Bayart, 1993; Chabal & Daloz, 1999; Hyden, 2006); Rather an attempt will be made to couch this critical review in a broadly *Afro-realism* perspective.

In the early 1960s at the beginning of the postcolonial era in Africa there was consensus regarding the role of formal education in Africa's political, economic, and social development and the achievement of human "progress." Importantly, this consensus was shared by external actors such as the former European colonial powers, and the US through their bilateral aid programs, and the UN (UNDP, UNESCO, and UNICEF), the World Bank, and Western academic "experts," on the one hand, and leaders of the nascent (postcolonial) nation-states, on the other hand. This consensus asserted that formal education was an essential, and to some policy actors the most powerful/effective instrument in the struggle for economic and social development, political unity and the capacitation of the nascent postcolonial states, generating modernity, creating the "new man," broken of *his* primordial, traditional, worldview, interpreting the world and acting in the postcolonial era as modern men (a recognition of the importance of women and gender was delayed until the 1990s). (Almond & Powell, 1966) This perspective, albeit from a utilitarian as opposed to a theoretical perspective, was not a monopoly of the international and governing elite, but was fully embraced by the vast majority of postcolonial citizens who aspired for formal education for themselves and their progeny, perceiving schooling functionally, as the most important instrument in their struggle for economic advancement, prosperity, and socioeconomic security.

A consequence of the education consensus in the past 45–50 years, postcolonial African political regimes across Africa allocated more money to support the educational sector than any other sector with the exception of defense and security

(and in many states more than to defense and security). In 2007, what do African citizens and African nation-states have to show for this endeavor? The results in a number of Africa countries are impressive in terms of increased access to all levels of formal education, but are not as impressive when examined against the *promise* held out for schooling 50 years ago at the dawn of the postcolonial era in Africa. In the political arena in spite of an impressive movement toward democratization and political renewal, Africa is also plagued by *decayed and failed states*, authoritarian rule, ethnic strife, civil wars, and corruption.

In the economic arena Africa continues to be the poorest continent in the world, in spite of impressive growth rates at the national/macro level, upwards of 70 per cent of the population in subcontinent exist on less than \$2 per day. Socially, Africa today is the most unhealthy region in the world with the highest infant and maternal mortality rates, malnutrition, chronic malaria, in addition to being the epicenter of the global HIV/AIDS pandemic (Barnett & Whiteside, 2006; Poku & Whiteside, 2004).

In spite of this record, the faith placed in schooling by ordinary citizens and state regimes and international actors has not diminished or wavered. This can be demonstrated in the Millennium Development Goals that target universal primary education in Africa as a primary goal, and in the pride of place given education and training in targets set by the *New Economic Partnership for African Development* (NEPAD) and the African Union (AU). However, there is a growing realization on the part of both external (international) and internal (domestic) stakeholders that while formal education plays an essential supporting role in promoting development, the efficacy of schooling is not what was purported five decades ago.

How are we to make sense of the “failure” of schooling to realize its developmental rationality in Africa? The “answer” to this query is not easy or simple, reflecting the complexity of Africa’s colonial and postcolonial social, economic, and political realities. However, the first essential step is recognition of historical legacy of colonialism.

The Colonial Legacy: Ambiguities of Colonialism and Schooling

In order to understand postcolonial education processes and practice in Africa, it is essential to examine the legacy of colonialism (a) politically, economically, socially, and culturally, and (b) in the colonial education systems.

African societies varied in terms of precolonial education practice. However, it is important to recognize that all societies had sophisticated systems of informal education that allowed for the intergenerational transmission of knowledge, skills, values, and system of beliefs, all of which facilitated the reproduction society across time and space. Some African societies had sophisticated systems of apprenticeships, and others systems of religious schools which taught literacy and numeracy as exemplified by Quranic schools throughout Islamic Africa and church schools in Ethiopia.

Formal education and schooling in most of Africa was a consequence of Europe’s engagement in the subcontinent, most particularly during the era of colonial rule (1880s-

1960s). However, it should be noted that as early as the sixteenth century that Portugal had established a presence in coastal West Africa, that included the establishment of Christian missions and schools, most significantly in the Kongo Kingdom. This early era of European contact with sub-Saharan Africa that was characterized by active engagement by both Africans and Europeans (Thornton, 1992) was superseded by the onset of the trans-Atlantic slave trade initiated in the sixteenth century that resulted in great devastation of African societies in addition to immeasurable personal suffering among those directly affected by slave wars, capture, the “Middle Passage,” and enslavement in the Americas before slavery was effectively ended in the early nineteenth century.

Reasons for Colonialism

As I will argue, to understand the lasting legacy of the colonial experience on the processes, practice, and efficacy of schooling in postcolonial Africa, it is important to take brief cognizance of the rationale and subsequent practice of colonialism in Africa.

Economic Rationale for Colonialism

Industrial capitalism in Western Europe by late nineteenth century had become increasingly dependent on non-European markets for its industrial goods. Secure (noncompetitive) new markets for industrial goods were perceived to be essential to the survival and continued profitability of industrial companies that were for the most part located in European countries. Relatedly, for industrializing European countries which were resource-poor, or whose natural resources were rapidly depleting, secure (noncompetitive) sources of raw materials to supply the continued industrial/capitalist expansion was an imperative.

An additional economic rationale is associated with the averred crisis of over-accumulation. This Marxist perspective, associated most closely with Luxemburg and Lenin, asserted that contradictions within industrial capitalism resulted in an accumulation in profits that could not be absorbed in Europe, requiring colonial expansion (imperialism) to ensure safe locations for investing accumulated profits.

Political Rationale for Colonialism

Colonialism in Africa is closely related to rise of the nation-states in Europe and subsequent nationalism in the nineteenth century. More specifically, the unification of Germany and Italy, Republicanism in France, and associated European wars exemplified political tensions in Europe. The colonial endeavor in Africa (and Asia) was directly related to the political environment in Europe and to competitive nationalism. National prestige played directly to the competition for and rapid colonization of Africa—the Scramble for Africa—between 1885 and 1910. Political historians, such as Robinson and Gallagher (1968), argue that the colonial enterprise allowed for “peaceful” competition between European nation-states that actually delayed the onset of World War I until 1914. The national prestige afforded by colonial empire was enormous; European colonial powers could boast empires in Africa and Asia that spatially and demographically multiplied their size many times over.

Social and Cultural Rationale for Colonialism

The colonial endeavor in Africa was actively facilitated by social and cultural variables. Western Europe and the US experienced a revival or a renewal of Christianity in the nineteenth century popularly referred to as the Great Awakening that resulted in active Christian mission engagement in Africa and Asia. The imperative of the “great commission” to convert non-Christian populations in distant lands inspired “mission societies” to establish mission outposts throughout Africa. Mission societies were generally strongly supportive of the colonial endeavor, believing that the establishment of colonial authority would create an environment necessary for the realization of the mission agenda.

There were also secular perspectives that lent important ideological support for the colonial endeavor. Social Darwinism provided a “scientific” mandate for imperialism: Europeans as the superior *race* had a *natural* right to conquer and govern the *lesser races* of Africa. Moreover, this right was seen as an obligation—“the white man’s burden”—to “civilize” African societies and individuals.

These economic, political, and sociocultural factors, while potentially contradictory, converged to provide the structural impetus that resulted in the *Scramble for Africa*—the colonization of Africa between 1885 (Treaty of Berlin) and 1910. During this 25-year period, the entire continent of Africa was Balkanized into 51 European colonies; only Liberia and Ethiopia escaped direct European colonization. But, how do these variables relate to formal education and schooling in Africa? Is there anything within the rationale for colonialization, other than the Christian mission imperative, that lends itself to the initiation and expansion of schooling in Africa? To address this question systematically, it is essential to analyze the actual practice and structures of colonialism in Africa. However, the structures and practices put in place by the colonial endeavor were informed by the rationale for colonialism.

The Structure and Legacy of Colonialism and the Colonial State

To understand European colonialism in Africa it is essential to keep in mind that while burgeoning European nation-states were among the most powerful in the world at the end of the nineteenth century, they did not have limitless, political, economic, and military resources. National treasuries were depleted by chronic warfare, and as European states responded to the growing welfare needs of their own citizens caused by rapid industrialization and urbanization. These financial and political realities impacted on and limited the structure of colonial practice in Africa resulting in two cardinal agendas of European colonialism in Africa (with the exception of settler colonies such as Kenya, Rhodesia, and South Africa).

Firstly, revenue generation, where each colony was responsible to pay for itself—all expenditures by the colonial state had to be generated locally via taxation of colonial subjects, commercial concerns, and primary extractive industries—mining and agricultural. Yet, this latter source of revenue was curtailed by the symbiotic relationship between the colonial state and colonial capital. This imperative is central in understanding the nature of the support—or *lack thereof*—by colonial regimes for schooling.

Secondly, the establishment and maintenance of sovereignty and security were the primary, some historians would argue the sole, political imperatives of colonial regimes. Absent from the colonial state agenda was any concern for state legitimacy within the colonies, such as addressing human welfare concerns and the development of social and communication infrastructures, including support for schooling, so important to the modernizing European state. However, these concerns or obligations were clearly outside of the purview of the colonial state.

As a consequence of these limiting imperatives, the colonial state in Africa was imbued with contradictions, the state was maximalist in terms of security (developed police and armed force relative to other state apparatuses) and revenue collection, but minimalist in all other areas of state function with a very underdeveloped bureaucracy particularly in areas of human and social services: health care, education, housing, water, sanitation, developing transportation and communication infrastructure, and support for the development and diversification of the economy, all of which are central behavioral characteristics of modern states (including capitalist states). Moreover, the lack of revenue and state capacity, combined with the imperatives of hegemony and security led to employing strategies to weaken potential internal opposition (divide and rule) and to govern through ethnically and regionally based “traditional authorities” (indirect rule). These well-established colonial practices have had a long term, and often devastating, impact on postcolonial nation-states (Mamdani, 1996; Cooper, 2005).

The modern state as exemplified by the geopolitical north regardless of political ideology or orientation, views formal education, in the form of state-supported schooling, as an essential political instrument (Allthuser, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Carnoy, 1984; Gutman, 1987; Katz, 1975; Spring, 1985). The skills and knowledge necessary to administer the state in all its permutations are dependent on an effective educational system. Moreover, the state is committed to supporting and facilitating economic productivity and growth, which in turn is dependent, *inter alia*, on a skilled, flexible, and creative workforce—a product of an efficient and flexible educational system. And, finally, the state through political socialization intended by schools enhances state and political system legitimacy.

For the most part the colonial state did not share the attributes of the modern European state that fostered state support for education. The underdeveloped nature and scope of the colonial state resulted in a limited demand for skilled bureaucrats, except in the area of state security and to provide the very basic functions. Moreover, the realities of the colonial mode of production (articulated below) made minimal demands for an educated and skilled workforce. And, finally, until late in its tenure, legitimacy was not a priority of the colonial state (Cooper, 2005; Mamdani, 1996; Young, 1994).

Given these factors, there was only a limited political imperative for supporting formal education/schooling in most African colonies. Consequently, until the late colonial period there was very limited colonial state support for schooling. In the case of settler colonies, where the settler state apparatuses supported the settler hegemonic imperative, state support of education was even more parsimonious, and it severely restricted schooling provided by nongovernmental agencies, most specifically Christian missions.

Legacy of the Colonial State

At independence the postcolonial state inherited a long-lasting legacy from the colonial state which necessitated active state engagement (largely absent in the colonial era) in promoting social, economic, and political development while, concurrently, severely limiting the options available to the nascent regimes. This political legacy can be briefly summarized in the following manner.

First, the postcolonial regimes inherited states that were often devoid of nation. The lack of political capacity and the need to weaken internal opposition to colonial rule had forced the colonial state to govern through various schemes of “divide and rule” that resulted in ethnically defined and divided colonial states. Consequently, postcolonial leaders were confronted with the gargantuan task of developing national identity—a task not easily accomplished given the states’ limited political and economic capacity. Consequently, ethnicity has been a major issue in most postcolonial states in Africa.

Second, postcolonial regimes inherited state structures that lacked democratic political culture and institutions. Indeed, colonialism by definition and practice was antidemocratic. Other than formalized structures of elections, infused at independence, there was no established legacy of a culture supporting democratic values. In the absence of a democratic political culture that, *inter alia*, valued basic human rights and tolerated political opposition, it was almost natural for under-capacitated postcolonial state regimes to resort to colonial-like authoritarianism in dealing with internal opposition.

Third, the underdeveloped state capacity greatly limited the ability of the new postcolonial regimes to meet the legitimate aspirations of their citizenry. In most African nations the state lacked the bureaucratic and financial capacity to develop, initiate, and administer programs to enhance social well-being of citizens (health, education, housing, sanitation, etc.) and to stimulate economic productivity and development. Because of underdeveloped colonial education systems, postcolonial states inherited a very limited supply of educated, skilled, and experienced bureaucrats, who would be essential to realizing the development imperative of the new nation-states.

Fourth, the postcolonial states inherited an overdeveloped, relative to the rest of the state apparatus, security capacity in the form of the national police and armed forces. Consequently, it is not surprising that, early on, some postcolonial state regimes turned to these apparatuses when they faced crises of legitimacy; nor, is it surprising (although very unfortunate) that the armed forces, privileged in the colonial era, are in the position to stage successful coups when inaugural state regimes are unable to govern effectively, or meet the legitimate aspirations and needs of the citizenry.

Legacy of the Colonial Mode of Production

As indicated above, the colonial imperative not to spend more than it could raise through local taxes greatly restricted revenues available to the colonial state for the development of social and economic infrastructure, while concurrently facilitating and enabling colonial capital (i) to extract raw materials and profits from the colony with little or no horizontal reinvestment in the colony and (ii) to guarantee market monopolies for manufactured goods through deliberate disincentives to local industries.

More specifically, colonial economic policy led to the identification of a single (usually only one) source of revenue/expropriation resulting in the creation of what economists have termed *mono-economies* that are extractive in nature, such as mining, agricultural (large-scale commercial farms in some colonies and forced peasant production of export crops in other colonies). These export-oriented raw material-extractive industries most often made no attempt to process the minerals or agricultural products in the colonies before exportation. Consequently there was little or no horizontal multiplying effect from the extractive industries. There was also no diversification of the domestic colonial economy.

As a consequence of the distorted nature of the colonial economy, there was little or no development of infrastructures for communication, transportation, and financial services, other than what was needed to facilitate the expropriation of primary product(s). Road and rail systems ran from location of raw materials (e.g., where the mines were) to the coast, with limited development within the country. Moreover, until the late colonial period there was no state support for developing local African entrepreneurs with little or no access to credit and other vital financial services. Indeed, in settler states African entrepreneurship was actively discouraged for fear of competing with European settlers.

Economic Legacy

The economic legacy of colonialism has been, if anything, more severe than the political legacy. The export-oriented extractive mono-economies of the vast majority of colonies in Africa resulted in the institutionalization of distorted capitalist systems which structurally hindered the development of market-driven (or centrally planned) diversified productive economies able to take advantage of Africa's rich potential and opportunities afforded by the increasing globalized world economy. Consequently the majority of postcolonial African governments were revenue-poor, with insufficient funds to expand woefully underdeveloped infrastructures, or to meet the legitimate demands for expanded social services on the part of their citizenry.

This economic legacy has had a direct impact on the schooling in postcolonial Africa. Most obviously, the lack of revenue precluded the rapid expansion of formal education, muting the popularly held assumption that schooling was essential for productivity and economic development. Less obvious, but just as detrimental, I would argue, has been the expansion and institutionalization of a system of schooling that is orientated to the realities of the distorted colonial mode of production. Jobs in postcolonial Africa, as in colonial Africa, have primarily been in the public service sector, informing and rewarding a system of schooling that eschews creativity, problem-solving, and entrepreneurship.

Social and Cultural Legacy of Colonialism

The social and cultural legacies of colonialism were not uniform throughout Africa. In a number of colonies urbanization was rapid in the late colonial period. This is particularly true of mineral-based economies such as Congo and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). However, a number of Africa colonies remained overwhelmingly rural. Social and cultural dislocation was not as severe in these colonies as it was in more

urbanized colonies. But, there were rural-based colonies, such as Malawi in south-central Africa and Burkina Faso in West Africa, which suffered significant social dislocation as they served as sources of cheap labor (labor migration) for the mining and plantation economies in neighboring colonies.

The colonial endeavor, as I argued above, above, was cultural as well as economic and political. Colonialism depended on an ideology of racial and cultural superiority that legitimized the practice of gross discrimination and oppressive regimes, not just to the colonizers (and citizens of the metropole), but also to the colonized. Colonial cultural apparatuses—including schools—were engaged in a dual cultural strategy of glorifying European culture while concomitantly denigrating African culture, values, and worldviews. The *success* of this strategy in terms of what Franz Fanon, among others, has termed the *colonization of the African mind*, is, many would argue, an ongoing legacy of colonialism and the colonial education system (Fanon, 1963; Carnoy, 1974; wa Thiong'o, 1986, 1993).

Schooling and Formal Education in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa

Colonial Educational Policy and Practice

There is a large, albeit uneven, scholarship on colonial education and schooling in Africa. Much of this scholarship has focused on the role of European and North American mission societies in the establishment and expansion of formal schooling throughout Africa. Sybille Kuster (1998, 330–369), among other scholars, provides a comprehensive bibliography of academic work on colonial education in Africa. However, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to critique or to even attempt to summarize this literature. Instead, I will attempt to provide a critical overview of colonial schooling as it was articulated differentially throughout diverse colonial milieus and its consequential institutionalized legacy for postcolonial African states.

Critics of colonial education policy and practice in Africa highlight two major, and potentially contradictory, shortcomings: a sin of omission—parsimonious resources allocated to schooling in most Africa countries; and a sin of commission—the deliberate use of schooling (curriculum, school structure, cocurricular activities) to *colonize* the minds of and *mis-educate* African pupils. Indeed, with a few notable exceptions, at independence African colonies inherited school systems that catered for a small percentage of the school-age population, putting into question the efficacy of schools as colonial ideological apparatuses beyond the creation of a small educated elite who were destined by, *inter alia*, their educational credentials, to be leaders in postcolonial African states. While the long-term negative impact of inherited and internalized ideology on African education is important to recognize, of more lasting negative legacy is the institutionalization and structuration of a colonial education system. This system reflected the realities of colonial political systems that were undemocratic to the core and that were structurally antithetic to state intervention in social and economic development. Hybrid colonial capitalism precluded meaningful state intervention in the economy, the “freeing” of market forces, and the unleashing of an entrepreneurial spirit.

The political and economic realities of African colonialism produced an ecology that shaped and restricted educational practice in the colonies in ways that challenged the goals and agenda that various stakeholders set for schools. However, the actual development and institutionalization of colonial education practice was shaped by the interplay or dialectic between the central stakeholders, as they sought to realize their goals for education, and the restrictions imposed by the realities of the colonial political economy. Therefore, to understand the structuration of a potentially dysfunctional education system it is important to understand how the major colonial stakeholders engaged educational policy and practice. By necessity this summary is a generalized overview that cannot take into account the diversity of educational experience in colonial Africa.

Colonial State

The perspective of the colonial state toward schooling for Africans was shaped by two imperatives: revenue and state efficacy. Given severe revenue restraints (outlined above), schooling, which was a drain on state treasury, was not perceived to be a priority until late in the colonial era. This tendency might have been challenged if revenue generation had been dependent on a diversifying economy that needed a permanent skilled workforce. But, as outlined above, the predominant colonial mode of production was primitive and extractive, depending on cheap, unskilled, and often migratory labor. Consequently, significant expenditure on schools for the development of a skilled or *disciplined* workforce was not a necessity for the realization of the colonial agenda. However, the colonial state apparatus—aimed at effective and efficient government—was dependent on a small, but growing over the course of the colonial era, supportive cast of African state functionaries or lower-level bureaucrats: clerks, translators, teachers, health assistants, and most importantly for state security, police and soldiers. This need was limited by the narrow capacity of the colonial state—hence, need for schooling was not great. Settler colonial states, such as South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were even more stingy with allocations to education. Importantly, at the eve of independence, the colonial state in all colonies was by far the largest employer. Colonial education systems reflected this reality, orienting curriculum and practice to meet the needs of a state-centric employment economy.

Colonial Capital

The colonial mode of production made very limited demands prior to the late 1940s for skilled labor. Extractive mineral and agriculture activities did not demand a literate and numerate workforce. Hence, unlike the situation in late-nineteenth-century industrializing North America and Europe, colonial capital did not advocate for mass-based public education in the African colonies in the absence of the need for a stable, skilled, and disciplined workforce. This would change in many African colonies in the post-World War II era, as development in the economy demanded a more rationalized, stable workforce. However, even in colonies that underwent this change, employment opportunities continued to be centered in the state apparatus, thus school curricula were not significantly reformed to meet demands of a potentially diversifying economy.

Missionaries

In most African colonies, schooling (other than Quranic schools) was the domain of missionaries and mission societies. Colonization of Africa coincided with the religious Great Awakening in Protestant circles in North America and Western Europe. The Christian missionary endeavor was informed by a duty to convert “native pagan” populations. The mission agenda has been summarized by the three “Cs”—Christianity, commerce, and civilization which were perceived by Protestants (and Catholics) as essential to Africa’s “escape” from “depths of paganism.” Unlike the colonial regime and colonial capital, missionaries viewed basic schooling as essential to realizing the three Cs. To realize this agenda missionaries adopted a basic curriculum centered on the four “Rs”—reading, ‘riting, ‘rithmetic, and religion (Metzler, 1988).

However, in spite of their intentions, given severe financial constraints, mission education only reached a small minority of the school age populations in the African colonies. While mission societies administered the vast majority of schools in sub-Saharan Africa, they were dependent on the goodwill and largesse of financially hamstrung colonial states.

African Responses

The response of Africans to the colonial education agenda was not uniform; it varied across space and time. But generally, Africans were suspicious, viewing and accepting mission schooling as it was perceived to be of instrumental/functional value to Africans, individually or as a specific group. In the mid-colonial era, as they were pulled into the colonial economy, Africans perceived the value of certain types of schooling as instrumental in achieving economic security and relative prosperity. Acting rationally, they advocated for *book learning* (as opposed to *adaptive* education promoted by the missionaries) that would provide the credentials necessary for employment in a job market dominated by the state apparatus. In this way Africans actively engaged and participated in the structuration of educational practice in colonial Africa.

Educational policy and practice that evolved dialectically out of the interaction of these interests were not uniform across colonial powers (French, British, Portuguese, and Belgians had different perspectives on schooling/education in colonies), or by type of colonialism (settler colonies, protectorates, and traditional colonies approached the issue of schooling differently).

Dialectics of Colonial Educational Practice

From the beginning of the educational endeavor in colonial Africa, a central question and area of debate focused on the curriculum—that is, what is to be taught? There was no neat and simple solution to this question. The French tended to take an elitist position—only a few selected colonial subjects would receive schooling that mirrored French policy of *assimilation*. The Portuguese followed a similar pattern, but were less generous than the French. The British, at first were supportive of a more broad-based education with a curriculum that was based on actual realities (as they perceived them) of African societies. The Belgians in the Congo (and in Rwanda and

Burundi) supported mission societies in providing primary education for as many children as financially possible, but their policy of Paternalism did not view Africans as needing, or being capable of, secondary or higher education. Consequently, at independence in 1960, Congo, a country the size of Western Europe, had less than 50 university/college graduates.

Settler colonies (South Africa, the Rhodesia, Kenya, Angola, and Mozambique) had a considerably different orientation. Generally suspicious of schooling for Africans, settlers perceived the potential for educated Africans to mount a political challenge and to compete with whites for skilled and professional jobs. Consequently, education for Africans in settler colonies was generally more restricted than it was in other colonies.

Case Study: Adaptive Education (British Colonies)

A brief case study of the thwarted *Adaptive Education* initiative undertaken by the British in the 1920s and 1930s will illustrate the difficulties in developing an alien education system that was in basic contradiction to the realities of the colonial regime.

Missionaries (primarily Protestant) had a vision of providing an education that was *adaptive* to the realities/needs (as they perceived them, of course) of the African societies. Consequently they promoted curricula that would promote social and economic development within rural communities. Adaptive education was itself an adaptation of educational policy and practice for freed slaves in the south US immediately after the Civil War, as exemplified by the work of Booker T. Washington.

In response to missionary encouragement, the British Colonial Office endorsed the Phelps-Stokes Commissions to British colonies in Africa (three in the 1920s). These reports were the most developed articulation of *adaptive education* as envisioned in Africa. The commission reports advocated the development and implementation of curricula that would promote:

- Character development—reflected missionary perception that African cultures were defective, and proper schooling would help overcome the influence of traditional African culture and promote character traits necessary to realize the three Cs in African communities (Jones, 1925: 265)
- Health and hygiene—promote preventive behaviors
- Productive skills related to the environmental realities of local communities—agricultural skills for *scientific farming* and “industrial” skills, such as carpentry, masonry, metal-smithing, furniture making, tailoring (for males), and needlework, nutrition, and mothering-skills (for females) (Jones, 1925: 265)
- Improved family life—care and discipline of children, establishment of “Christian Homes”—change in gender roles and relations, architecture, and spatial organization of living and sleeping arrangements—“the Christian home is the most essential organized unit of civilization” (Jones, 1925: 266)
- “Healthy recreation”—great suspicion of African entertainment—music and dancing as being hindering character development at best, and promoting paganism at worst—to be replaced by organized sport—this ties into the Victorian view of school sport as essential tool in character development (Jones, 1925: 267)

Reality of Practice

In spite of strong rhetorical support from mission societies and the British Colonial Office, *adaptive education* (like other mission initiatives elsewhere in Africa) was not implemented. Schooling throughout colonial Africa did not easily follow policy due to structural/systemic contradictions and ambiguities both within the political economy and educational practice.

The realities of the colonial treasury insured that funding was not available to realize even the most modest of educational goals. In spite of rhetoric that colonialism would bring development and “civilization” to Africa, economic realities of lack of revenues available to colonial states and to mission societies made schooling a luxury in even the most well-off colonies such as Ghana and Nigeria.

Just as importantly, educational initiatives, such as adaptive education, faced sustained resistance by African populations. This opposition was not to the idea of schooling; in fact by the 1930s schooling was perceived to be instrumentally necessary to personal advancement. Rather, opposition was focused on the lack of access, but also on the curriculum. Colonial subjects realized that *adaptive education* would not result in opportunity given the realities of the colonial political economy. There were only very limited opportunities for rural entrepreneurship (the focus of *adaptive education*). Only the expansion of “book learning” or academic education would result in economic advancement and security within the colonial political economy. Secure jobs, such as they were, were located almost exclusively in the government sector, not in the private sector, particularly, not in the agricultural or rural sectors.

To summarize, the colonial education systems that developed in Africa were alien. This was not the case in late-nineteenth-century Europe and North America where mass-based public education systems developed organically, but with significant contestation, out of the social, economic, and political milieu of these national communities. However, in colonial Africa schooling was an alien import, absent of any organic *connective tissue* with the host societies. Schooling was viewed by the colonial state and missionaries as an important instrument of the imperial enterprise. Consequently, they formulated educational policy, envisioning very specific roles for schools in realizing the larger colonial endeavor. However, the realities of colonial practice, and importantly, the active engagement of African people in the articulation of actual educational practice, helped shape and structure hybrid education systems that were reflective of the realities of African colonialism, but systems that would potentially have difficulties responding to the economic and political imperatives of postcolonial societies.

Postcolonial State, Nation-Building, and the Imperative of Schooling

In spite of the dismal colonial record there was a great deal of optimism 50 years ago as the first wave of formal African countries achieved political independence. Within Africa formally subject peoples and their nascent governments anticipated that the end of formal colonial rule would usher in an era of real political power that in

turn would facilitate socioeconomic development, opportunity, and prosperity. This sanguinity was shared by world leaders and by an incipient cadre of international development experts.

This early optimism was fueled in part by a strong faith in the functional power and efficacy of formal education. International development and education experts, from across the ideological spectrum and representing multiple disciplinary and theoretical perspectives shared a consensual orthodoxy that held that formal education was an essential (some averred, determining), if not sufficient, ingredient for political, social, and economic development in Africa.

This orthodoxy was based on two central assertions: (1) that schooling is an inalienable human right of all human beings; and (2) that an educated citizenry is *sine qua non* for political, social, and economic development. This consensus was fully endorsed by all the newly independent state regimes which viewed schooling as producing economically productive citizens, who in addition to providing the human capital essential to economic development, would assist a severely underdeveloped state structure by providing an adequately skilled bureaucracy with the expertise necessary to creatively address the gargantuan development project of the postcolonial state. Very importantly, this education orthodoxy was universally shared by the highly politicized citizens of the newly postcolonial nation-states who were convinced that improved access to all levels of education was essential to improving their own, and their progeny's, living standards (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989).

A definite causal link between schooling, human capital, and economic development was strongly asserted by Nobel Economic Laureate Theodore Schultz (1961, 1963), among many eminent international economists. Other social scientists avouched a similar relationship between the expansion of formal education in postcolonial African nation-states and the development of efficient political systems that were democratic and that were capable of responding to the legitimate demands of an engaged citizenry and in developing and implementing effective social and economic policies and programs. More specifically, scholars like Almond and Powell (1966), Coleman (1965), Rostow (1960), and Zolberg (1966) argued that schooling was essential to the creation of citizens free of primordial ties and values and who have a primary identification, not with "tribe" or ethnic group, but with the nation-state; a citizenry ready to be actively engaged in the agenda of the incipient postcolonial nation-state. Schools—which by their definition were *modern*—were the only institution with the potential to create *modern men* willing to break their ties to stifling traditions. Interestingly, it was only in the late 1980s that the education of girls and women was given priority by Western experts and donors.

The nascent postcolonial African regimes also had definite political rationales for expanding formal education. First, there was the imperative of national unity. The vast majority of postcolonial African nation-states are multiethnic, multilingual, and multi-religious. Colonial regimes had purposefully accentuated difference through policies of *divide and rule* and indirect rule. Consequently, with a few exceptions (such as Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland) African nation-states came into existence with no organic sense of identity with a *Nation*. Nationalism had to be created and fostered if political development was to be achieved and if political chaos or disintegration was to

be avoided. There were no natural institutions within civil society available to generate national identity and loyalty. Hence, schools (along with mass communication, particularly radio and local-language newspapers) were considered to be vital instruments in realizing the imperative of national identity and loyalty. Consequently, civic education became a core component of postcolonial school curricula throughout Africa. To further the political functionality of schools, in many African countries schools were mandated to host overtly partisan (pro-regime) political *clubs* that promoted identification with, and loyalty to, the extant regime.

Secondly, the new governments recognized that schools were essential to the expansion of state capacity. The inherited colonial state structure severely lacked capacity, particularly relative to the huge social and economic tasks it faced. The development and maintenance of “modern” social, economic, and communication infrastructure was dependent on an educated and appropriately skilled bureaucracy. Consequently the rapid expansion of formal education was essential to meet the demand for skilled state functionaries.

Thirdly, postcolonial regimes came to power with considerable popular support. These regimes were interested in maintaining this legitimacy. Support for regimes—regime legitimacy—however, was dependent on their ability to address the significant aspirations held by the nascent citizenry. Among the most popular of these aspirations was the expansion of formal education opportunities (for reasons given above). Failure to deliver on education (along with other social infrastructure like health care, housing, sanitation) would be disastrous to the legitimacy of new regimes.

Finally, on the political front, not unlike Western social scientists who were convinced of the importance of *modernity*, many first-generation postcolonial African leaders also believed that realization of economic and political goals was dependent on the creation of a “new man” among the citizenry. Interestingly, this was most true in countries that attempted to follow a quasi-socialist model of development such as Guinea, Mozambique, and Tanzania. Schools were the primary institution for the creation of the “new man” whose worldview, values, and perceptions were consonant with the regimes’ modernizing agenda.

Cultural Development

Postcolonial regimes also viewed schools as cultural instruments. Nationalist leaders perceived a necessity for developing icons of national culture—e.g., music, dance, performance, and art. The “rediscovery,” rehabilitation, and active celebration of traditional culture practices were seen as important in this endeavor particularly since “traditional” culture practices were often denigrated by colonial regimes. Schools, again, were seen as playing a central role in this enterprise.

Expansion of Schooling

As a consequence of the faith in the ameliorative powers of formal education, many African countries recorded significant and unparalleled (relative to the governments’ allocation to other social welfare and infrastructural commitments) expansion of expenditure to formal education. Indeed, by the mid-1980s (prior to the severe

economic downturn in most of Africa) a number of African countries were approaching the goal of universal primary education as well as recording significant gains in secondary and tertiary education.

In developing goals for schools the nascent postcolonial African regimes were generally guided by a tripartite goal: a commitment to Universal Primary Education (UPE)—with quality considerations; expansion of secondary education to meet the human resource needs of nation-state and to respond to the aspirations of citizens (but no country attempted universal secondary education); and expansion of tertiary education: at least one national university, specialized colleges—technical, allied health, teacher-training. Yet, even before the onset of economic stagnation and the implementation of structural adjustment programs in the late 1980s, both of which negatively impacted access to schooling, it had become clear that the expansion of formal education had neither paid the anticipated dividends in terms of economic development and security, political system capacity, democratization, or stability; nor had the educational expansion resulted in significant improved life chances for many African citizens. However, the growing recognition that formal education while essential was not sufficient for realizing development goals, did not significantly lessen postcolonial state commitment to education, or deter citizen demand for increased access to schooling. But, these realities resulted in the critical re-visitation of policy questions that were part of policy discussions in the immediate postindependence era. Four such questions were central to the discourse on postcolonial education policy and practice. Samoff *et al.* (1992) provide a more detailed analysis of these issues along with a comprehensive bibliography.

First is the question of the relevance of curricula. Colonial curricula following the rejection of adaptive education, was for the most part “academic” (*book learning*) aimed at producing lower-level state bureaucrats. Consequently, there was little emphasis on technical and professional skills (particularly true of higher education, where humanities were dominant). Given this tradition, in the postcolonial era there was considerable public opposition to changes in curriculum (except to Africanize history, geography, and literature). In the postcolonial era the curriculum focus continued to have a strong academic orientation. Parents and students, based on the realities of the colonial political economy, perceived “academic” education (*book learning*) with a traditional emphasis on the humanities and non-applied social and natural sciences, as essential to securing employment in the government sector. This perspective was reinforced by the realities of postcolonial economies that, restricted by the legacy and continued dominance of the colonial modes of production, were generally not diversified and as such did not provide opportunities for employment (including self-employment) outside of the “traditional” government/public sector.

By the 1980s there were, however, educational policy experts, domestically and external, who believe that a significant, if not radical, reform of the curricula was essential in order to provide young adults with the skills, attitudes, and experience necessary to be entrepreneurs and/or to diversify the economy.

A second central question focused on school fees. Most Africa countries after independence heavily subsidized education at all levels and adhered to a commitment to equal opportunity for all citizens. However, given the real costs of schooling most

postcolonial states could not hope to achieve their educational goals (including UPE) without parents/students sharing some of the actual cost of schooling. This position was pushed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) beginning in the mid-1980s with the externally imposed *economic structural adjustment programs* (ESAPs). In many countries that implemented ESAP-recommended educational finance reforms there was a decline in the number of students participating in all levels of education—with no African country realizing UPE, one of the eight Millennium Challenge Goals (Birdsall *et al.*, 2005).

A third question relates to the privileging of one level of education above others. For the past two decades the World Bank and other bilaterals (based on their research) pushed for educational policies that privileged primary education—arguing that their research clearly demonstrated that the expansion of primary education had the highest rate of return, socially and personally. However, African regimes and citizens were unhappy with this policy direction. They perceived secondary and higher education as being essential for development. Moreover, African experts argued that without university-trained specialists African nation-states would be (and continue to be) dependent on exogenously produced skills and knowledge. They assert that African universities are necessary, not just to provide skilled human resources to tackle Africa's problems, but to develop endogenous and relevant approaches to these problems—approaches that are not dependent on, or restricted by, Western or global epistemologies or paradigms of knowledge production.

The fourth central question that has dominated the discourse on post-colonial educational policy and practice focuses on gender. Beginning in the 1980s there has been an increased recognition of the importance of gender in addressing all issues related to socioeconomic and political development in postcolonial Africa. Women have always played a central economic role in African societies, even though, as in *West*, women were often excluded from political positions that would give them access to power and a voice in decision-making. This systemic reality resulted in gender bias in access to all levels of education in Africa. Consequently, there is now a near universal recognition that girls and women must be given equal access to at all levels of the formal education system. In addition to being an important human rights and equity issue, social, economic, and political development and the well-being of local communities and the nation-state are dependent on the active involvement of educated women. As a result of this understanding, over the past decade almost all multilateral (World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF) and bilateral (USAID, British Council, SEDA, etc.) funded educational projects privilege gender equity. (For a detailed analysis and comprehensive bibliography on gender schooling in Africa, see UNESCO, 2003.)

Conclusion: Globalization and African Education

The new millennium has witnessed a surge of optimism in Africa. Beginning in the 1990s Africa has undergone a significant wave of democratization—what some academic commentators have dubbed *Africa's Second Independence*. Similarly, the past decade has seen sustained economic growth rates across the continent. The creation

of the African Union in 2002 and its adoption of the realistic, if ambitious, NEPAD reinforces this sense of optimism in Africa.

Yet, in spite of these important advances, Africa in places is still plagued with internal and regional political strife, long-lasting legacies of colonialism and the cold war. On the economic front, regardless of the gains, Africa remains a continent of endemic poverty where more than two thirds of the continent's population subsists on less than \$2 a day.

It is too early to offer a comprehensive assessment of the impact of globalization on Africa. While the "flattening" of the world will undoubtedly provide some African countries with increased economic opportunities, there is a real concern that given Africa's legacy of severe economic and political underdevelopment, African states are not in a position to be competitive in the global system resulting in the further peripheralization of significant parts of Africa.

The general economic recovery of the past decade and the support from the international community has resulted in a recovery and expansion of school attendance in most African countries. Indeed, countries like Botswana, Mauritius, and South Africa are poised to realize the Millennium Challenge Goal of universal primary education by 2015. Yet these gains are dependent on external funding to support educational systems at all levels restricting the autonomy of African policymakers. The World Bank and bilateral lenders make loans and grants contingent on the implementation of policies set by experts located for the most part outside of Africa. As a consequence there is a real concern that (a) what counts as good educational practice will be increasingly exogenously determined, allowing for little local autonomy; and (b) what counts as knowledge—how it is generated, created, constructed, distributed, and used will be determined outside of Africa, with limited local input. Active engagement in the processes of knowledge construction, valuation, and distribution is based on *power* within the global community—of which Africa has little, hence Africa's voice has been muted within the global education discourse, even as it impacts approaches to Africa's development.

Formal education systems and knowledge production that foster active local engagement while capitalizing on global connections, is not as history has demonstrated sufficient to overcome the social, economic, and political structural impediments for development in Africa, but it is nonetheless essential and a *sine qua non* to its realization.

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VARIETIES OF EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION: THE POST-SOCIALIST STATES OF CENTRAL/SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

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The former socialist countries of Central/Southeastern Europe and the Soviet Union share many commonalities, while forming an increasingly diverse region of the world in terms of sociopolitical development. Among the most striking commonalities are the shared socialist past, as well as the sheer scale and significance of the political, economic, and social transformation since the collapse of socialism in 1989. Although all countries of the region have declared their aspiration to embrace the new values of democracy, capitalism, and market economies, the transformation process has been uneven across the region. By 2007, ten countries became new member states of the European Union (EU) – Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia – signaling the emergence of open, liberal societies at least partially rooted in respect for the rule of law, human rights, and economic freedom. In some countries of Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, however, democratic and free-market characteristics have shared the stage with “a high degree of authoritarianism, corporatism, cronyism, and state involvement in economic life” (Freedom House, 2005). This region also includes repressive autocracies, such as Belarus, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, in which there is “little or no space for opposition political groupings and independent civic activism” (Freedom House, 2005). Approximately one third of all countries have experienced armed conflicts during the transformation period, resulting in devastating effects in all spheres of life.¹

Given the diversity of these sociopolitical contexts, it is difficult to talk about the countries of Central/Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union as one homogeneous region. Nevertheless, these countries share several educational characteristics, as reflected in a number of educational legacies inherited from the socialist regime and a proclaimed aspiration to embrace Western educational values. Among the positive socialist legacies are solid infrastructures for educational provision and administration, fee-free education for all children, nearly universal general education enrolments, and high literacy rates. For all the concerns about its quality and comprehensiveness, the mass provision of socialist education undeniably helped to create a level of social cohesion (Heyneman, 1997, 2000), as well as very real compensatory legitimacy for the regime. During the socialist period, education also established a widely shared

public expectation for the provision of mainstream schooling at little or no cost and on a fundamentally egalitarian basis (Silova *et al.*, 2007). For all these achievements, the education systems of the post-socialist bloc were also rigidly bureaucratized, and narrowly and involuntarily vocational (Johnson, 2004). They were also institutionally fragmented, with different hierarchies of educational provision and training divided between different branch ministries, resulting in severe inefficiencies. The system was also characterized by uniform and exceptionally rigid conceptions of pedagogy and formal “didactic,” authoritarian and teacher-centered learning, overloaded and centrally mandated curricula, and insufficient attention to the quality and nature of individual student learning (Johnson, 2004; Silova, 2002). Finally, the educational systems had acute ideological weaknesses, including an imposition of socialist political indoctrination in schools.

The collapse of the socialist bloc has opened new opportunities for rethinking the aims of educational provision and revising the structure, content, and process of educational systems in the region. Despite the contextual differences, the rhetoric of educational transformation processes has been remarkably similar across the region, signaling a move from socialist education policies to more Western-oriented ones. As Birzea (1994) observed, all post-socialist countries have adopted, at least in official rhetoric, “one or another of the western ideologies” (Birzea, 1994: 55). In this context, “learning from elsewhere” has become one of the central principles of educational transformation. From the post-socialist countries of Central Europe to the post-Soviet republics of Central Asia, the catchwords of the new educational authorities have been “democratization,” “decentralization,” “liberalization,” “pluralism,” and “humanization of learning.” Educational transformation processes have generally touched all areas of education systems, triggering profound changes in education financing, governance, curriculum, textbooks, examination and assessment systems, teacher education, and infrastructure.

While attempting to transform education based on the values of Western democracies, most countries have faced a stark conceptual dichotomy between “triumphant Westernization and hopeless post-Leninist paralysis” (Hanson, 1997: 228). On the one hand, there has been a strong desire to join the Western alliance, which was accompanied by increasing international pressures for redefining national education policies in terms of the Western European values of pluralism, human rights, and tolerance, as well as cultural and linguistic diversity. On the other hand, the transformation process has been constrained by the socialist legacies as reflected in “the relatively fragile, mutable, and wavering definitions of nationhood, in the absence of a sense of unity in a common project, and in the vulnerability of the societies to find appeal in particularly militant variants of communist or nationalist ideologies” (Barkey & von Hagen, 1997: 187). In this context, educational transformation has not necessarily reflected a gradually phased replacement of “the old” socialist education policies and practices with the “new” Western ones (Silova, 2006). Instead, it involved major conceptual disputes and continuing power struggles among different groups nationally and internationally, seeking to redefine the new geopolitical educational space that the countries of Central/Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have been aspiring to inhabit since the collapse of socialism.

Using the concept of educational borrowing, this chapter examines the variety of educational transformation processes across the post-socialist region and discusses how different educational systems have responded to the rapidly changing political, economic, and social environments since the collapse of socialism in 1989. This chapter explores the sources, dimensions, and directions of educational transformation processes in Central/Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. By highlighting the political nature of the transformation processes and the uniqueness of the historical, political, social, and cultural contexts of each particular country, this chapter suggests that post-socialist education transformations constitute complex, dynamic processes, which inevitably result in multiple outcomes.

Theoretical Perspectives

Of post-socialist literature, the study of political, economic, and social transitions (or “transitologies”) has made one of the greatest impacts on the ways political scientists have looked at the complex web of substantive, contextual, and methodological issues surrounding the collapse of the socialist bloc (Silova & Magno, 2004). The focus of “transitions” literature has included the examination of the roles of newly emerging democratic institutions and procedures (e.g., new constitution, elections, and legislatures), the role of elites (e.g., government officials committed to democracy), and conditions necessary for consolidating newly established democracies (e.g., socio-economic, ethno-religious, cultural issues) (Przeworski, 1991; Lijphart & Waisman, 1996; Diamond *et al.*, 1997; Gerskovits, 1998). Comparative education literature has generally focused on the place which educational policies hold in nation-bound transformation processes at the intersections of their political and educational systems (Mitter, 2003). In fact, the comparative education literature examining the role of education in political transformation processes is so vast that Cowen (1996, 2000) has suggested creating a new domain of comparative education called “transitology.” He describes transitologies as complex mixtures of historical, political, economic, ideological, and sociological transformations, which reflect more or less simultaneous collapse and reconstruction of state apparatuses, social and economic stratification systems, and political visions of the future.

Similar to mainstream political science literature, most comparative education research on educational transitions has emphasized a linear direction of the transformation process, i.e. a direct movement from authoritarianism to “democracy” (Anweiler, 1992; Mitter, 1992; Birzea, 1994, 1997; McLeish, 1998; Rado, 2001). McLeish (1998), for example, provides a framework for studying processes of education transition by outlining five stages of development from an authoritarian to a democratic system, including ideological uncertainty (phase I), clarification and formulation of national policies (phases II & III), emergence of new education legislation (phase IV), and implementation of new laws and policies at the school level (phase V). Although it provides a helpful framework for thinking about transition as a phased, structured process, the model does not necessarily provide a space for the renegotiation of education policies to occur. In other words, it focuses on the *outcome* of the transition, which

is assumed to be uniformly “democratic,” while ignoring the *process* of the transition (Silova & Magno, 2004). However, the process itself may have a crucial impact on the outcome of the transition, especially when closed, undemocratic transition processes result in outcomes that bear little resemblance to true open democracies as in the cases of Belarus, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.²

A growing mismatch between expectation and event in post-socialism has questioned the language of the transition itself (Silova & Magno, 2004). Some scholars have argued that the term should be discarded on the grounds that it implies evolutionary aspects of social change, an unproblematic trajectory, and a destination that is known (Watson, 2000). Others argued that the study of “transitions” has become “the second edition” of the modernization theories flawed with intellectual inconsistency and political inadequacy (Kapustin, 2001). Challenging “transitology” for its naiveté in assuming a direct movement from socialism to capitalism, democracy, or market economy, Verdery proposed that the decade of the 1990s should be viewed as a time of *transformation* in the countries that emerged from socialism. This transformation could produce “a variety of forms, some of them perhaps approximating Western capitalist market economies and many of them not” (Verdery, 1996: 16).

In comparative education, some critics of “transitology” referred to these differing outcomes of transformation processes as “retardation” (Mitter, 2003) and “mutation” (Cerych, 1997; Karpov & Lisovskaya, 2001). As Karpov and Lisovskaya describe, educational “mutations” are “spontaneous, adaptive, and historically predetermined reactions of the already existing educational institutions to the new environment” (2001: 11). Importantly, the notion of “mutations” also implies the persistence of culture- and education-specific legacies, the existence of local reinterpretation of new ideas, and the dynamic interplay between the local and the global in reshaping the new educational spaces. It is not surprising, therefore, that education transformation processes in the post-socialist bloc have taken unanticipated trajectories and led to unknown destinations.

Examining Post-Socialist Transformations Through the Lens of Educational Borrowing

The concept of educational borrowing provides a helpful framework for examining the variety of educational transformation processes in Central/Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. As Schriewer and Martinez (2004: 47) point out, the transformation processes have corresponded to a “reopening of the discourse to international issues, references, and knowledge imports.” In this context, educational import, transfer, or borrowing has become one of the main strategies for education reform. Educational borrowing describes the processes involved when “policy makers in one country seek to employ ideas taken from the experience of another country” (Phillips, 2004: 54). Building on Luhmann’s (1990) theory of self-referential systems and Schriewer’s (1988) work on the use of comparison for the purpose of externalization, Steiner-Khamsi (2000) argues that education borrowing, or references to international practices, are increasingly used once the relevance of self-referentiality is questioned.

Whereas education systems usually perpetuate themselves by means of internal references (e.g. references to tradition, beliefs, and organization), these references often fail to justify the continuity of education reforms during times of rapid social, economic, and political changes. As Schriewer (1988) and Steiner-Khamsi (2000, 2004) suggest, it is precisely in those times that externalization or educational borrowing becomes an effective means to radically break with the past through transferring education models, practices, and discourses from other educational systems.

Comparative education literature on educational borrowing and lending (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Phillips, 2004; Schriewer, 2000) explain the complexity of the borrowing process by highlighting the instances of selective interpretation or “filtering” of international phenomena locally. For example, Schriewer and Martinez (2004) explain that externalizations to “foreign examples” or to “world situations” involve the discursive interpretation of international phenomena for issues of educational policy or ideological legitimization locally. Similarly, they argue that externalizations to “tradition” react to the need to reinterpret these traditions’ theoretical and/or normative potential in the face of urgent present-day concerns (Schriewer & Martinez, 2004: 32). Therefore, both forms of externalization – externalizations to “world situations” and to “history” – are “system-internal interpretative acts which don’t provide reliable information on how historical processes really were or what is actually going on in the world” (Luhmann, 1981: 40). As Schriewer and Martinez (2004) explain, externalizations “filter” the reception and description of an international environment according to the changing problem configurations internal to a given educational system. Their potential for selection and interpretation rearranges references to international phenomena according to a given system’s internal needs for “supplementary meaning” (Schriewer & Martinez, 2004: 32). Moreover, the need for “supplementary meaning” not only varies *between* different societies or nations, but also changes over time in the course of successive political eras *within* the same society (Schriewer & Martinez, 2004: 32).

The concept of the “supplementary meaning” points to the discursive nature of educational borrowing, which has been frequently neglected in comparative education literature. For example, most comparative research on educational borrowing has focused on examining the implementation of specific education *practices* in different historical, political, and economic settings. However, it is important to recognize that transfer can involve not only practices, but also *discourses*. As Steiner-Khamsi (2000) points out, the fact that the borrowed education program was not implemented does not mean that the transfer did not occur. Instead, what is being transferred is not a specific aspect of education reform, but rather a political discourse associated with it. It is specifically this area of comparative education research that remains understudied, yet has great potential to contribute to the study of education transformation processes in a variety of contexts. Its most significant contribution is recognizing the “causal significance of cultural and political discourses in shaping complex event sequences” (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994: 1436), thus establishing a link between the transfer of discourses and their relationship to greater social, economic, and political transformations. This chapter attempts to fill in this theoretical gap by taking into consideration structural, cultural, and discursive factors that provide a better understanding and a more complete explanation of educational transformations in the former socialist bloc.

These theoretical perspectives provide the background for a comparative reflection on education transformation processes in the post-socialist bloc. They highlight the complexity of educational transformations, which are driven by plural assumptions, multiple orientations, and diverse procedures. As Mitter rightfully observes, the analysis of educational transformations in Central/Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union should be based upon the acknowledgment of “the diversity of individual – national or regional – ‘transformations’ and on recognitions of tensions between commonalities and differences” (Mitter, 2003: 79). Given the politics of educational borrowing combined with the unique historical, political, social, and cultural contexts of each particular country, the outcomes of educational transformations may not be as clear and uniform as generally assumed. Therefore, it is necessary to move away from a linear conceptualization of the “transition” process, which is characterized by a gradual replacement of “the old” socialist policies, practices, and values with the “new” Western ones. As this chapter illustrates, post-socialist education transformations should be viewed as complex processes, which may take unanticipated trajectories and lead to multiple destinations.

Drawing on quantitative and qualitative data, this chapter discusses a variety of educational transformation processes and outcomes in three broad categories of countries. The first category includes the new European Union accession countries, including Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia. The second category includes countries that may aspire to enter the EU in the future. These include EU candidate countries (Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic (FYR) of Macedonia, and Turkey), potential candidate countries (Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia), as well as future enlargement possibilities (Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia).³ Finally, the third category includes the post-Soviet republics of Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) and Belarus – the countries that have not necessarily drawn on Western European references for reforming their educational system since independence in 1991. While many differences exist within these larger groups of countries, this categorization is used conditionally to examine the varieties of educational transformation processes in different contexts. The basis for comparison includes the type of references (e.g., internal or external references) used for initiating educational reforms, as well as the perceived compatibility between the underlying logic of external references and national education policies.

The End of Educational Transformation? Education in the New EU Accession Countries

Some scholars argued that educational transformation of the societies of the post-socialist bloc would officially end with their accession to the European Union (Birzea, in Phillips & Oancea, 2005). In this process, some of the old socialist education structures, processes, and content would be replaced with more Western-oriented ones in order to adhere to EU standards and regulations. The new EU accession countries – Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak

Republic, and Slovenia – were the first ones in the post-socialist region to successfully realign their educational system with EU standards. Of the post-socialist bloc, these countries were the first ones to join the Council of Europe (CoE) and the Bologna process.⁴ In particular, all the new accession countries joined the CoE in the beginning of the 1990s and became a part of the Bologna process in 1999, compared to the majority of the other post-socialist countries, which joined the CoE and the Bologna process only at the end of the 1990s and/or beginning of the 2000s (see Table 1).

Undoubtedly, joining the European education space has had a tremendous impact on education policies and practices in the new accession countries. While most of the EU measures do not explicitly aim at regulation of national systems and policies, they impact them more indirectly through European educational cooperation. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the new EU accession countries have participated in a

Table 1. Dynamics of participation in the European educational processes

Country	Year joined the Council of Europe	Year joined the Bologna process	Year joined the European Union
European Union accession countries			
Czech Republic	1993	1999	2004
Estonia	1993	1999	2004
Hungary	1990	1999	2004
Latvia	1995	1999	2004
Lithuania	1993	1999	2004
Poland	1991	1999	2004
Slovak Republic	1993	1999	2004
Slovenia	1993	1999	2004
Bulgaria	1992	1999	2007
Romania	1993	1999	2007
Countries aspiring to join the European Union			
<i>Candidate countries</i>			
Croatia	1996	2001	
Macedonia	1993	2003	
<i>Potential candidate countries</i>			
Albania	1995	2003	
Bosnia & Herzegovina	2002	2003	
Serbia & Montenegro	2003	2003	
<i>Future enlargement possibilities</i>			
Armenia	2001	2005	
Azerbaijan	2001	2005	
Georgia	1999	2005	
Kazakhstan	–	–	
Moldova	1995	2005	
Russia	1996	2003	
Ukraine	1995	2005	
Non-European Central Asian republics and authoritarian states			
Belarus			
Kyrgyzstan			
Tajikistan			
Turkmenistan			
Uzbekistan			

wide range of EU-funded educational programs, which were specifically designed to help the countries prepare for accession into the EU (e.g., SOCRATES, LEONARDO da VINCI, TEMPUS, etc).⁵ The basic logic and most objectives of the EU educational initiatives – promoting international cooperation, enhancing the quality of education, encouraging social integration, and increasing employability of graduates – have generally corresponded to national development goals, forming the cornerstone of education policies in the new accession countries.

One of the strongest commonalities of educational development in these countries was their explicit use of Western European references in creating new educational spaces. Based on the analysis of education policy documents in Lithuania, Poland, and Slovenia, for example, Godon *et al.* (2004) observe that practical educational reform in these societies has oriented the schooling system to predominantly European and Western influences, which has been clearly reflected in national educational policy documents. Prominent components in these developments include a concern with the educational implications of liberal democratic principles and values (e.g., initiatives related to teaching methods, respect for diversity, and education for citizenship), with the wide-ranging educational agenda of the EU (e.g., international cooperation, quality of education, and student mobility), and with the need to temper undue state control in education (e.g., decentralization, recognition of the rights of parents and minorities). Furthermore, Godon *et al.* (2004) note that more specific concerns reflective of Western influence include initiatives relating to lifelong learning, school development, information and communication technologies (ICT), and educational management.

“Adopting the language of the new allies” has become commonplace in all the new EU accession countries (Silova, 2004). Generally, it has demonstrated that these countries are not willing to fall behind international standards in educational reform and signaled their efforts to “return to Europe” (Silova, 2002). The outcomes of these efforts have been reflected in quantitative educational indicators, especially in the area of school access and quality. For example, the report of the Commission of the European Communities, “Progress toward the Lisbon objectives in education and training” (2005), documents no significant gap between the new accession countries and the EU average in the area of education access. In the three benchmark areas which target school education (i.e., early school-leavers, upper secondary education, and low achievers), the strongest performers are in fact the new EU member states, including Poland, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, as well as Latvia in the area of reducing the share of low achievers. For example, an average ratio of early school-leavers in the new EU member states was 7.5% compared to an average EU ratio of 15.9%. Similarly, the new member states have particularly high completion rates in upper secondary education, with the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic over 90%, compared to the EU average of 76.4%. The only area where the new accession countries are still lagging behind is life-long learning, with seven out of eight countries in the study performing below the EU average.

In the area of educational quality, the new accession countries achieve scores which compare favorably with international averages in mathematics, science, and reading. For example, the results of the 2003 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)⁶ showed that the six new accession countries participating in the

study⁷ scored above the international average. However, the results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)⁸ showed a less favorable picture. On a reading scale, the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Slovak Republic, and Latvia scored below the OECD average, while Poland scored higher than the OECD average. On a mathematics scale, all countries scored below the OECD average except for the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic (OECD, 2004). While the data on student learning achievement shows that most of the new accession countries provide comparatively high-quality education, it also suggests that learning achievement tends to vary within countries, with students from rural areas and disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds becoming increasingly more vulnerable (UNESCO, 2005; IEA, 2004; OECD, 2004).

Reconciling European Values with Specific Historical, Political, and Cultural Contexts

Although the new accession countries have made major progress toward EU educational standards since the beginning of the 1990s, EU accession itself has not meant the end of educational transformation processes. In fact, most of the accession countries are still struggling to reconcile some of the EU values with their own specific historical, political, cultural, and educational contexts. One of the distinctive features of these ongoing transformation processes is the degree to which the new educational rhetoric has been embedded in national policies and practices. In some countries (e.g., the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Slovak Republic) new education policies were adopted, yet fell short of practical implementation. For example, some Roma in the Czech Republic saw the EU as “a promised land, where the problems of poverty, unemployment, and inferior education would be wiped out” (Husova & Puncheva, 2005). Two years after accession to the EU, however, life for Czech Roma has hardly changed. As Husova and Puncheva (2005) explain, the country boasts numerous government programs and strategies to help Roma on paper, but does nothing to implement its strategy on Romani integration. According to the Czech government’s own estimates, “around 75% of Romani children are transferred to or directly enrolled in remedial special schools” (quoted in PILI, 2005). Similarly, segregation of Romani children is still prevalent in the other new EU accession countries, especially in Hungary and the Slovak Republic (PILI, 2005). In these countries, various patterns of educational segregation continue to exist, including the placement of Roma into special schools for the mentally handicapped, the separation of Roma in Roma-only classes within mainstream schools, and the maintaining of Romani ghetto schools located in the Romani ghettos or formed as a result of the withdrawal of non-Roma from Roma-majority schools. While the EU accession process was instrumental in placing the issue of Roma equity on the political agenda and improving Roma protection standards in the new accession countries (e.g., most governments have acceded to key international standards and many have carried out legislative reforms and announced programs to combat discrimination), it has not in practice ensured the real enforcement of minority protection laws and policies (EUMAP, 2002).

In other countries (e.g., the Baltic states of Latvia and Estonia), new educational policies were adopted and enacted, but became the subject of broad reinterpretation by local politicians and education stakeholders during the implementation process (Silova, 2006). For example, Latvia inherited a dual system of education, which segregated students along ethnolinguistic lines (i.e., schools for Russian-speaking and Latvian-speaking students). Whereas the structure of the school system did not substantially change since the collapse of the Soviet Union, education reform discourse about separate schools for Russian and Latvian students underwent a great transformation. Russian language schools moved from being associated with “Soviet/Russian state instruments” and “nests of Soviet occupants” in the early 1990s to “symbols of multiculturalism and pluralism” by the end of the decade. This change occurred under the political contingencies of the mid-1990s surrounding tolerance, language minority protection rights (Russian), and multiculturalism. These contingencies had been imposed on the Latvian government by international organizations (the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe, the United Nations Development Programme), and they had a gatekeeping function. As long as the government was not willing to subscribe, at least rhetorically, to these common European goals, the country was not permitted entry to the European Union. The government insisted that the dual-school system, supported by Russian and ethnic Latvian speakers for entirely different reasons, was in concert with the conditions set by international organizations. Rather than presenting the system as legacy from an oppressive Soviet past, the government reframed it as a signpost for a multicultural European future. The metamorphosis of the dual system in Latvia stands as a case for discursive policy borrowing – merely the language, but not the reform of multiculturalism, was adopted.

These quantitative and qualitative data illustrate that the EU accession process has triggered major educational changes (either structural or rhetorical) in the new accession countries, but the accession itself has not meant the end of educational transformations. As Birzea (quoted in Phillips & Oancea, 2005) notes, the post-socialist transformation may have officially ended with the accession to the European Union (EU), i.e. meeting the three Copenhagen criteria in the area of education.⁹ Following the accession to the European Union, however, these countries continue to transform their educational systems, trying to reconcile some of the European values with their specific historical, political, cultural, and socioeconomic contexts. While driven by the same philosophical values, the transformation processes occur at a different pace and result in different outcomes. Furthermore, the EU accession has brought new challenges in educational development of the new accession countries. Not only must the new member states cope with their own transformation processes, but they have also become part of another transformation process – shared with the rest of the European Union – toward knowledge-based societies. As Halasz (quoted in Phillips & Oancea, 2005) points out, the EU is in fact a “moving target” for the accession and candidate countries. Given that “the point of arrival” may itself not remain constant, the countries could be in a “perpetual transformation” (Birzea, 1994: 8). Taking this into consideration, it would be more appropriate to talk about *continuous transformations* when examining education transformation processes in the new EU accession countries.

Catching Up and Falling Behind: Education Transformation in the Post-Socialist Countries Aspiring to Join the European Union

In addition to the eight former socialist countries that joined the EU in 2004 and two additional countries that joined the EU in 2007, a number of other countries expressed their interest in joining the European education space. These countries include EU candidate countries (Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), potential candidate countries (Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia), as well as future enlargement possibilities in Eastern Europe and South Caucasus (e.g., Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia). During the 1990s, these countries initiated fundamental reforms of their educational systems. As Ammermüller *et al.* (2003) summarize, the administration of schooling was decentralized, national schools were established to foster national culture and languages, and the heterogeneity of schools increased, changing from a system of only one basic school to more specialized institutions like the gymnasium or technical and vocational schools, as well as private schools. In most of the post-conflict societies (e.g., the Balkans and the Caucasus, which experienced armed conflicts during the transformation period), education reforms also emphasized the respect for human rights and paid special attention to minority education (OECD, 2001a, b). Across the region, education reforms have involved policy development, teacher training, curriculum development, as well as financial restructuring. By the mid-1990s, most of the countries have joined the Council of Europe and, by the mid-2000s, all the countries (with the exception of Kazakhstan) have joined the Bologna process. As Cerych (1997) points out, the many educational changes that have occurred cannot be separated from EU programs such as Tempus (higher education) and Phare (vocational education), as well as from the flow of information and exchanges originating in meetings, seminars, and publications of the Council of Europe.

Having articulated their aspiration to “catch up” with Europe, the majority of the countries aspiring to join the EU have struggled with the slow pace of reforms, which have been seriously complicated and delayed by the legacies of the socialist past. In some countries, these legacies have led to violent armed conflicts (e.g., the Caucasus, the Balkans, etc). In other countries, the socialist legacies have manifested themselves at different levels, including the more straightforward infrastructural legacies, the administrative–bureaucratic legacy, and the more elusive political and cultural continuities (Barkey & von Hagen, 1997). In particular, post-conflict societies have had to deal with economic recession, unemployment, destruction of school buildings, demoralization of teaching staff, psychological trauma of children, and many other problems which have slowed their education reform efforts (OECD, 2001a, b). Most of the countries have dealt with major economic recession during the 1990s, with the real expenditure of education falling one third in Russia and three quarters or more in Azerbaijan and Georgia (Micklewright, 2000; see also Table 2). The fall in real public spending on education has generally meant lower teacher wages and/or wages paid in arrears (e.g., a major problem in the education sector in Russia and Kazakhstan), insufficient

Table 2. Public expenditure on education/GDP ratio

Country	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
EU accession countries														
Czech Republic	4.1	4.1	4.5	5.2	5.2	5.1	5.2	4.6	4.0	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.5
Hungary	5.8	6.3	6.6	6.5	6.4	5.5	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.6	5.8
Poland	4.8	5.1	5.4	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.4	5.5	5.0	5.1	4.9	5.3	5.3	5.1
Slovak Republic	5.1	5.6	6.0	5.2	4.2	4.8	4.7	4.3	3.9	4.0	3.8	—	4.4	—
Slovenia	—	4.8	5.5	5.8	5.5	5.8	5.7	—	—	—	—	—	6.1	—
Estonia	—	—	6.1	7.1	6.6	7.0	7.3	7.1	6.4	6.7	6.3	6.4	5.7	—
Latvia	4.5	4.1	4.5	6.1	6.1	7.0	5.8	5.7	6.3	6.2	5.4	5.8	5.8	5.4
Lithuania	4.5	—	—	4.6	5.6	5.6	5.4	5.8	6.2	6.4	5.9	6.1	6.1	5.9
Bulgaria	5.0	5.1	6.1	5.7	4.8	4.0	3.2	3.9	3.9	4.2	4.2	4.0	4.2	4.4
Romania	2.8	3.6	3.6	3.3	3.1	3.4	3.6	3.3	3.3	3.8	2.9	3.3	3.5	—
Countries aspiring to join EU in the future														
Albania	4.2	5.0	4.2	3.3	3.3	3.8	3.7	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.0	2.6	2.9
Bosnia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Herzegovina	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.5	—
Croatia ^b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.3	3.3
FYR of Macedonia	5.9	6.8	5.4	6.0	5.3	5.2	5.3	4.8	3.8	3.6	3.2	3.1	—	—
Serbia & Montenegro	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.3	5.7	5.2	4.4	4.6	3.5	—	—
Kazakhstan	—	—	2.1	3.9	3.0	3.2	—	4.3	3.9	—	—	—	3.0	—

(continued)

Moldova	—	—	7.8	6.0	8.7	7.6	9.0	8.8	6.2	4.2	4.5	5.0	5.8	5.8
Russia	3.7	3.6	3.8	4.3	4.5	3.7	4.0	4.5	3.7	—	—	—	3.8	—
Ukraine	—	—	—	—	5.3	5.4	4.9	5.4	4.4	3.6	4.2	4.7	5.4	5.7
Armenia	—	7.5	8.9	5.2	2.5	2.5	2.0	1.7	1.8	1.9	2.6	2.3	1.9	2.1
Azerbaijan	—	6.9	6.7	7.6	4.9	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.4	4.2	3.9	3.5	3.2	3.3
Georgia	6.1	6.4	4.0	0.6	0.5	0.9	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.1
Central Asian states and the authoritarian regime of Belarus														
Belarus	—	4.6	5.3	6.0	5.8	5.5	5.9	6.3	6.2	6.1	6.2	6.5	6.6	6.7
Kyrgyzstan	—	6.0	5.0	4.2	5.5	5.8	4.8	4.9	4.3	3.5	2.9	3.3	3.8	3.9
Tajikistan	—	—	—	—	—	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.4
Turkmenistan	—	—	—	—	3.6	3.2	2.1	4.5	6.1	5.3	—	6.0	5.7	—
Uzbekistan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: UNICEF Transmonee database, 2005

funding for school repairs and maintenance leading schools to close on occasion in winter in a number of countries (e.g., Armenia, Georgia, and Moldova), and less social support through schools (e.g., Kazakhstan and Georgia). Furthermore, all countries have dealt with increasing levels of corruption in all spheres (including the education sphere), with most of the countries scoring below 3.0 out of 10.0 on the Corruption Perception Index (with ten being the least corrupt and zero being highly corrupt).¹⁰

Undoubtedly, these legacies have impeded educational transformation processes in various ways, causing most of the countries to fall behind in their efforts to create or re-create European education space. While overall school retention in the region has remained almost universal, in some countries a significant proportion of school-leavers no longer achieve the minimum mastery levels defined by their own national governments. For example, results of the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS)¹¹ in 2001 indicated that large numbers of fourth graders (9- to 10-year-olds) in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia had limited reading skills, with more than 40% scoring in the bottom quartile on the international reading literacy scale. In other countries, the proportion of low achievers ranged from 21% in the Republic of Moldova to 8% in the Russian Federation (IEA, 2003). Other confirmation comes from the PISA study (2000–2002), which covered 35 high- and middle-income countries. It showed that while 18% of 15-year-old students in the OECD countries performed at or below the lowest of five proficiency levels for reading literacy, this category accounted for 71% in Albania and 63% in the FYR of Macedonia. Similarly, the TIMSS results (IEA, 2004) showed that while all new accession countries participating in the study scored above the international average, the majority of the countries aspiring to join the EU scored lower than the international average in mathematics and science. In particular, eight-graders in Moldova and the FYR of Macedonia scored lower than the international average in mathematics and eighth graders in Moldova, Serbia, Armenia, and the FYR of Macedonia scored lower than the international average in science (see Table 3).

Western Models, Local Realities, and Educational “Mutations”

Reflecting on the education transformation process in the former socialist bloc, Johnson noted that both post-socialist countries and their Western allies were more often guided by idealized Western models than by an accurate sense of their needs and capacities (1996: 119). As a result, many of the reform initiatives have “mutated,” resulting in different outcomes than originally expected. Based on an examination of the equality of educational opportunities in the countries undergoing post-socialist transformation processes, Micklewright says that “the picture is clouded by the positive aspects of greater variation in educational provision,” as reflected in such commonly used “buzzwords” as “more choice and less homogeneity in supply” (2000: 23). However, the evidence from many countries points to the emergence of more unequal educational systems in a negative sense (Micklewright, 2000: 23). This is the conclusion, for example, of the OECD’s review of educational

policy in the largest country undergoing education transformation, Russia. Having listed a range of concerns about preferential access to better educational opportunities, the report states:

Under the banner of “increased choice,” all these concerns point paradoxically to diminished educational opportunities for many children, especially those who are rural, less affluent, or less well-connected – regardless of their individual merit. . . . As Russian society becomes increasingly stratified in terms of wealth, Russian education is increasingly stratified in terms of opportunity. (OECD, 1998: 79, 82)

The declarative commitment to equity and access may no longer be the case in other former socialist countries as well. In the present climate of economic recession, secondary school elitism (private schools and elite state schools) is growing, and is reinforced by the ability to pay (Zajda, 2003). This is reflected in a recent study on private tutoring in the nine countries of the post-socialist bloc,¹² where the majority of the respondents believed that private tutoring was essential for receiving high-quality education (Silova *et al.*, 2006). This has serious equity implications, as students from privileged and wealthy family backgrounds are more likely to have access to more and/or better-quality education. The data reveal that students who perceive their family welfare as below the national average take private tutoring less frequently than students who estimate their family welfare as average or above average. In the total sample, private tutoring lessons were used by 41% of all students who estimated their family welfare as above the national average, compared to approximately 28% of students who indicated that their family welfare was below the national average. Among non-private-tutoring users, almost a half (46%) estimated their family welfare as below the national average, further confirming the limited access of private tutoring to families from lower socioeconomic groups (Silova *et al.*, 2006).

Not only does the inability to pay deprive many children of quality education, but it can also limit their access to education. According to Tomaševski (2005), education has become “legally free, but really unfree” in all the countries undergoing post-socialist transformations.¹³ The increasing incidence of direct charges, even in compulsory primary education, victimizes the children of the poor who cannot afford to pay for books, materials, private tutoring, transport, meals, or even for supplements to teacher salaries, or school building maintenance. A recent survey of school nonattendance and dropout in the six countries of the former socialist bloc confirms that poverty is the main reason for school dropout (Open Society Institute, 2007).¹⁴ The survey cites the inability to pay for school supplies and other direct costs charged to families as a contributing factor to dropout. For example, the Kazakhstan survey (Open Society Institute, 2007) confirms that the majority of families with children who dropped out of school (63.8%) have incomes below 25,000 tenge (€150) per month, and just over 50% of these families have three or more children. In several countries (e.g., Albania, Moldova, Kazakhstan), many children of school age find it necessary to earn money to help support their families, and although there are both international conventions and national laws regulating child labor, certain sectors of the economy depend heavily

Table 3. Achievement in mathematics and science

Countries	Fourth grade		Eighth grade	
	Average mathematics scale scores	Average science scale score	Average mathematics scale scores	Average science scale score
EU accession countries				
Bulgaria	–	–	476	479
Estonia	–	–	531	552
Hungary	529	530	529	543
Latvia	536	532	508	512
Lithuania	534	512	502	519
Romania	–	–	475	470 ^a
Slovak Republic	–	–	508	517
Slovenia	479 ^a	490	493	520
Countries aspiring to join EU in the future				
Macedonia	–	–	435 ^a	449 ^a
Moldova	504	496	460 ^a	472 ^a
Russia	532	526	508	514
Serbia	–	–	477	468 ^a
Armenia	456 ^a	437 ^a	478	461 ^a
International average	495	489	466	473

^aLower than international average

Source: IEA, 2004

on it (e.g., agriculture). For example, a UNICEF (2000) study reports that 31.7% of children in Albania between the ages of 5 and 14 were working; in the city of Dürres alone, 60% of boys over the age of 10 were working. Similarly, absenteeism among poor children in Moldova has risen as children drop out to join the labor force (Open Society Institute, 2007; UNICEF, 2001). As such, compulsory schooling laws no longer ensure that children of the specified age range are actually in school. There is a wide gap between what the laws (and international conventions on human and child rights) require, and the day-to-day reality of children's lives (Tomaševski, 2005).

To summarize, the post-socialist countries aspiring to join the EU have been undergoing complex education transformation processes aimed at repositioning themselves within the European education space. While the EU has become a particularly influential context for educational development in these countries, it has also highlighted some of the tensions in reconciling “Western” ideas with local realities. European Union integration efforts have been generally welcomed (e.g., as reflected in the “borrowing” of EU education rhetoric and participation in various EU programs and processes), but they have also released tensions between national identities and the European dimension on the one hand, and tensions between the socialist legacies of a centralized plan economy and the current drive toward a market economy, on the other (Tjeldvoll, 2006). In the midst of this situation of conflicting values and interests, the educational systems have been struggling to balance their two main functions – the guarantee of free compulsory

education for all children and the provision of quality education. In this process, Western educational ideas have often “mutated” as they encountered local spaces, causing the educational systems to become increasingly inequitable in terms of income level, socio-economic status, geographical location (urban/rural), ethnicity, and gender.

Lost in Transformation: Education in Post-Soviet Central Asia

While most of the Central/Southeastern European countries were enthusiastic in their efforts to overcome the socialist past and join the European education space, most of the Central Asian republics have actually insisted on keeping many of the Soviet educational traditions and practices, while creating their own unique models of educational development. In Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan, education reform efforts have been primarily based on internal references to Soviet educational practices. In fact, Soviet education is more explicitly described as the “good old” system which can offer hope toward overcoming the current crisis (Belkanov, 2000: 86). Furthermore, many policymakers have become openly hostile to any Western influences, especially in the sphere of education. In an interview broadcast on Uzbekistan’s TV, for example, President Karimov complained about outsiders’ “increasing attempts to come to our country and lecture us “just as” big brother Moscow” used to do before the collapse of the Soviet Union (RFE/RL, 2003).

These Central Asian republics have probably faced the most difficult problems of transformation, with some countries experiencing major setbacks in all areas of education provision. In some countries, the situation has become so challenging that one of the education stakeholders in Turkmenistan referred to “education reform” as “education deform” (personal communication, June 4, 2005). During the 1990s, the Central Asian republics entered dramatic economic declines, resulting from the loss of traditional economic networks and the end of budget subsidies and transfers from Moscow. Given the overall decline in national incomes, investments in the educational sector have remained chronically low compared to pre-independence levels (Silova *et al.*, 2007). In the 2002/2003 academic year, for example, Tajikistan contributed 2.6% of GDP for education expenditure compared to 3.8% in Kyrgyzstan, 5.7% in Turkmenistan, and an average of 4–6% in OECD countries (UNICEF Transmonee, 2005).

Predictably, this sharp decline in educational finance led to the serious physical deterioration of school facilities across the region. In all countries, schools have deteriorated due to the insufficient maintenance of property (i.e., practically no resources were allocated for school building maintenance over the past 20 years) and intensive use or overuse of school and university facilities (i.e., using schools in multiple shifts because of the growing school-age population). In addition, Tajikistan has suffered from property damage inflicted during the civil war of the early 1990s, which left 20% of all schools destroyed, looted, or severely damaged (Silova *et al.*, 2007).

Marked declines in school enrollment have become common across the region. Preschool enrollment has declined catastrophically over the past decade, threatening the health, nutrition, and school-preparedness of children who no longer have access to these services. In 1999, the overall preschool enrollment rate in post-Soviet Central Asia was

14%, in contrast to 73% in post-socialist Central Europe. Similarly, in basic education (grades 1–9), enrollment rates appear to be dropping across the region, most dramatically in Tajikistan, which saw a drop in over half of the enrollment rate for ages 15–18, with a decline of almost 20% in Uzbekistan (UNICEF Transmonee, 2005). Compared with the rest of the former Soviet Union and Eastern and Central Europe, the Central Asian republics have some of the lowest student enrollment rates in secondary, vocational, and technical education, and are only slightly ahead of the impoverished areas of the southern Caucasus. In Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, female students have been most seriously affected. In Uzbekistan, for example, more than 25% of girls do not continue education after they reach the working age. Of all higher education students there, women constitute only 37.8% (Ministry of Macroeconomics and Statistics & State Department of Statistics of Uzbekistan, 2002). In Tajikistan, women constitute approximately 25% of all higher education students, uncovering a growing differential between young men and women (State Statistical Agency of the Republic of Tajikistan, 1998).

Undoubtedly, the quality of education has suffered, with many students failing to reach the minimum educational standards. For example, a recent Monitoring of Learning Achievement (MLA) study in Kyrgyzstan (Ministry of Education, Science and Youth Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic, 2005; Ministry of Public Education of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2002) showed that only 44.2% of all surveyed fourth graders passed the minimum literacy test and 58.5% passed the mathematics tests. In Tajikistan, the same study showed that an overwhelming number of fourth-grade students failed basic literacy test (63%) and mathematics test (50%). In both Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, students from urban areas scored the highest, while students from the remote rural areas scored the lowest. As the MLA reports explained, learning achievement has been negatively affected by such factors as insufficient teacher qualifications, lack of appropriate textbooks and teaching/learning materials, inappropriate teaching/learning methods, and a lack of education support at home. In Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the education system is further undermined by a high level of political control. In Uzbekistan, President Karimov's numerous books are part of the higher education curriculum and must be mastered to enter university and pass graduation examinations. In Turkmenistan, the cult of personality of President Niyazov is imposed in schools via the compulsory and almost exclusive study of his book *Rukhnama*.

It is in this environment of collapsing educational structures and increasing political control that “Western” educational ideas were introduced in Central Asia through international financial assistance in the 1990s. Major international organizations – such as the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank, Council of Europe, UNICEF, UNESCO, Agha Khan Foundation, and the Soros Foundations network – “moved to support development, promote democracy and buttress stability in Central Asia” (Open Society Institute, 2002). Following international assistance money, “traveling policies” have spread quickly across post-Soviet Central Asia. Notwithstanding the diversity of local contexts and the variety of international agencies funding education reform initiatives, the proposed recommendations for saving “the generation at risk” have emphasized such commonly articulated solutions as decentralization, privatization, increasing student/teacher ratios, improving in-service teacher training, curriculum reform, and others (Silova, 2005). In just over a decade, Central Asian education discourses have become practically identical to those of other post-socialist countries.¹⁵

“Traveling Policies,” Soviet Legacies, and Pre-Soviet Traditions

While Central Asian education reform rhetoric has echoed education development trends in the rest of the post-socialist bloc, education practices have not substantially changed. In Tajikistan, for example, international pressures to address deteriorating gender equity in education led to the introduction of gender quotas in higher education at end of the 1990s.¹⁶ However, policy implementation resulted in mixed outcomes. Already in the first year of the implementation of the State Program, for example, it was observed that the number of female students in higher education institutions was not increasing sufficiently for several reasons (Silova & Magno, 2004). First, the amount of financial assistance provided to young women was so meager that it could hardly cover expenses necessary to continue studies in higher education institutions (e.g., purchase textbooks, pay for accommodation and food, etc.). Second, young women from rural areas were continuously discouraged from entering higher education because of increasingly deteriorating and unsafe conditions in dormitories. Furthermore, as soon as international pressure decreased (i.e., following the adoption of gender quota policies for higher education), there emerged new interpretations of how gender quotas should be administered. For example, female students received quotas for studying less popular and usually lower-paid professions traditionally perceived as “feminine” (e.g., nurses and teachers), while few quotas were given to women for studying more popular, higher-paid professions (e.g., law, economic, business, etc.). In other words, borrowing of the Western concepts of “gender equity” maintained their original meaning only at the “policy talk” level. At the implementation stage, however, they were skillfully used to promote increasingly patriarchal values prevalent in society. As such, educational borrowing has largely resulted in the transfer of international norms of gender equity and democratization, while their performance and implementation has primarily depended on historical legacies and local political factors (Silova, 2005).

While Central Asian education discourse has become increasingly similar to that of the rest of the world, education practice has not substantially changed. “Traveling policies” have increasingly clashed with a strong desire of education policymakers in the region to maintain Soviet education legacies and, in some cases, revive pre-Soviet traditions. As a result, “traveling policies” have not been necessarily implemented. Instead, communities at national, regional, or local levels have begun to interact with and negotiate these “traveling policies” and, in some cases, contest and resist them. In this way, educational transformation processes in most Central Asian republics have taken different trajectories, often completely diverging from the officially articulated education solutions. Behind the rhetoric of “democratization,” “internationalization,” and “equality,” some countries (especially Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) have used education as tools of political indoctrination and repression.

Varieties of Educational Transformations

One of the unique features of post-socialist transformation processes is the degree of commonalities and differences across the region. Among the most striking commonalities is the “post-socialist education reform package” that was transferred to the

countries in Southeast/Central Europe and the former Soviet Union after the collapse of post-socialist bloc (Silova & Steiner-Khamsi, 2008). From the new EU accession countries to the post-Soviet Central Asian republics, educational policymakers have used remarkably similar education reform rhetoric, consisting of the following “package:” extension of the curriculum to 11 or 12 years of schooling, introduction of new subjects (e.g., English and computer literacy), student-centered learning, electives in upper-secondary schools, introduction of standards and/or outcomes-based education, decentralization of educational finance and governance, reorganization of schools (“rationalization” of staff and structures), privatization of higher education, standardization of student assessment, liberalization of textbook publishing, and the establishment of education management and information systems. This “post-socialist reform package” was supplemented with a few country-specific reforms, such as an emphasis on post-conflict education in war-torn countries, or on gender and education for Muslim countries. Arguably, what was stressed in the reform package is as interesting as what was omitted. In each case there was limited support from international agencies and financial institutions for teacher training, rural education, or inclusive education targeting students with special needs (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006:189).

The commonality of educational reforms in these post-socialist countries can be explained by several factors. The educational systems in these countries were until 1990, with a few exceptions, almost identical, reflecting Soviet influence in the region. Moreover, these countries not only experienced these structural reform policies during the same period (early and mid-1990s), but these policies were administered by the same international donors (Council of Europe, World Bank, USAID, and UN organizations). For the new accession countries and the countries aspiring to join the EU, the European educational assistance was, perhaps, the most influential in affecting education reform rhetoric. This is particularly so in relation to such concepts as “globalization,” “knowledge society,” “accountability,” and “democratization” (Lawn & Lingard, 2002: 299). For the Central Asian countries, most reform pressure came from international financial institutions, especially the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Across the post-socialist bloc, “traveling policies” (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004) had the same objective – the transformation of the previous Soviet system of education into an international model of education – designed by international financial institutions and organizations. This model was imposed in a few cases, but for the most part, it was voluntarily borrowed for fear of “falling behind” internationally (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006: 189).

While some scholars would argue that the apparent commonalities of educational reforms in the countries of the post-socialist bloc reflect the convergence of educational systems toward the same “world standards” with regard to the structure, organization, and content of education (Meyer & Ramirez, 2000: 120), this chapter takes a stance that is opposed to neoinstitutionalism or world culture theory. Undoubtedly, certain educational concepts or discourses go global, but they may play out differently in different political, economic, and cultural contexts (Anderson-Levitt, 2003) and they may resonate for different reasons in different educational systems (Schriewer & Martinez, 2004). As this chapter reveals, there is a convergence of educational reforms

in the countries of the post-socialist bloc, but only at the level of “buzzwords” and “brand names,” that is, in the *language* of educational reforms. Once a discourse is transplanted from one context to another, it changes meaning. Given the political and economic dimensions of education borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006), the transfer of global concepts can be used by local agency as a mechanism for reaching its own needs such as legitimizing contested educational reforms domestically or “signaling” certain reform movements internationally (Silova, 2002). An inquiry into how local forces encounter global reforms and what makes them adopt, resist, or undermine external pressure on domestic educational reforms is a terrain that deserves far more exploration.

Whether globalization in education is real or imagined, it is uncontested that it is the “semantics of globalization” (Schriewer, 2000: 300) that has been increasingly enlisted to accelerate educational reform in the countries of the post-socialist bloc. Despite rhetorical commonalities, however, post-socialist educational transformation processes have not been homogeneous in their trajectories, substance, and pace. In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia, the EU accession process has triggered major educational changes (either structural or rhetorical), but the accession itself has meant neither the absolute uniformity of educational systems nor the end of educational transformations. All the new EU accession countries continue educational transformation processes, attempting to reconcile some of the EU values with their historical legacies. As Ivan Wilhelm, the rector of Charles University in Prague, noted, “European dimension does not have to mean uniformity. The national traditions produced by the historical developments of the last ten centuries are too valuable and important to the definition of national identity to be disregarded” (interviewed on August 23, 2004). Furthermore, the new accession countries have become a part of another transformation process – shared with the rest of the European Union – toward knowledge-based societies.

Similarly, EU institutions were instrumental in influencing educational reform in countries aspiring to join the European Union. While educational transformations in these countries have had a common destination (e.g., joining the European education space), the pace of educational reforms have been much slower, with most countries being “weighted down by totalitarian experiences and structures whose residual effects will be felt for a long time to come” (Birzea, 1994: 10). Furthermore, educational reforms borrowed from the “West” have often mutated as they clashed with socialist legacies during the implementation stage. As a result, educational systems in many countries have become increasingly inequitable in terms of socioeconomic class, geographic location, and gender.

Finally, educational transformations in the Central Asian republics have been based not only on “external references,” but also on internal references to Soviet and pre-Soviet educational practices. On the one hand, international financial institutions have introduced a plethora of “Western” educational solutions to the emerging “crisis” in the educational systems of the Central Asian republics. On the other hand, Central Asian education policymakers have attempted to maintain some of the Soviet educational traditions and/or revive pre-Soviet educational practices. Given the incompatibility between “global” ideas and local practices, educational transformation processes

in most Central Asian republics have taken different trajectories, often completely diverging from the officially articulated educational goals of “democratization,” “internationalization,” and “equality.” Behind the internationally acceptable discursive façade, some countries (especially Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) have used educational transformation to boost political indoctrination and repression in schools.

A comparative reflection on educational development in the countries of the former socialist bloc highlights a variety of educational transformations, which may take different forms and result in a multiplicity of outcomes. Not only are there major variations in the pace, trajectories, and outcomes of educational transformation processes between the larger groups of countries (i.e., the new EU accession countries, countries aspiring to join the EU, and Central Asian republics), but there are significant variations within the groups themselves. Clearly, the “teleology of transition” (Verdery, 1996: 227), which has once again mapped out a schematic course of development for the states of the former socialist bloc, has failed to explain the complexity of educational transformations. As Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe note, the pattern of deterministic positioning in the course of this history was all too familiar, and something else also created a sense of *déjà vu*: “After a few years of progress along the new course of ‘transition,’ more or less according to the prescriptions imposed by international financial institutions, the promised ideal – this time defined as a prospering market-oriented democracy – has once again failed to materialize” in many post-socialist countries (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006: 64). Clearly, it is necessary to move away from a linear conceptualization of the “transition” process, which is characterized by a gradual replacement of “the old” socialist policies, practices, and values with the “new” Western ones. Instead, it is important to account for the complexity of the post-socialist transformation processes and examine how patterns of thought move through different layers of the global and local systems and are transmuted when encountering local spaces. Under which conditions educational borrowing hybridizes, replaces, or reinforces existing practices is a key issue for understanding educational transformation processes, and should therefore be placed at the center of comparative education research.

Notes

1. Following the collapse of the socialist bloc, armed conflicts broke out in the Caucasus (including Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1988–1994 and Georgia in 1990–1994), in Central Asia (including in the Ferghana Valley in 1989–1991 and Tajikistan in 1992–1993), the former Soviet republics (including the northern Caucasus of the Russian Federation in 1992–2001 and Moldova in 1992), and the former Yugoslav Republic (including former Yugoslavia in 1991–1995, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1997–1999, and FYR Macedonia in 2001).
2. Several post-Soviet governments, such as those in Belarus, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, proclaim to be democratic while maintaining relatively totalitarian and sometimes repressive regimes.
3. All these countries are members of the Council of Europe (CoE), with the exception of Kazakhstan, which applied for observer status at the Parliament Assembly in 1999. The official response of Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) was that Kazakhstan could apply for full membership, because it is partially located in Europe, but that it would not be granted any status whatsoever at CoE until its democracy and human rights records improved.

4. The purpose of the Bologna process is to create the European higher education area by harmonizing academic degree standards and quality assurance standards throughout Europe for each faculty and its development. It is named after the place it was proposed, the University of Bologna, with the signing in 1999 of the Bologna Declaration by ministers of education from 29 European countries in the Italian city of Bologna. This was opened up to other countries, and further governmental meetings have been held in Prague (2001), Berlin (2003), and Bergen (2005).
5. For example, the SOCRATES program aims to promote the European dimension and to improve the quality of education at all levels of education by encouraging cooperation between participating countries through promoting lifelong learning, encouraging access to education for all, and acquiring qualifications and recognized skills. LEONARDO da VINCI is the action program for implementing the EU vocational training policy. Finally, the TEMPUS program assists the countries of the former socialist bloc in the restructuring of higher education systems in order to adapt them to the requirements of a market economy. In addition, all the new accession countries joined the Bologna process in 1999, thus expressing their commitment to coordinate national education policies in order to adopt a system of comparable degrees; employ a system of credit units; and promote mobility, cooperation in quality assurance, and a European dimension in higher education.
6. The Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) was developed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) to measure trends in students' mathematics and science achievement. Offered in 1995, 1999, 2003 and 2007, TIMSS provides participating countries with an opportunity to measure students' progress in mathematics and science achievement on a regular four-year cycle.
7. In 2003, six new EU accession countries participated in the international TIMSS study, namely Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia.
8. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a project of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) designed to provide policy-oriented international indicators of the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students in three literacy domains: Reading, Mathematics, and Science. PISA aims to assess to what degree students approaching the end of their compulsory education have acquired some of the knowledge and skills that are essential for full participation in society.
9. In June 1993, the Copenhagen European Council recognised the right of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to join the European Union when they have fulfilled three criteria: (1) political (stable and democratic institutions, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for minorities); (2) economic (a functioning market economy); and (3) incorporation of the Community *acquis* (adherence to the various political, economic, and monetary aims of the European Union).
10. A score of 5.0 is the number Transparency International considers the borderline figure distinguishing countries that do and do not have a serious corruption problem. The Corruption Perception Index scores are below 3.0 in the following countries: Armenia (2.9), Bosnia & Herzegovina (2.9), Moldova (2.9), Serbia and Montenegro (2.8), Macedonia (2.7), Kazakhstan (2.6), Ukraine (2.6), Albania (2.4), Russia (2.4), Georgia (2.3), and Azerbaijan (2.2).
11. PIRLS is part of a five-year cycle of assessments that measures trends in children's reading literacy achievement and policy and practices related to literacy. PIRLS provides trends and international comparisons on fourth-graders' reading achievement, students' competencies in relation to goals and standards for reading education, the impact of the home environment and how parents can foster reading literacy, the organization, time, and materials for learning to read in schools, as well as curriculum and classroom approaches to reading instruction.
12. The countries involved in the study included Azerbaijan, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine.
13. All the countries aspiring to join the European Union in the future provide legal guarantee of free education, but they all levy additional charges. For more information, see <http://www.right-to-education.org/>
14. The countries involved in the study included Albania, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Mongolia, Slovakia, and Tajikistan.
15. See Silova (2005) for a more detailed discussion of "traveling policies" in Central Asia.
16. See the National Plan of Action to Improve the Situation of Women in the Republic of Tajikistan.

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THE EUROPEAN UNION AND EDUCATION IN SPAIN

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The title at the head of this article could give rise to many diverse interpretations. One of these is the study of to what degree the Spanish education system relates to the education policy which the European Economic Community first and the European Union later have drawn up since their creation. Without doubting the interest of this line of exploration, I prefer one that seems to me more realistic and revealing in the present circumstances. In my opinion, the European Union, in educational matters, is none other than the sum of all its parts. In other words, I am not convinced that its member states have given the Union the possibility of implementing a real community education policy or that they are going to do so in the near future. The States which compose the European Union jealously keep exclusive control over their respective education systems and it seems they wish to continue that way while accepting, not without resistance, that Brussels may collaborate in establishing certain common lines of action.

The aim of the following pages is, therefore, to place the present Spanish education system in its natural framework which is without doubt that of the European Union. However, I will consider more the different States that compose it and their respective policies rather than the education policy of the Union itself, a policy which is, I feel, doubtful. I would like to examine, ultimately, in what sense the Spanish education system is homologous to that of the principle States of the European Union. An ambitious aim, without doubt, which contrasts the lack of space available and the complexity of the topic. Given these limitations, I am forced to choose a few points that I consider of major importance regarding the presence of the Spanish education system within the European Union. In particular, I will refer only to three. The first, of a historical nature, hopes to illustrate many of the present-day differences. The second point refers to what many Spanish academics and I consider the macro-problem facing the Spanish education system: its own nature as an education system. Finally, I will try to list, briefly, some of the main deficiencies which affect the Spanish education system with the European framework.

The reader might be surprised by the strongly critical, perhaps autocritical, character of the following pages. As will be noted, it seems as if I have tried to show only the negative aspects of the education system which I myself serve and have served for many years, thus succumbing to the typically Spanish tendency that I will analyse later: a plaintive and even pessimistic tone in my reflections. This does not comply with my usual vision as the reader can confirm in my other writings.¹

Europeanism and Isolationism in the Spanish Education Policy: An Old Topic

The large historiographic material produced in Spain in the last decades referring to education in its diverse aspects expresses tacitly or openly that from the Enlightenment onwards, Spain did not maintain the pace followed by developed nations in Europe either because the country was not able to, did not know how to, or did not want to (frequently all three). This had not occurred before (it is enough to remember the important ecclesiastical developments and the influential pedagogical movements already rising in Spain in the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the Modern Age). From the Enlightenment onwards, things changed. From the moment the authorities in the majority of European countries decided to steer a course in the then rising education systems, Spain started to react with apathy, lack of interest and even, sometimes, with the firm objective of not embarking on a course which stirred open suspicions. The Spanish intellectuals warned of this, but they were not paid due attention. Manuel de Puelles describes in his last book the system outlined in the first decades of the eighteenth century as a ‘frustrated national system’.² It is true that there were reactions, but untimely, late and almost always timid. The Quintana Report in 1813 was one such and, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Moyano Act another that lasted a hundred years before a complete new legislation replaced it (the laws that came to light in that period were of more or less importance but always partial and referring to a certain level or particular aspect). There were always, in different periods, considerable efforts and ambitious plans. But either they did not reach a satisfactory conclusion or, in some cases, they had to be withdrawn being considered too daring by quite a number of Spanish people.

The reasoning that Spain should reach the same level as the most advanced countries was common but on many occasions was counteracted by the isolationist mentality prevalent for a long time in the country. As Menéndez Pidal emphasised, the resistance of many Spaniards to listen to those from abroad, or to try to relate to them, goes back a long time. After the evidence that the Venetian Tiepolo had already given in the sixteenth century, Menéndez Pidal acknowledges in this resistance as a kind of historical constant, enduring forever, and he concludes

[I]solationism prevails in Spain ... considers that the Spanish have little to learn from other peoples and that it is essential to preserve intact all traditional forms of life and thought free from any foreign influence which only serves to weaken and endanger them. Feijoo’s many arguments against these two prejudices are just as important today as they were then.³

That ‘today’ referred to by Menéndez Pidal was Spain in the middle of the twentieth century. Things have certainly changed a lot since then. Not long afterwards, Spain set out on a decidedly European journey. The General Act of Education of 1970, promulgated in the latter stages of Franco’s time, without doubt opened the boundaries of the education system to outside currents and it was, for this reason, severely judged by many political and social authorities of the time, including many intellectuals.

However, and in spite of all its qualities, this law was not able to make up for lost time. It had to conform with eight years of compulsory schooling, as it had been before, due to the high number of young people absent from the secondary classrooms from the age of 14. By this time, many European countries had already increased the number to nine or ten years. This law, however, dared to apply the ‘principle of comprehensive education’ or integration of primary and early secondary levels even before other countries such as France, Italy or, indeed, some northern countries. But what constituted an irrefutable advance in 1970 was, 20 years later, reiterated, at an inopportune moment, and exaggerated by the new Act (known in Spain by the LOGSE) which raised to ten years both compulsory education (which was a good decision) and comprehensive education. By then, the majority of our neighbouring countries were already revising the application of this last principle (comprehensive education). I will return to this point. What interests me at the moment is to highlight this tendency to delay which Spanish people cannot overcome in educational matters. Delay as much as the time of carrying out measures as in revising their effects, is not always positive.

Despite the isolationist temptations and the huge lack of attention given to the experiences of others, there have always been people convinced of the need to go abroad, particularly to Europe to look for those things worthy of admiration and, if possible, incorporate them into their own educational habits. It is not possible for me to cite here the many quotations which confirm this tendency. It is enough to acknowledge the statement that, even at the start of the twentieth century, the minister Romanones included in his preface to the important education Decree of 1901:

Nobody can deny that all essential reforms implemented in our national education come from people who have lived in communication with scientific European thought, who have travelled abroad to later sow within their own homeland, a land as fertile in its talent as it is abandoned in its growth. This is demonstrated, in the history of Spanish education, by the pedagogical current which flows from the humanism of Luis Vives to the nursery schools of Montesinos.⁴

In the first decades of the twentieth century, references to abroad had become proverbial in Spanish political circles. The Board of Widening Studies (‘Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios’) was decisive in this respect, an institution itself motivated by European ideals (especially German) which for the most part involved sending Spanish scholars to European centres in order to collect educational experience. The Second Republic marked another key moment in this internationalist thirst, looking outside – from western countries to the Soviet Union – for legislative realities and experiences relevant to the country. During the first times of Franco’s rule, a period of distrust was experienced which inclined to blame the evils on foreign influences. But even in Franco’s dictatorship a substantial change took place in this regard. As mentioned above, one of the arguments which certain sectors brandished against the General Act of Education of 1970 was that of succumbing to the splendour of the foreign and bowing down to the international criteria of UNESCO. Since then, the references to Europe and the developed world in general have been constant in all

the education laws, including the four laws implemented during the socialist period, 1982–1995, the two elaborated by the conservative government between 1996 and 2004 and, finally, that implemented at the end of 2005 by the socialist government elected a year before.

But precaution in the face of the foreign has never totally disappeared. The accusations of ‘foreignism’ abounded throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and still abound today. Certain travellers from other times, when presenting their reports, seemed to beg pardon.⁵ Some of them, as with the following, expressed their opinions particularly sensitively and prudently:

All imitation of the foreign, be it German, French or English is inappropriate in Spain where we are not French, English or German: on the contrary, it is best to understand and study what is next to us, to study what is ours and compare it to what is beside us and notice those things that the differences make us see and all that resemblance or equality can be of use to us.⁶

This leads us to another interesting aspect: the Spanish propensity to look for confirmation abroad of their own theories. The ‘partisan’ vision of foreign experiences is something which has been denounced for a long time. History continues, in this case as in all cases. The fundamental novelties of our time are the erratic comparisons between Spain and abroad made by the mass media, especially the newspapers. The majority of Spanish newspapers from time to time dedicate their pages to writing about reforms, innovations or simply ‘events’ related to education in other countries, particularly European. In general, those who write these articles or commentaries are journalists residing for a short time in these countries who intend to give general information and who treat education as lightly as they treat political elections, health problems, etc. Characteristic of these articles is their decontextualisation and oversimplification. But because they are considered useful to the reader, the newspapers call on them.

I will also refer to another trait which I consider important when contextualising ideas existing in Spain about its own education system. This old trait, still present, is based on what many Spanish people have defined as the ‘age-old backwardness’ of Spanish education as regards the European setting and, more in general, the developed world. The principle thesis is to explain this backwardness as a result of the political difficulties of the country (past and present). To put it another way: in Spain, the underdeveloped education was and is the result of an underdeveloped politics.

This affirmation is latent in many of the criticisms made of the education system, as much in academic and political circles as in trade unions and guilds, etc. On the one hand, these critics consider in detail everything related to the economy and investments in education (the lack of adequate funding being constant every time an education law is planned or developed). However, on the other hand, the legislation itself insists that Spain be on the same educational level as the nations around it. The vast majority of laws implemented or bills passed dedicate at least a number of paragraphs to declaring the need for Spain to ‘homologise’ with the rest of the European countries or the developed world. It is a pious way of admitting that Spain is beneath these countries in legal norms or in implementation, efficiency or human resources or materials. In Spain educational comparisons are of a highly plaintive nature.

Does the same apply to other countries? I sincerely think not. If we examine, for example, the main laws and legislative measures of other countries of a similar or superior development, we do not find in them the lamentable comparisons to which I refer. On the contrary, the necessity for legislative change is seen in virtue of the countries' evolution or indeed in virtue of the deficiencies observed in the former legislation, but not in virtue of feeling 'inferior' to the others. It seems to me we are faced with something particularly Spanish also shared by some other peoples (perhaps in some Latin American countries).

I would like to refer to another characteristic of recent Spanish education history: the continual making and remaking of material in education policy. Since the restoration of democracy in 1978, every time the governments change in Spain, Spanish people witness the same repetitive, tiresome scenario. The government which comes into power insists that the former government has made a mess of educational matters, and that it is the former heads' of state and their laws' fault that the children's education is in a pitiful state. They try to show this in different ways (to prove it is more difficult ...) and all in a hurry so that they would not be reproached for what others have done. Furthermore, they act with the infantile belief that their government will benefit these educational matters immensely. If they can, they change the former government's laws, intrinsically bad, purely because they have been promulgated by the others. Embittered criticisms pour down on the former teams. Year after year, it is the same without realising that it is those who are in government for one, two, three or more years who are the ones criticising and that things, rather than getting better, are getting worse. And this incites the following government, whatever its colour, to do the same. I think this discontinuity in the Spanish education policy, apart from being profoundly damaging, strongly contrasts with the conduct of other countries of the European Union. Although their policies may undergo certain touching up, never are they subject to the making and unmaking which characterises Spanish contemporary education.

The Politico-Administrative Macropblem

Without doubt the most outstanding event in recent Spanish education history is that of having converted the education administration from strongly centralised to furiously decentralised. Furthermore, this has happened in a very short space of time. In a very few years, one of the firmest and longest-lasting characteristics of Spanish education has been dismantled. And, as to be expected, with doubtful results. These days, to wonder at the existence, already present or about to be applied, of 17 different education systems in Spain (one for each Autonomous Community) is not simply work of the imagination.

Does the process followed by Spain correspond to that of other countries, above all, to those nearest the Spanish cultural and economic environment? Seeing that, today, it is these countries which have the most influence educationally in the international arena, and it is important to briefly consider them.

The first thing to remember, in this respect, is that, in the terrain of educational policy, as in others, to decentralise has already been fashionable for decades encouraged, above all, by the Anglo-Saxon tradition. This decentralisation carries the

implicit idea that it facilitates the efficiency of political action, especially by bringing the administration closer to the citizens and by assuring their participation in the management of public interests. One way or another, the impression is given that decentralisation is something naturally required by democracy and that ‘centralist’ actions involve a certain idea of inappropriate control. The practice of so-called democratic centralism on the part of communist regimes which appeared after the Second World War confirms this theory. Few were the previous communist countries which, in the second half of the twentieth century, did not embark on processes more or less inclining to decentralisation. Centralism defined as ‘right wing’ (from those brought about by Nazism or fascism to those started more recently in other countries) were especially criticised. Francoism was, in this sense, the object of strong criticism from both outside and, especially, from within Spain. The surmounting of Francoism meant essentially, for most of the political powers and the Spanish intellectuals, a surmounting of centralism and the adoption of decentralist criteria. The ‘homologation’ of Spain – educationally and otherwise – with countries in our cultural context seemed to require, for a start, decentralisation.

As mentioned, the models particularly relevant have been those of the Anglo-Saxon tradition and, in particular, those of the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In both territories, the standard adopted, in cultural matters, is complete regionalisation (we cannot talk of ‘decentralisation’, in my opinion, given that it was not started from a centralist regime). With regard to the United Kingdom, regionalisation has been dominated, since the nineteenth century (with strong roots in its past, without doubt) by the idea of ‘local administration’ of the system, controlled by the Local Education Authorities (LEAs). In the case of the United States, regionalisation is controlled through the state administration in that (since the American Constitution) the educational responsibility corresponds to the States. However, if we are to take note of the predominant tendencies in both countries since the middle of the twentieth century to our own time, we would have to define them as ‘centralising’ tendencies without distortion of the former regionalising core. There appeared in both countries, in this period, national Ministers or Departments of Education which did not exist before, in the United Kingdom in 1944 and in the United States in 1979. From those moments on, these Departments have taken more and more control of specific tasks despite the more or less declared resistance of the LEAs in one case and the federal States in the other. That tendency has not slowed down in either case up to the present and it may be said that, in fact, it is shared by all the political forces in both countries. In other words, these countries’ conduct in the last few decades seems to indicate certain caution in the problems caused by excessive regionalisation or decentralisation in the matters that concern us here.

In continental Europe, something similar may be affirmed with respect to the country which is most based on a federal administration – Germany. Despite the fact that it is the *Länder* and their respective Ministers of Education which hold maximum responsibility in educational issues, the Federal Ministry of Education has been increasing in importance since its creation in 1969. Most importantly, while a large sector of the population and political life attribute the deficiencies of the education system to educational regionalisation, the calls for a greater federal intervention are frequently repeated. It is foreseeable that this intervention will come about in the following years (in fact it is already happening, particularly in third-level education).

It is true that decentralising tendencies have made a way forward in certain European countries. This has been the case, for example, with the Scandinavians who, because of the size of their population, work, logically, upon a predominantly centralising base. However, this has been, nearly always, decentralisation of a local nature, rather than regional. This is to say that in education policy matters, decision-taking by the town councils and other local authorities has gained ground. This, without recurring to territorial distribution of decision-taking on the part of provinces or regions.

With reference to the political habits of strongly centralised countries, such as France or Italy, the process has tended to fortify their own territorial demarcations with more responsibility to, in the case of France, *les Académies* and in the case of Italy, *le regioni*. But in both cases, the relevant administrations have always been peripheral administrators, always under the aegis of Paris or Rome. Basically, this means a decision-taking reduced to only certain matters of enforcement and rarely in matters of greater magnitude. Far from what is happening in Spain, Italy is today a basically centralised country in educational matters. Similarly France; as before, its *décentralization* has consisted, as they themselves admit, more in *déconcentration*. We can say the same referring to countries of southern Europe, such as Greece or Portugal, without ignoring their decentralising efforts.

These efforts have also been carried out in countries in Eastern Europe, heirs to 'democratic centralism' which was imposed by communism and which they abominate but from which they have been unable to escape until now. In sum, there is only one country in Europe which, even before Spain, has carried out such a marked division of functions in its territories: Belgium. The motives of this small country have been of a cultural and linguistic nature, for a long time based on living traditions, thus understandable to a certain degree; but the educational situation there leaves much to be desired, politically and qualitatively speaking.

The conclusion reached, then, after this journey through the education policy of Europe would be, without doubt, to confirm the prevalence and probable continuity of conciliatory and moderate positions in this subject, positions that seem to flee from excesses and rather correct from excessive centralisation or decentralisation. At the same time, it is obvious that globalising movements bring countries everyday closer to one another, closer also in the similar educational matters adopted in each country. Certainly, movements of resistance which insist on the richness of indigenous cultural values are more and more energetically against that globalisation which endangers rich cultural resources by an impoverishing uniformity.

However, usually, these movements stem rather from *local* geographical units than from *nationalist* desires, now outdated.⁷ 'Globalization' incites what has been called 'glocalization' but not 'glonationalization'. We will surely end up recovering the original concept of *natio* as place of birth (the small space in which each of us was born). Almost everywhere, one has the impression that the experience of nationalisms, in political terms, has not been very positive lately, although it may have been in other moments of history.

Returning to the case of Spain, the future being forged very little resembles these world tendencies. Due to the pressure of certain group interests, of political classes and of a part of public opinion, the Spanish *nation* appearing at the end of the fifteenth century and strengthened throughout five centuries seems to be today separating into

other *national units*, of a still uncertain number. Some politicians have openly referred to this phenomenon as a process of ‘disjoining’. On the other hand, the road to follow is not clear. Already present in the spirit of some political parties, specifically the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), at the start of the transition from Franco’s time to democracy, was the idea of a federal Spain. This contemplated, however, the permanence of the Spanish nation and the admission, perhaps, within that, of various federal States. But this discourse, which has remained detached from the historical evolution of Spain, has today been proven wrong. Those who today claim a new political structure do not seem to be satisfied by converting their territories into States, but into States and Nations at the same time. This means, without doubt, the assumption of a total national sovereignty and a total state administration only tempered by the desire to remain in the European Union. This is the aim of the nationalist discourse, although it recognises a time of gradual approach in which the possession of their own education systems (national systems in its oldest meaning) is decisive. To make way for these (their own) education systems is not something that can be left for tomorrow or the day after. This is something which must be started immediately. This explains the pressures to obtain the text which has finally prevailed in the recent ‘Ley Orgánica de Educación’ (Education Act) in 2006. For different reasons, the majority of the political powers have associated themselves to this ‘disjoining’ project of the Spanish education system although it is not known how widely it will extend or even what results will be obtained. Only one political party has opposed this, the Popular Party which, however, represents the views not only of numerous voters, but of many of the Spanish people.

What will the immediate future bring? Will the existence (perhaps not yet legalised) of various *national* education systems within an already theoretical Spanish education system be accepted? If so, it seems improbable that these systems will be only a few in number and, more concretely, they will be systems that claim as motive their condition as ‘historic’ territories. However, in the normal evolution of events, it may be that, in the beginning, those who decide to follow this model will be these ‘historical’ territories and that the others will limit themselves, as time goes by, to later reclaiming the same prerogatives. It is also possible that these latter, tired of so much struggling, later decide to reconstitute a limited Spanish education system, reduced to the Spanish-speaking territories. This is surely the most desired for solution by the self-denominated ‘historical nationalisms’ who trust in the power of that line from the pen of the great poet, Antonio Machado: ‘the walk is made by walking’.

What will be the future? Four or six education systems having recourse to their own languages? Seventeen education systems each having recourse to the same measure autonomy, the highest measure? One Spanish education system with certain regional modifications? It is difficult to predict the final result. At an international level, the prevalent powers support internationalising movements, the approximation of the distinct national systems, and the elimination of educational frontiers. At a Spanish level, the prevalent powers support, as we have seen, nationalising movements, the distancing between systems, the construction of new linguistic, microcultural and perhaps, socio-economic and even (supposedly) ethnic frontiers. It is not clear if this dialectical conflict will lead to some surviving synthesis. At the moment, the only certain thing

is an inconclusive period of uneasiness and doubt which will slow down, in many aspects, the international competitiveness of Spanish education.

More obviously, the 'disjoining' tendency to which I have referred has had a clear repercussion in education administration. Bureaucratic proliferation is an evil which the administrations of all countries suffer in one form or another. Nor is this something of an exclusive trait of the democratic world (remember what happened in communist countries) but neither has the evolution of democratic societies succeeded in putting the problem on track again. It is enough to take a look at the respective web pages of the Ministries of Education of European countries to understand that, in nearly every case, they are composed of huge structures, with numerous civil servants. And it is the same when, in regionalising or decentralising countries, one tries to penetrate the structures of the decentralised units. However, I think that Spain has surpassed itself in this tendency and finds itself today among the countries which support the most obese education administrations.

What seems true is that in nearly all developed countries there is a concern to lighten the structure, to 'recover one's figure' which, on the contrary, does not seem to be the case with Spain, at least at the moment. The Spanish politicians are far from taking seriously a similar campaign to that which, a few years ago, the French socialist minister Claude Allègre started with the slogan *il faut dégraisser le mammoth* ('the mammoth must lose weight'), without doubt, referring to the massive French Ministry of Education. The irresponsible proportions of the 'Welfare State' still do not worry the Spanish. In Spain and in its 17 Autonomous Communities the tendency is to go on putting on weight administratively speaking without asking if the bureaucratic size of the prolific administrative personnel is really justified with regard to the tasks assigned and above all, if there is an acceptable relation between benefits and losses. Trade Unions, associations and groups which never stop demanding resources for education rarely wonder if the expansion of these is not excessive or even counterproductive. The thirst to create new dependencies seems to know no limits, despite knowing that these new dependencies produce more complications and curvatures in management and the consequent need for more human resources.

Further, in the case of Spain, a discoordination between central and regional structures (and among the regional structures themselves) can be clearly observed, a discoordination not common in other countries. Indeed, the correct homologation of respective functions in non-central administrations is never easy. A few years ago, the German chancellor, Schroeder, gave a good example of this when he blamed the poor results of the German education system in the PISA on the attitude of many regional authorities (the Ministers of the *Länder*). But on this point Spain has reached insuperable levels compared to other countries. To know how to deal with the central Ministry of Education in some autonomies is going to be very difficult, unless it is prepared to commit *harakiri*.

No one can doubt that the quality of education in every country depends on, as a fundamental component, the better or worse operative capacity that its administration possesses. An efficient administration is indispensable for the achievement of its educational objectives even when it is known that that administration does not correspond anymore to the reality of the times. Many have criticised, for example, the fundamentally centralist and bureaucratic scheme of the French administration but few doubt that it is an administration which, in general, works

well. Something similar could be said about some non-European countries like Japan, despite its verticalism and its frequent inflexibility, or the United States, despite the prolific variety of its management behaviour. These and the education systems of other countries can and do have considerable defects, but they are well-articulated, well-led systems which work, which aim at clear and precise objectives, putting the adequate mechanisms to work in order to attain them. They are systems whose legislators make laws according to their understanding of the country's necessities, the leaders make decisions according to the legislation, the consultant organisms really consult, the inspectors supervise and control, and the teaching and administrative workers do the work to which they have been assigned. People do not agree there that, simply because they live in a democracy, such duties should be in some way shared or discussed among everyone, disseminated, altered by momentary circumstances or different pressures. If, occasionally, the opposite occurs, the mechanisms in society immediately denounce and correct the faults. Without unnecessary alarm, I don't think the same can be said about the Spanish education system.

A few words more, finally, about the perennial contentiousness existing between the public and the private sectors. Also it is time that Spain, in this aspect, brings itself up to date and reaches stable solutions of compromise. Even in Italy, where the private sector has always been quite reduced, left-wing men have defended (Minister Berlinguer did so a few years ago) the complete *parità* between both sectors. Countries traditionally structured on a strong public sector are today making insistent calls for the collaboration of the social initiative. Spain, on the contrary, has a very old tradition of non-state schooling, without whose collaboration the system would be a disaster (more than 30% of Spanish students attend non-state centres). We cannot go on listening to chants from the end of the nineteenth century or beginnings of the twentieth century that tirelessly repeat themselves in favour of a 'single, public and lay' schooling and against financial state aid for the centres of social initiative. In Spain, both sectors need one another if an education administration abreast of the times is to be attained.

Some Problems of Homologation and Quality

As I stated at the start, this last section of the chapter will be dedicated to describe as clearly as possible some of the peculiarities of the Spanish education system in contrast to the general situation in countries of the European Union. Far from being an exhaustive enumeration, I have chosen what I consider to be the five most relevant problems.

A Deficient Conception of Compulsory Secondary School

The General Act of Education of 1970 had applied, already as I have said, the 'comprehensive principle' between the ages of 6 and 14, to the Spanish education system. During this period, students from all centres, public and private, were obliged to follow the one curriculum, common to all and uniform in every detail. The 1990 Law, while amplifying obligatory education to 16 years of age also applied to all students up to this age an identical curriculum. And this in spite of the fact that the majority of the

European countries had already corrected the criterion, looking for formulas of a certain diversification which would serve the real interests and capacities of the students, especially between the ages of 14 and 16. With a few changes of little importance, the Law of 2006 has persisted in this line with the result that a high percentage of students have become completely uninterested in their studies (those colloquially called 'student objectors'). In this important educational period (between the ages of 12 and 16), the Spanish education system gives an image which lacks realism, an image of camouflaged inequality, of inefficiency and of a capacity for conflict which strongly contrasts with the education policies implemented in these years in nearly all the countries of the European Union.

Clearly Limited Duration of Advanced Secondary School

Having finished compulsory secondary education, students can choose between vocational education or what is called 'bachillerato' which leads to advanced studies lasting two years (between the ages of 16 and 18). The majority of students choose this secondary education, divided into a few branches (fine arts, science and technology, humanities and social sciences) but still with a strong common trunk. It is nearly unanimously agreed that, in this short time, taking into account the above-mentioned deficiencies of advanced secondary education, it is nearly impossible to provide the students with the necessary abilities to attend, with sufficient guarantees, university studies. Furthermore, not one single country in the European Union has such a short period of advanced secondary education. Some Spanish politicians have defended themselves saying that the British *sixth form* is of a similar formula but they are obviously mistaken: while the *sixth form* is a time of intensive dedication to a few specialised subjects, the Spanish 'bachillerato' contains a curriculum of 10 or 12 subjects. As a result, it is usual that Spanish students, starting university, have a training which is qualitatively lower than their European counterparts.

High Rate of School Failure and Mediocre Results

In Spain, one in every four 14-year-old students is in a situation of obvious or hidden failure, a proportion which increases at 16 years of age, to one in every three. These data are being insistently repeated in numerous national and international evaluations. Besides being very worrying facts, they are not so worrying, in my opinion, as the following evidence: the number of Spanish students who reach high grades ('excellent') are barely 4% at the end of compulsory education.⁸ This means, quite plainly, that the *mediocrity* of the results is, perhaps, the most illustrative fact of the Spanish education system.

Although these results may be due largely to the deficiencies I have demonstrated, it is the almost unanimous conviction of the specialists, the teachers and Spanish society that the roots of this problem are much deeper. In either case, both facts considered together (high failure rate in school and general mediocrity), it seems clear that Spain is one of the lowest ranking among the countries of the European Union, in the company of, perhaps, only a few others. Spain cannot easily contribute to improving the general situation of education in Europe if it persists in its present plans.

High Level of Teacher Demotivation and Deprofessionalism in School Direction

The first problem I mention here is not something that affects exclusively or more seriously the Spanish education system than other European countries. However, it constitutes a deficiency which may put at risk the collaboration of the Spanish teaching profession with that of other countries when the time comes to build, from the school, a climate of European citizenship and indeed, that improvement in quality in which the directors of the European Union insist.

The demotivation to which I refer in Spain has fundamentally social and political roots and not, as occurs in other countries, economic and labour roots. The economic treatment of the Spanish teaching profession, without being to my mind the most desirable, is however, above the European average. They are also above the average regarding other aspects of teaching life: working hours, teaching hours, student-teacher ratio, number of students per classroom, etc. (it is true that in these aspects there is quite a lack of proportion between the public and the private sectors, in favour of the former). However, the proportions of sick leave, requests for early retirement, situations of stress and above all, despondency have done nothing but increase in the past years (and precisely more in the public sector than in the private). The fault seems to lie in the lack of social esteem in which teachers are held (beyond merely rhetorical appraisal). A climate of growing uninterest towards learning on behalf of the students and indeed many families and also a clear increase in indiscipline and indeed violence (above all, verbal) contribute to making their work in school, at best, disagreeable.

Added to this is the continual disintegration of the directive team in the last 20 years which is in Spain, contrary to nearly all the European Union, completely deprofessionalised. The insistence in the necessity (which I don't doubt) of the participation of everyone (students, parents, personnel) in the life of the centre has led to the confusion of participation with leadership, that is to say, the one instead of the other.

The problem affects principally public centres where it is not uncommon that not one of the teachers applies to cover the directive posts. Although there are, without doubt, praiseworthy exceptions, many Spanish schools suffer a climate of mismanagement. It is obvious that the main responsibility of these things lies with the inadequate policy of human resources in education and, in particular, a repeatedly mistaken legislation in such important matters.

Homologation Deficiencies in the University Sphere

The two traditional tendencies which I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter –isolationism and Europeanism – are particularly present in what is referred to as 'educación superior' (tertiary education), a term which in Spain means university education (in fact, there is no form of tertiary education since the reform of 1970 apart from university). If, on the one hand, we can see abundant 'Europeanist' rhetoric flourishing in all universities, on the other, isolationism is continually present, even favoured by a legislation itself caught up in the dynamics. I write these lines when a new law is just appeared which, in spite of its initial pretensions of Europeanism and substantial change, is no more than a superficial retouching of the anterior law of 2002 which was itself no

more than another touching up of the 1983 law, a law not so ambitious itself regarding the drawing-near of the Spanish universities to the European ones. Under the pretext of giving higher levels of autonomy, what is really being done is, on the one hand, subjecting the universities to a higher dependence on their respective Autonomous Communities and, on the other, confirming habits of university management and study plans that, instead of helping, practically hinder that which is known as the 'Bolonia process'.

There is a serious risk that the situation of isolationism may affect, in Spain, not only the 'common European space of higher education' but the universities themselves. The inbreeding of the university teaching profession is, in Spain, an old deficiency, recognised and criticised by all, but what the legislation seems to bring is rather than procedures to fight this, new means to foster it. It will be difficult soon to find professors in the Catalan universities who are not Catalan or in the Andalusian universities, professors who are not Andalusians. These are merely examples, applicable to the other Autonomous Communities. It is even probable that it will be easier to find in them an English or German professor rather than a professor from elsewhere in Spain. In all, the risks of isolationism do not derive only from an inadequate policy of selection of the teaching staff but from other crucial aspects such as study plans and qualifications which, instead of converging, can even have a separating effect.

At the moment, despite the manifestation of Europeanism of many politicians and university authorities, the unanimous conviction exists that Spain will not be fit to adequately compete in 2010 within the so-called European space of higher education. Too much time is being lost. If we look at the international evaluations, the image of the Spanish university from without is quite poor; although one can criticise them, evaluations such as that of Shanghai, *The Times*, etc., place Spanish universities in positions far from the top, and, without doubt, this creates an unfavourable state of opinion. However, in contrast, Spain is now the country which attracts most students in the Erasmus programme. It seems clear that the factors which determine this attraction are not so much to do with the prestige of the Spanish universities but rather other factors: language, climate, tourist attractions, cost of living, etc. Even so, the facts are very positive because, above all, they can be used by the Spanish universities as an element of international diffusion; if what initially attracted certain students was not the classrooms, the professors or the quality of studies, these could still end up being so. The Spanish academic authorities should use this good news not as a tranquillising element but rather as a challenge to really improve its institutions.

Notes

1. A more balanced critical outlook is given in my latest book: *La máquina de la educación. Preguntas y respuestas sobre el sistema educativo*. Barcelona, Ariel, 2006. In fact, most of the ideas developed in this article have been taken from that book, there contrasted with more openly positive aspects of the system.
2. Puelles Benítez, M. de: *Estado y educación en la España liberal (1809–1857): un sistema educativo nacional frustrado*. Barcelona, Pomares, 2004.
3. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Los españoles en la historia*. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1960, p. 87.
4. *Anuario legislativo de Instrucción Pública correspondiente a 1901*. Madrid, 1902, p. 381.
5. This is what, for example, García Navarro did when presenting his work in 1874 dedicated to Froebel and the German kindergartens.

6. Fontanals del Castillo, Joaquín: *Necesidad de la instrucción popular en España*. Barcelona, Verdaguer, 1865, p. 34.
7. Particularly relevant is Kirkpatrick Sale's book (written two decades ago): *Dwellers in the land: The bioregional vision*. San Francisco, Sierra Clubs Books, 1985. His arguments have been energetically reproduced in present-day works such as Gred Garrad: *Ecocriticism*. London, Routledge, 2004, pp. 118–119.
8. In order not to abuse of references in relation to evaluations, I refer the reader to the last two PISA surveys, of 2000 and 2003. Consulting the web page of the Evaluation Institute, an organisation belonging to the Spanish Ministry of Education, ample references and concrete figures may be obtained.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION: THE NATIONAL, THE INTERNATIONAL, AND THE GLOBAL

Robert Cowen

Once upon a time, I suggested that comparative educationists ‘read the global’. I distinguished this permanent task from its contemporary universalising answer (‘globalisation’). ‘Reading the global’ in comparative education is the selection of an agenda of academic attention, the naming of anxieties and puzzles embedded in an interpretation of those foreign parts of the world which are ‘seen’; in the sense that those places are deliberately raised to visibility.

Thus each generation sees different things when it thinks comparatively about education; at the end of the nineteenth century, the Chinese were very alert to Japanese progress – in the middle of the twentieth the Chinese saw the USSR; Tolstoy worried about Western influence on the Slavs – Russians in the future were to worry about the strength of their influence on the Baltic states; Max Weber as part of his thinking about industrialisation and rationalisation analysed the rise of ‘the expert’ – now our experts ‘develop’ economies and ‘experts’ elsewhere.

Professionally, the ‘reading of the global’ keeps changing: it is the set of first-assumptions, by a new generation of comparative educationists, about what is significant in the social world upon which they are trying to act (Horace Mann or Torrey Harris) or, with the academic comparative educationists, to think about. A later generation of academic comparative educationists would read their ‘global’ differently: perhaps stressing that States are either totalitarian or democratic; that national character is important; that progress is linear and likely; and that Empires are benign. When there is a major disturbance in any one or two of such assumptions, the agenda of attention changes, rapidly, again. New assumptions and new agendas of attention redefine the field of study: States are either communist or democratic; identities are not secure – we live in a ‘post-modern’ world; Empires are bad and they mutate into neocolonialism; anyway progress is not linear. With the shift in agendas of attention and anxiety, academic departments rise and fall in reputation, comparative education becomes more (or less) sociological, less (or more) policy-oriented, more or less tightly linked to official agendas of action.

With the shift in agendas of attention and anxiety, there is also a shift in *episteme* – the academic perspectives utilised in analyses or in descriptions alter (Cowen, 2003). Thus a concern with ‘forces and factors’ – useful in understanding the educational patterns of late nineteenth and mid twentieth century Europe via struggles over language and religion and political programmes such as ‘communism’ or fascism and ‘democracy’ – is replaced by

an effort to offer precision in policy advice. The world is seen as sufficiently stable to be able to concentrate on gradualist reform and fine-tuning of educational systems.

Of course the world ('the global') was not like that at all. It was violent, revolutionary and dangerous. In this time period, major events included the Hungarian Revolution and the invasion of Suez and the beginnings of the Cuban Revolution. But the bit of the global which the comparative educationists of that generation were choosing to see was open to improvements through the application of social science in (urban reconstruction, health care, social policy as well as) education in one or more worlds; and that included the homogenised category, the 'Third World'.

It is not merely what the global actually is; it is how the global is read which also defines the agenda of attention in comparative education.

As a consequence, the 'voices' of comparative education do not begin to sing from, as they say, the same hymn sheet. The debates are not cumulative. The old voices are silenced; become *passé* – they are reading the 'wrong world'. New agendas of attention and anxiety displace the normal puzzles (about equality of access to education, changes in curriculum, the improvement of teacher education and so on) popular in the period of conviction about the power of 'scientific method'. New guilt about neo-imperialism draws into comparative education radical and critical theorising from Chile or the Mahgreb or from Brazil. The political world itself is reread: China becomes as important as the USSR while India continues to remain almost invisible. The people who populate the stage of comparative education are newly noticed: the Scots; females; the Third Age; 'invisible' minorities such as the Koreans in Japan are made visible. *Epistemes* change: anthropology will be helpful; a 'linguistic turn' occurs; 'thick descriptions' of a variety of kinds will contextualise meanings comparatively.

Currently, it could be argued that we have gone through such a shift in 'reading the global'.

The end of the nation state was discussed – and with it, on a slightly nervous note, it was announced that therefore comparative education was finished: a variation on the motif of 'the end of history' – and so the study of history ends. The alleged end of comparative education occurs with the alleged end of the nation state. That is a shocking thought; but of course it is also a quirky thought based on an odd reading of both the global and of comparative education itself.

It is only partly true that comparative educationists studied the nation state. Most of them chose a personal unit of analysis to pursue their own agenda. They studied correlations; problems and problem-solving; civilisations; and cultural envelopes. Few scholars, Mallinson (1966) is one, explicitly pinned their work simply to the national (in Mallinson's case, via the concept of 'national character'). Most of the other comparative educationists of that generation used the nation state as the source of their illustrative narratives while they worked out their own core intellectual or theoretical problematic; such as making comparative education more useful at critical moments of decision. Of course they knew much about particular nations; but there was always a *tertium comparationis*.

In addition, as that generation of comparative educationist set about their work what they discussed analytically was the transfer of educational ideas, principles, policies,

institutions and institutional practices. However, they justified themselves through selections from Sadler's writing and thus a great deal of work was indeed done on one aspect of the transfer problem: the theme of the social contextualisation of educational systems – how they are embedded in their societies.

This problem can be called the *osmotic problem*: the relations between what is outside of the educational system and what is inside. How does that relationship work and what will you call it – hence the trajectory of work in which Hans struggles with his 'factors' as an interpretative tool; and King writes (rather unhelpfully perhaps) of 'total contextual dynamics'; and Holmes (rather clumsily perhaps) writes about his three 'circles' – norms, institutions and environment. Thus the classic triad at the heart of the problem of thinking about comparative education becomes unbalanced.

The classic problem of comparative education is made up of three moments (i) '*transfer*'; (ii) *translation*: the double-osmotic problem of the social embeddedness of educational ideas, principles, policies and practices in one place and their insertion into another social location. Later, there is (iii) the *transformation* of the educational phenomenon as it 'grows' socially, osmotically, in its new place.

If the work of comparative educationists is construed in this way then there is a continuous problematique which comparative education addresses – although the continuity is hidden as scholars concentrate their efforts for some years on one aspect of the triad rather than another; and perhaps lose sight of all three as a set, as a triad, of relations.

Thus – it is being suggested – there is, at least, one deep continuity in what comparative educationists have been struggling with. They have been studying, with some oscillations in agendas of attention and in epistemic approach, what Roberto Albarea (2006) includes in the concept 'The Betweenness'. Aspects of that 'betweenness' are being well explored currently under the label of 'globalisation'.

This is the current effort to redefine the interpretative concepts used to address new international power relations and the structuring of the world system. For each generation of academic work, these concerns include – at various levels of sophistication and theoretical alertness – the social spaces and space-time relations through which ideas and practices flow, internationally and transnationally. What fills the spaces? What shapes them? What flows? How does whatever has 'flowed' change its social shape as it is domesticated?

Sometimes 'transfer' is at the centre of the work of particular scholars for some time, but it is the triad of transfer, and translation and transformation which stabilises comparative education, not merely an exploration of one form of transfer, or one way to study it. Jullien posed only one small part of this problem for a modern (and a modernist) comparative education and he posed it in a relatively trivial way by emphasising (in contemporary jargon) robust data and evidence-based practice. No wonder it has been difficult to recover from that simplistic position. Academic comparative educationists have been struggling to configure the academic problem, to extract and stabilise the themes of the triad, ever since.

Perhaps, now, we are getting there. The chapters in this section are all very much centred on these problems: the relations between the national, the international and

the global; The Between and shape shifting. Almost all chapters redefine the social space – and time – of The Between; almost all chapters show inter-national and transnational mobilities and their new patterns and agents. All chapters address in different ways the issue of ‘flows’. All chapters raise explicitly or implicitly the question of ‘translation’. The range of questions and the answers outlined in this section are extremely interesting.

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WHO IS STROLLING THROUGH THE GLOBAL GARDEN? INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND EDUCATIONAL TRANSFER

Jason Beech

In 1900 Sadler warned against the transfer of educational policies or practices from one context to another by noting that ‘We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden and pick a off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant’ (Sadler, 1979: 49).

At those times, the ‘children strolling through gardens’ were mostly men (sic) who were appointed by their governments to develop their own systems of education. These travellers and reformers believed that by studying other educational systems, such as Prussia and France (two of the most popular gardens of the nineteenth century) they could avoid some of the ‘mistakes’ made by other countries in their linear progress towards an ideal educational system, and, of course, they could find some aspects of these systems that could be adopted at home.

Even though Sadler’s lecture has been given much attention, and the above is probably one of the most quoted sentences in the literature (in the English language) on comparative education, his advice was not always followed. Educational transfer has been the *raison d’être* of what has been called ‘applied comparative education’ (Cowen, 2006). Since the times of Jullien, Victor Cousin, Horace Mann, Tolstoy and Sarmiento, practitioners of comparative education have given policy-oriented advice about which educational ideas, practices or institutions overseas could be transferred as the solution to pressing internal problems.

So, for example, when the Japanese were faced with the ‘Black Ship’, which revealed their technological underdevelopment, they saw education as one of the ‘secret keys’ of the power of the West (Passin, 1965). If Japan wanted to compete with the West it had to borrow Western education. European educators were hired to run institutions in Japan, and Japanese leaders and intellectuals were sent to Europe and North America to observe educational practices (Tanaka, 2005). The administrative model was taken from France. Co-educational common schools as the basic unit of the school system, normal schools and vocational (particularly agricultural) education were transferred from the USA (Passin, 1965); and German Universities were taken as a model for creating the Imperial University (Tanaka, 2005).

Similarly, in the late 1950s, when the USSR launched the first artificial satellite, after the failure of two US attempts, there was a great shock in the USA. The Sputnik

crisis was conceptualised as an educational failure. American schools were criticised for their repressive nature and mindlessness (Ravitch, 1983). One solution was ‘found’ in the English infant schools. Academics like Joseph Featherstone and Lillian Weber pioneered the movement, and spent as much as 18 months (in the case of Weber) observing English primary schools. In 1969, study teams from 20 American cities went to England, and in 1971 over 300 articles about the English primary reforms had been written in the USA. The number of free schools grew rapidly during the late 1960s and early 1970s, reaching around 500 by 1972 (Ravitch, 1983).

This type of policy-oriented comparative education, with an emphasis on transferring solutions from one context to another, continues in the present days (Beech, 2006a). However, this chapter suggests that in current times, there are new (or increasingly more powerful) actors in the educational field who are involved in the business of educational transfer. It will also be suggested that, given the involvement of new actors in the field, processes through which knowledge about education moves between contexts has taken specific forms and that, consequently, comparative education needs new theoretical frameworks to try to grasp these processes and their practical effects.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will reflect upon the new configuration of the global educational field. The second part will concentrate on the analysis on international agencies and the way in which they promote certain ideas and practices about education. The third section is the conclusion.

New Kids Strolling Through the Global Garden

The movement of educational ideas, policies and practices from one place to another has been addressed in Comparative Education through the concept of transfer. Interpretations of transfer have been mostly centred on relations between national states (Beech, 2006b). However, under current conditions of ‘globalisation’, foreign influences have become more complex. Giddens refers to a ‘global society’ as a society of ‘indefinite space’ (1994: 107), in which no one is outside, since pre-existing traditions cannot escape having contact with ‘the other’, and with alternative ways of life. In such a context, significant social relations exist which are neither between nor outside states, ‘but simply crosscut state divisions’ (Giddens, 1990: 66–67).

Therefore, in order to analyse foreign influences in education a wider concept of space is needed. Of course, current theories of foreign influences in education should still consider the state as a fundamental actor. However, such theories should also be able to take into account other actors that are involved in processes of transferring ideas about education between contexts, such as international agencies, consultants, universities, corporations, development agencies, regional blocks and NGOs.

For example, ‘charismatic consultants’ travel around the world recommending their solutions and promoting educational change at the school, district and state level. Similarly, universities in many parts of the world have faced (and are still facing) major reform pressures which include the notion that they should find ways to supplement the income that they receive from the government (Cowen, 1996). As Lyotard (1984) noted some time ago, in our times knowledge is produced in order to be sold. So, if

the Department of Education of a given University develops certain knowledge about how to make schools (or districts or national systems) more 'efficient and effective' they should sell this knowledge in the market in order to contribute to the performance of the organisation. Universities have been involved in the business of consultancy for some time. But, like mercantilism that fuelled European imperialism in the search for new markets since the sixteenth century, the current situation in the financing of universities in places such as the UK creates compelling incentives for the 'colonisation' of new markets in which to sell consultancy, especially in the less 'developed' countries. Thus, many universities have created (or strengthened) a special unit for 'international development', and they are becoming powerful players in the game of promoting policy-oriented educational ideas.

The European Union also influences educational policies in its Member States, albeit in a different way. The Treaty of Maastricht established that the principle of subsidiarity is applied to education – the Community's action is only subordinate and supplementary to that of the Member States. Nevertheless, the European Union has done much to orient education policy within its political space at least in three ways. The first way in which the Union influences education policy is by promoting 'co-operation' between its members by suggesting that national education authorities should exchange ideas and learn from the 'best practices' that have been identified in different educational systems within the Union (Nóvoa, 2002). For example, the *European Report on Quality of School Education* claims that its intention is to create a climate for dialogue and 'to provide a strong basis to learn from one another' (Nóvoa, 2002). As Nóvoa notes, these words sound very similar to the rhetoric of the comparativists of the nineteenth century. The Union also gives policy orientations by establishing certain indicators or benchmarks that they suggest (given the principle of subsidiarity) should be followed by national education systems. Finally, the aim to establish a 'European Higher Education Area' through what has become known as the 'Bologna Process' is an example of the third way in which the Union shapes national educational policy within its area of influence. In this case, the Union is explicitly promoting the idea that institutions at the tertiary level across Europe should become more standardised by developing similar structures for their courses, a credit system, comparable degrees, and systems of quality control (Nóvoa, 2002).

Corporations that provide educational services are also becoming powerful players in what they see as a 'global educational market'.¹ In places like the UK, the public sector is outsourcing some of its educational services (ranging from building projects to the running of Local Educational Authorities or the provision of school inspections, in service training for teachers or school meals) to the private sector in what is known as Public-Private Partnerships (Cardini, 2006). Some of the companies that participate in such schemes offer educational consultancy and educational services in several countries. For example, the message from the Chief Executive in the web page of Nord Anglia Education PLC states that:

Nord Anglia has transformed itself in the last year through harnessing the strength of our people and services within the UK and using them to realise overseas growth opportunities. Having recognised the International potential

for our business, we have been building management capacity and operational reach in a number of overseas markets for some years (<http://www.nordanglia.com/chairman.php>)

Global Education Management Systems (GEMS) is another company that has oriented its services to the global market. GEMS operates a ‘growing international network’ of 65 schools spread across 7 countries (the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, India, Qatar, Germany, Libya and Jordan). According to its Chairman:

GEMS is able to develop and manage schools that meet the needs of *any community, anywhere in the world*. . . For over three decades we have provided high quality education to hundreds of thousands of students from around the world. Through ongoing research and continuous innovation, and *an advisory capacity to government agencies, GEMS has become a catalyst for change in the education sector*. (www.gemseducation.com – emphasis added)

The growth of international schools run by multinational corporations raises a series of questions about the possible emergence of a ‘global elite’ and the contribution that these schools could make to its formation (Lauder, 2007). Nevertheless, what is more significant for the analysis offered in this chapter is that these companies are acting as educational advisors to schools and local and national governments around the world. Of course, the operations of these companies cannot be equalled with the imitation of the *Grandes Ecoles* in Brazil (Cowen & Figueiredo, 1992) or with the transfer of the US credit system to Chinese universities (Steiner-Khamsi, 2000). They are different processes. But that is precisely the point I want to make: as new types of actors participate in the ‘business’ of giving policy-oriented advice based on the transfer of ‘solutions’ from one context to another, global educational space becomes more complex, and comparative education as an intellectual field needs to create new conceptual apparatuses in order to understand the circulation of ideas about education in the current world, and how this circulation affects actual educational practices in different contexts.

In order to collaborate with such a project, the next section will offer some reflections about the work of one of the most powerful type of actors in the global educational field – international agencies – and how we could understand the way in which they influence educational policies and practices through their recommendations.

Global Educational Discourse: International Agencies and the Circulation of Knowledge

Organisations such as UNESCO, OECD and the World Bank were created for the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War (Beech, 2006b). As this function became redundant, in the 1950s and 1960s, the work of these agencies has been aimed at the ‘development’ of the world. It should be kept in mind that this new role of international agencies coincides with a period in the field of comparative education that

was analysed by Cowen as a period in which little theorising occurred: 'That is, what passed as theorizing was the construction of a strong methodological discourse, and methodological schools' (Cowen, 1994: 102). The theme of 'culture' was subordinated to discussions about scientific methods. Thus, 'with the exception of the multicultural issue, culture was not problematized in terms of the political universe' (Cowen, 1994: 102). It was a time when studies of comparative education were dominated by an 'intellectual and political confidence that being a lender was a benign act, and that being a borrower was not too dangerous if money and good consultancy advice was available' (Ibid.). Furthermore, this confidence was reinforced some years later with analyses such as the one offered by Noah and Eckstein in 1969 that defined the initial efforts of international agencies as being in an advanced position in the fictional scale created by their belief in a linear progression towards a scientifically legitimated comparative education: 'The work of these organizations is in the hands of specialists. Thus, what began as philanthropy has ended with professionalism' (Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 82).

At least in Latin America, international agencies promoted developmental and technocratic views about education in the 1950s and 1960s. 'Planning and Development' were the governing words. UNESCO and OEA (*Organización de Estados Americanos*) organised a 'Conference of Ministers of Education' in Lima in 1956, there was an 'Inter-American Seminar of Integral Planning' held in Washington in 1958, and in that same year UNESCO organised the 'Inter-American Conference on Education and Economic and Social Development'. Similarly, in 1964, in Argentina, OECD published a study called 'Education, human resources and economic development' in collaboration with the National Council for Development, which had been established in 1961 (Southwell, 1997).

When they were promoting developmental and technocratic views, international agencies were advocating a number of abstract universal social technologies (such as educational planning) that – in the logic of these agencies – could be used to improve education in most contexts. With the influence of this technical rationality, which introduced social technologies such as 'educational planning' and the notion of 'curriculum', there was a tendency to increase the bureaucracy and division of labour (at least) in Latin American educational systems. In addition, this type of rationality contributed to a division of labour at the international level: international organisations positioned themselves as the 'scientific experts' that can design universal educational solutions. Their proposals were and are legitimised by claims to a scientific status (UNESCO, 1996; Lockheed, 1992). Thus, their recommendations are presented as being 'neutral and objective' (Papadopoulos, 1994), and they can be applied in most contexts to improve education.

The 'transfer' of educational knowledge is currently considered to be one of the main roles of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD. Since its first loan for education in 1963, the World Bank has become the largest single source of external financing for education in 'developing countries' (World Bank, 1995: 14). However, the Bank acknowledges that its funding still represents only 0.5% of 'developing countries' total spending in education. 'Thus, the World Bank's main contribution must be advice' (1995: 14). This coincides with a new vision that the Bank has of its own role:

[T]o become a Knowledge Bank that spurs the knowledge revolution in developing countries and acts as a global catalyst for creating, sharing, and applying the cutting-edge knowledge necessary for poverty reduction and economic development. (World Bank, Web page, Cited November 2001)

Even though the World Bank expressly embarked in this new vision in 1996, this declaration is rather the recognition of a previous shift in the Bank's roles. The *World Bank Review: Priorities and Strategies for Education* includes amongst its references more than 30 educational texts published by the World Bank before 1996 (World Bank, 1995).

However, it is not only through publications that the World Bank acts as a 'global catalyst' of knowledge. The Bank's lending programmes 'encourage governments to give a higher priority' to certain reforms, or to primary rather than higher education... 'Bank-supported projects... pay greater attention' to particular principles, and they support the involvement in certain practices through emphasis on specific policies (World Bank, 1995: 15).

Thus, when the World Bank declares that its fundamental objective in education is 'helping borrowers reduce poverty and improve living standards...' (1995: xii). The use of the word 'borrowers' here does not only imply the borrowing of funds. Rather, the word 'borrowers' in this statement should also be seen as it has traditionally been used in comparative education: as referring to the borrowing of (particular) ideas. That is, when 'client countries' receive a loan for educational purposes from the World Bank, this act is not only a transfer of funds, but it is also an educational transfer. Together with financial resources, the 'client country' receives a particular vision of education.

The 'transfer' of educational knowledge has always been at the centre of UNESCO's agenda (Mayor, Sema & UNESCO, 1997). As an 'organization for intellectual co-operation', UNESCO does not have a function of 'direct control'. Instead, it 'creates a favourable environment, puts forward ideas, transfers knowledge... and, whenever possible, resources' (UNESCO, 1996: 1).

Similarly, one of the most important objectives of OECD is to search for certain universal values, rules and policies and promote them amongst member and non-member countries. However, the OECD has no prescriptive mandate over its member countries (Papadopoulos, 1994). As part of this role, the OECD 'helps policy-makers adopt strategic orientations... by deciphering emerging issues and identifying policies that work' (OECD, Web page, cited November 2001). In addition, OECD produces 'internationally agreed instruments, decisions and recommendations to promote rules of the game' in certain areas (2001). Thus, the 'transfer' of 'cutting edge' educational knowledge is one of the main self-proclaimed roles of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD.

Each of these agencies has different proposals for education. The particularity of the educational vision of the World Bank, when compared with the other agencies being analysed, is its strong emphasis on economic issues. From this perspective, educational reform should be oriented towards keeping pace with 'economic structures' (World Bank, 1995: 3). Thus, the first of the two key priorities for education is to 'meet economies' growing demands for adaptable workers...' (1995: 1); and East Asian countries are often used as 'outstanding examples of what can be achieved when the education system is reformed along with the economic system' (1995: 50). Economic inequalities amongst countries are seen in the Bank's work as a direct consequence of educational disparities.

‘For example, if in 1960 the Republic of Korea had had the same low school enrollment rate as Pakistan, its GDP per capita by 1985 would have been 40 percent lower than it actually was’ (1995: 23).

The World Bank’s perspective is strongly based on human capital theory, a theory that – it is claimed – ‘has no genuine rival of equal breadth and rigor’ (1995: 21). The kind of analyses conducted (or published) by the Bank that help to construct its position in education, are generally based on measurements of social rates of return to investment in education. Although the Bank acknowledges that these rates are sometimes difficult to measure, they also note that this kind of analysis has ‘withstood the tests of more than three decades of careful scrutiny’ (1995: 20–21). As a consequence of the Bank’s emphasis on economic matters, most analyses are made in terms of ‘effectiveness’, defined as cost-effectiveness. For example blackboards, chalk and textbooks are considered to be the ‘most effective *instructional materials*’ (1995: 7). Similarly, group work is seen as a promising teaching technique for ‘developing countries’ because it is ‘known to be cost-effective’ (Lockheed, 1992: 64).

UNESCO has a very different concept of development when compared with the World Bank. The vision that equates human development to human resource development is criticised in UNESCO (Mayor, Sema & UNESCO, 1997). Human beings should not be seen as merely the means of production and material prosperity:

It is simply a matter of regarding human beings not as instruments, means to the attainment of economic objectives, but as ends in themselves, the economic objectives being subordinated to their self-fulfilment and well-being. (1997: 89)

UNESCO’s is a humanist perspective, in which the human being is at the very heart of development. From this point of view, education should be directed to ‘the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; ... it shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, all racial or religious groups’ (1997: 89–90).

In between UNESCO’s humanist perspective and the World Bank’s emphasis on economic issues lies the educational position of OECD. Papadopoulos (1994) suggests that although economic concerns have dominated OECD’s work, this dominance is ‘tempered by recognition of the social dimension and purposes of economic growth and development’ (1994: 11). Thus, OECD has an ‘inferred role for education, both for the contribution it can make to economic growth and as means by which the purposes of such growth, namely an increase in well-being, can be given reality’ (1994: 11).

Therefore, these agencies have conflicting views on some educational issues and they even engage in explicit controversy (as when UNESCO criticises the World Bank for making teachers the ‘villains’ of the difficulties faced by countries to reduce educational costs) (Carnoy, 1999). Jones and Coleman (2005) reveal the role of politics in the space of multilateral agencies, showing how collaboration, competition, and the demarcation of geographical and intellectual territories have played a significant part in the shaping of international agencies dealing with education. For example, they argue that the famous 1996 report *Learning: The Treasure Within*, prepared by the International Commission on Education and Learning for the Twenty-First Century for UNESCO was

an overt attempt to restore UNESCO's political credibility and fortunes following the debacle of the mid-1980s. With UNESCO's 'lead agency' status in educational development very evidently in decline, threatened by the OECD in the north and the World Bank in the south, the commission was charged with promoting in fresh guise UNESCO's conventional normative concerns.... (1996: 85)

However, although the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD are different, a recent study about the influence of these agencies on reforms of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s (Beech, 2005) identified a series of underlying assumptions that were common to the proposals of these organisations between 1985 and 1996, revealing a general system of thought that made these simultaneous and apparently contradictory opinions possible.

An analysis of the assumptions about the future embedded in the work of these three agencies revealed a striking similarity in the way that these agencies read the future as 'the information age'. Furthermore, these agencies not only have a similar reading of the future, but they also promote very similar educational principles that should be used to adapt most educational systems to the information age. Thus, within the educational proposals of these agencies a single universal model of education was identified, rather than three different models (Beech, 2005).

This model is offered as an ideal for most educational contexts. It should be used to judge most educational systems and, then, once the faults have been identified, as a model for reform. In this way international agencies are producing a 'global educational discourse' (Beech, 2005).

This discourse is global because of its spatial scope (it has education in the whole world as its object). It is also a global discourse in the sense that it is a theory that in the name of some 'true' knowledge, and some idea of what constitutes good education offers a universal model of education as a global strategy that could solve most educational problem in most local contexts.

Global educational discourse moved into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems in the 1990s contributing to an all-embracing reform of each of these educational systems, creating the conditions of possibility for certain educational ideas and practices, while at the same time limiting the possibility for other ways of thinking about education – which is to say, ways of acting – to arise. The ideas and practices that could be included within global educational discourse implied a significant rupture with the kind of education that had been offered in Argentina and in Brazil. For example, international agencies promoted in the 1980s and 1990s an education based on the development of competencies. This type of education is very different from the traditional encyclopaedic definition of knowledge in the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems, where education was very much based on the transmission of facts and information that students should remember. Thus, given these differences, it was not only some aspects of these educational systems that were seen as being inefficient. The view was that the whole system had to be changed, and the model that was followed was the universal model of education for the information age promoted by these agencies, based on the principles of decentralisation, school autonomy, the professionalisation of teachers, a curriculum based on competencies and the setting up of central evaluation systems (Beech, 2005, 2006b).

This abstract universal model is offered as a norm against which the adequacy of existing educational practices in a given context can be measured. By defining the 'problems' in a given educational context, international agencies set the agenda for discussions about how to 'improve' education. Then, once the 'problems' have been identified, there are only a limited number of themes that can be discussed, and a limited number of policy options that can 'solve' these 'problems'. These possible solutions are also offered in the model. Consequently, it is by defining the problems of an educational context and simultaneously offering the solutions to these problems that the model promoted by international agencies narrows the discursive space of possibilities in educational contexts to which it moves.

However, the significant changes seen in the 1990s in Argentina and Brazil at the level of official rhetoric did not necessarily translate into practice. On the contrary, as portrayed by educators who were interviewed, the implementation in Argentina and in Brazil of the universal model of education promoted by international agencies was faced by resistance, reinterpretations and several unexpected practical problems.

Beech (2005) explained the way in which international agencies influence educational reforms by indicating that these agencies were 'producing' a global educational discourse. However, it is not clear where this discourse comes from. Are international agencies reproducing through their proposals a discourse that they produce? Or are international agencies reproducing a broader discourse that is produced somewhere else?

In order to explore these questions international agencies and 'global educational discourse' need to be placed within a general theory of the circulation of discourse in the global educational field. The development of such a theory can be divided into three tasks:

- To identify different positions within the global educational field
- To identify the relations between these different positions or, in other words, to understand how discourse moves between these positions
- To understand how discourse is transformed as it moves between different positions

Bernstein's theory on how different positions of subjects 'within a discourse' affect the way in which these subjects interpret and act upon pedagogic discourse will be adapted to carry out the first of the tasks defined above (Bernstein, 1990). However, for the sake of clarity, Bernstein's vocabulary will be slightly altered and I will refer to 'positions within the field', rather than 'positions within discourse'.

It is important to emphasise that the different positions within the educational field are contexts of production, recontextualisation and/or reproduction of discourse. Individuals can occupy more than one position within the field at the same time, or they can change their positions in the field at different times. Nevertheless, it will be the position within the field that will define the resources and possibilities that the subjects who occupy that position have to engage with and act upon educational discourse (Bernstein, 1990).

Five positions will be identified: global academic space, international agencies, the state, local academic space and educational institutions. Initially each of these positions will be described and later the relations between them will be considered.

Global academic space is the site in which ‘new’ ideas are selectively created and changed, and where specialised academic discourses are developed. This context is created by the positions, relations and practices arising out of the production of what I shall call ‘global academic discourse’. It is at this level that the controls of the thinkable/unthinkable mostly lie:

Today the controls on the ‘unthinkable’ lie essentially, but not wholly, directly or indirectly in the upper reaches of the educational [field], in the part concerned with the production rather than the reproduction of discourse; whereas the ‘thinkable’ is a different power-regulated recontextualizing, in the lower reaches of the educational [field] – that is, in its reproductive rather than in its productive levels (1990: 181). (*The word ‘field’ has been inserted, replacing the word ‘system’ from Bernstein’s quote to adapt it to the language of this chapter.*)

Global academic space is constituted by the flow of ideas through social, academic and political networks. Castells (2000: 408) suggests that there is a new spatial logic in the information age that he labels ‘space of flows’. This spatial form is characteristic of social practices that dominate and shape what he calls the network society. By flows Castells understands the ‘purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political and symbolic structures of societies’ (2000: 442). The network of (mainly electronic) communications is the fundamental material support that defines this space. The space of flows is the dominant spatial logic of society because it is the spatial logic of the organisations and institutions which play a strategic role in shaping social practices and social consciousness in society at large. This is the space that is occupied by the ‘technocratic-managerial-financial [and academic] elites’ (2000: 443).

The flow of ideas that constitutes global academic space is materialised through different kinds of material supports, such as international academic journals and books, international conferences, the movement of university staff and students and international research projects.

The people who occupy this position are individuals from different cultures that participate from this exchange of ideas, but in order to participate, these people need to be ‘bilingual’: they have to master both their own culture and a cosmopolitan ‘global academic culture’ that is needed to operate in this site. Even though different cultures contribute to the formation of this ‘global academic culture’, this does not entail that all partners are regarded as equal in the dialogue. Western European and North American cultures are dominant in global academic space.

The second position that has been identified is the position of international agencies. Based on questions of urgent pragmatism and melioristic action, international agencies have positioned themselves as the experts that can interpret ‘global academic discourse’ and translate it (through a process of oversimplification) into practical universal educational proposals.

Thus, international agencies could be seen as a site of reproduction of ‘global academic discourse’. However, as international agencies reproduce this discourse they

base their proposals on a similar set of assumptions. They do not problematise that which is postulated as self-evident. Their concern for questions of urgent pragmatism blinds them from seeing on what kind of assumptions, familiar notions, of established and unexamined ways of thinking their practices are based. In this way, international agencies limit their own discursive space. Thus, as they put forward their proposals, through a process of oversimplification, they are producing a different discourse that has been called in this chapter 'global educational discourse'.

The third position that has been mentioned is the state. Overall, the state is the site of production of a specific type of discourse that I will call 'policy discourse'. Therefore, the state is in a position in which it has to translate other discourses through a process of negotiation into educational policies. Which discourses? That is a fundamental question that would have a different answer in different places at different historical periods. In this sense, the state is the stake of a political battle.

The next position that has been identified is 'local academic space'. This context is created by the positions, relations and practices arising out of the production of 'local academic discourse'. This discourse is partly produced through the interpretation and translation of global academic discourse. However, this position also feeds global academic discourse with the local discourse in a circular relation. In different societies there could be considerable differences in the extent to which this position is developed. Significant particularities in the relations with other positions could also be expected in different places at different times.

Finally – it is being suggested – educational institutions are overall created by the positions, relations and practices arising out of the reproduction of discourses produced in all or some of the other positions. In theory, in most societies, it should be the policy discourse produced by the state that should have the strongest influence on this position. However, in some societies, local academic discourse could have an important influence on institutions. In societies in which universities are engaged in research, a major distinction should be made between types of institutions. In those cases, universities also participate in the production of local academic discourse, and some of them could even participate in the production of global academic discourse. Consequently, the subjects who are positioned within the university have other resources and possibilities to engage with the discourse that they are expected to reproduce.

Now that the different positions have been defined, the most important issues to consider are: the relations that are established between the different positions (or how discourses move between them); and to understand how discourse is transformed as it moves between different positions.

Overall, in the 1980s and 1990s, the movement of global academic discourse to international agencies resulted in a transformation of this discourse through a process of oversimplification into what has been called in this chapter 'global educational discourse'.

When international agencies appropriate certain concepts or ideas they transform them into an oversimplified generalisation that is offered as an educational solution for most contexts. This advocacy is made without specifying context and thus, inevitably, ideas need to be simplified to make them malleable enough to adapt to every context, but at the same time able to retain certain stability. In this way, global educational

discourse is produced. This discourse then becomes especially attractive for some states because of its simplicity (Ball, 1998).

This discourse introduces a language, a way of classifying and thinking about education. These words and concepts construct social reality as much as they express it and mould the way in which education is understood and thought about. An example can be seen in the difficulty to break away from the concept of 'educational systems' or the classification of primary, secondary and tertiary education. These notions have framed the way in which people think about education for many years and in many cases they were disseminated by international agencies (Cowen, 2000).

The concept of 'lifelong learning', like the idea of an 'educational system', was probably not created by an international agency. But that is not the point. The original concept could have been very complex and specific. It is through the process of oversimplification described above, that these notions develop into a part of global educational discourse.

Furthermore, this process of oversimplification is inevitable given the way in which international agencies define social space, mainly dividing the world into developed and developing countries. This way of thinking about social space might be helpful to distribute budgets and decide how much money to 'invest' in each country or region. However, if this definition of space is used for policy diagnosis and for advocating policy it inevitably develops into dangerous generalisations. In other words, if the specific role of international agencies is to capture educational discourse and translate it into policy recommendations that can be applied in most contexts of the world (or a region) it is inevitable that this process will result in the oversimplification and over-generalisation of the original ideas.

This is a dangerous process because, as has been shown for the cases of Argentina and Brazil (Beech, 2005), the effects of localising global educational discourse in practice cannot be predicted. Due to the specific position of international agencies within the educational field, the universal model of education that they promote cannot consider the specific contextual circumstances that affect the way in which policies are interpreted and put into practice (Ball, 2000). Consequently, the practical effects of the appropriation of global educational discourse in an educational system cannot be simply read-off neither from the proposals of international agencies, nor from policy discourse.

On the contrary, it has been shown (Beech, 2005) that there are significant problems in the translation of the abstract simplicities of the universal model of education promoted by international agencies into context-bound interactive practices. Although the model is universal (it does not consider the specificities of each context to which it moves), the way in which the model is adopted and adapted depends on the characteristics of the contexts of reception. Consequently, the main problem is not so much that the 'anticipated' effects are not attained, but rather the unexpected effects that global educational discourse produces as it is localised. Therefore, maybe international agencies should revise their approach that promotes global abstract strategies to solve local specific problems.

The relation between international agencies and the state – and for that matter all of the relations considered in this model – cannot be abstractly analysed. In other

words, the positions in the global educational field that have been mentioned could, in principle, be used to analyse the circulation of discourse between and within different societies. Thus, the relations between different positions will only be analysed in the remaining part of this chapter for Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s.

The question about which discourse was used by the state to produce its policy discourse has a clear answer for Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s: global educational discourse displaced available discourses in the state in both countries (Beech, 2005). Furthermore the process through which global educational discourse was translated into policies did not include a major transformation of this discourse, and no significant differences were perceived between the translations made in the Argentine and the Brazilian states (Beech, 2005).

So what happened with local academic space in Argentina and Brazil? The basic question is how local academic discourse related to the state in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s. An immediate answer would suggest that there was a blockage between the state and local academic space. Apparently, global educational discourse pervaded the state, leaving no space for local academic discourse. However, the uniformity of themes that can be seen in academic discourse in Argentina and Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s (Beech, 2002) suggests that there was also a very strong connection between global educational discourse and local academic discourse in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s.

Thus, there seem to be two major problems with local academic space in Argentina and Brazil. The first problem is the extent to which local academic space is developed. The second problem is the extent to which local academic space in these two countries is independent from both the state and from international agencies.

I would like to put forward the argument that what happened in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s was that the distinction between these three different positions (international agencies, the state and local academic space) was blurred. Most of the 'elite' academics in Argentina (and at least some of them in Brazil), as they ascend in the academic 'hierarchy', are hired by international agencies and/or by the state. Furthermore, international agencies (and to a certain extent the state) are fundamental sources of research funds in these countries and they define an agenda when offering these funds.

The result of having the same individuals occupying these three different positions is that a class of gatekeepers is developed and discursive space is closed in these three positions. This class of gatekeepers controls the relation of the educational system to global academic space. Since these gatekeepers also control local academic space they control the production of knowledge and, consequently the relation of the educational system with the 'thinkable/unthinkable'.

If international agencies through global educational discourse close discursive space in the state and in local academic space it is very difficult for alternative ways of thinking about education to develop. In theory, it should be local academic space that should produce an alternative to global educational discourse and compete with international agencies, trying to occupy the discursive space of the state. However, this has not happened in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s.

Finally, the application of the model to Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s showed a significant disconnection between global educational discourse (and policy discourse) and educational institutions. At this level global educational discourse was

significantly transformed as it met local discourses and context-specific circumstances. This transformation resulted in resistance, reinterpretations and several unexpected effects.

An example of this can be seen in the practical effects of the reform of curricular regulations in Argentina. Before the reforms of the 1990s, teachers in Argentina were not expected to have any participation in decisions related to the contents they had to transmit (Gvirtz & Beech, 2004). Influenced by international agencies, the reform emphasised autonomy and creativity on the side of teachers who should be able to have freedom to choose the specific contents of the lessons according to local context and students' characteristics, but respecting general guidelines from the central agencies of the state. However, a series of interviews with teachers and teacher educators showed that many Argentine teachers, as they were faced with an autonomy for which they were not prepared, started using the indexes of the manuals that publishing companies produce for students to structure their lessons (Beech, 2005). Since the new curricular documents do not provide a detailed guide to which contents should be included, (some) teachers looked for another guide that could replace the prescriptive curriculum which they had in the past. They found this guide in the manuals that editing companies produce for students. Therefore, an idea that is acceptable as an abstract ideal (that teachers should have autonomy to decide on the contents of lessons) results in unexpected consequences as it is localised in practice and recontextualised.

Furthermore, the consequences of similar policies were very different in different contexts. For example, international agencies promoted that practice-based training in schools should become a major part of the training of teachers. This idea, that was adopted both in Argentine and Brazilian policies for teacher education, had very different interpretations in each of these countries. In Brazil, dominant conceptions of teacher education included the idea that future teachers should experiment with real classes, constructing their own pedagogic knowledge. Consequently, trainees already spent a great part of time in practice-based activities, and therefore teacher educators who were interviewed considered the extension of time spent in these activities as '*delirious*' and impossible to administer. In Argentina, from the perspective of teacher educators, trainees spent very little time in practice-based training and, therefore, the extension of time spent by trainees in schools was seen as a positive aspect of the reform and as a response to a historical demand of teacher educators (Beech, 2005). As this abstract proposal of international agencies was localized in different contexts the practical effects were very different in each of these specific localities.

Thus, although international agencies make universal proposals that, in theory, are applicable to almost every context, the practical effects of these proposals depend very much on the specific characteristics of the contexts in which they have to be translated into interactive and sustainable practices. In the end, these processes result in a strong disconnection between global educational discourse (and policy discourse) and educational institutions.

Considering the uniformity in educational reforms and in local academic discourse in Latin America it seems as though these overall results could be generalised for many countries in Latin America. However, the model should be tested in these societies. In the concluding remarks, some ideas about how the model could be further developed will be opened up.

Conclusion

It has been suggested in this chapter that global educational space has become more complex, with different types of actors that are increasingly participating in the business of providing policy-oriented advice to governments, based on the transfer of educational ideas or practices from one context to another.

Then, the chapter has concentrated on one specific type of actor: international agencies. A theoretical model was offered, suggesting that the internal logic of international agencies provided these institutions with certain resources and possibilities to engage with and act upon educational discourse. It is important to emphasise (again) that the model analysed international agencies as a given position in the global educational field. Individuals who work for the agencies can occupy at the same time other positions, such as local academic space if they do research in the university or in research centres. Nevertheless, although the resources of the individuals are important, the position they occupy in a specific moment will also have an influence on the possibilities that a given individual has to engage with educational discourse. For example an academic who does research in the university might take 3 years since the moment she starts to design a research project until the moment she publishes her findings in a book. If that same person is then hired by an international agency to undertake a study about, say, inequities in schools, she might be asked to do the field work, to analyse the data and to provide the organisation with a report that is 'relevant to practice' in 1 year. Clearly her own training as a researcher will influence the type of knowledge she produces in both cases, but it is also quite evident that the possibilities she had to engage with educational discourse in one case and in the other is very different, resulting in two texts, produced by the same person, that offer very different types of discourses. Then, of course, with the pressures that academics have to generate income for their institutions and/or for themselves through contract research, the logic of basic research and of academic space might be changing (see for example Ball, 2001).

Nevertheless, returning to the main argument of this paper, the question is whether the other actors that have been mentioned as active participants in the global educational field (corporations, the EU, ONGs, consultants) could be included in the model that has been offered. In order to include these types of actors as specific positions in the global educational field it is necessary to identify an internal logic from which certain regularities in the resources and possibilities they have to engage with and act upon educational discourse could be deduced. So, maybe the profit-making logic of corporations affects the way in which these organisations promote certain educational practices, and although there are many different types of corporations engaged in the business of promoting educational ideas and practices, some regularities could be found in the way in which corporations transform educational discourse into recommendations for governments and institutions. Similarly, if applying this model to European space, the European Union should be added as a major position. The internal logic of the EU as a position in the global educational field cannot be directly deduced from the logic of international agencies that has been identified in this chapter. The EU probably has its own logic and specific resources and possibilities to engage with and act upon educational discourse.

The other issue to consider is recontextualisation, or how is educational discourse transformed as it moves into different positions. We need to understand how institutions transform the abstract recommendations of other actors into interactive and sustainable practices. It is at the level of schools, teacher-training colleges, universities and other practice-based institutions that the practical effects of the circulation of discourse in the global educational field can be seen. Probably, as Sadler noted, the gathered cuttings will not transform into a ‘living plant’ when they are implanted in a new soil, but that doesn’t mean that there are no effects. Even a dead plant carries micro organisms that can alter an ecosystem, and as comparativists we need to understand how the new kids strolling through the global garden are affecting ours.

Notes

1. The following reflections about the involvement of corporations in the global educational market have been inspired by Stephen Ball’s seminar ‘La participación del sector privado en la educación pública’. Organised by the British Council in November 2005 in Buenos Aires.

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MOBILITY, MIGRATION AND MINORITIES IN EDUCATION

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In recent years space and spatiality have increasingly become seen as important research topics in comparative and international education. By taking an interest in space as a domain of cultural practice, the researcher can also bring into resolution the restrictions on movement, inducements to movement, and the related boundaries, flows, and enclosures that have profound impact on the ways that educational policy and schooling practices are implemented, reformed, and contested. This chapter provides an introduction to several global educational issues that benefit from being analyzed in terms of spatial practices. We propose that comparative and international education researchers should be very interested in the ways that space and movement are “problematized,” or, put differently, seen as “problems” meriting political as well as social science attention. This in and of itself has considerable influence on the ways schools are researched globally and on the ways in which educational reforms are envisioned and implemented. Conceptualizations of space and movement also play a key role in the ways that particular groups/“kinds” of individuals are differentially affected by and differentially experience schooling institutions. The present chapter begins by discussing the interest in spatiality that has appeared across multiple academic disciplines. It then moves on to discuss student mobility and the education of migrant students as two specific educational issues that benefit from being analyzed in spatial terms. In the conclusion we suggest additional topics and areas in which the concepts being discussed here can be fruitfully employed by researchers in comparative and international education.

Space in Historical and Contemporary Perspective

Since the 1970s scholars in a range of disciplines have placed questions connected with space and spatiality increasingly at the center of their analyses (e.g. Cosgrove, 1998; Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Poovey, 1995; Soja, 1996). Henri Lefebvre’s work (1991) and his suggestion that space be understood as a social production frequently provides a baseline for the argument that a “spatial dimension” is critical for comprehensive understandings of social formations, identities and, indeed, the practices of everyday life (de Certeau, 1984). This trend in scholarship has even led to notions of a “spatial turn” akin to the assertion of a “cultural turn” and “linguistic turn”. Paul Gilroy’s

(1993) work on the “Black Atlantic” stands as a superb example of the usefulness of thinking about space in social and cultural terms, rather than exclusively relying upon natural and territorial criteria. This current has had an increasing presence in comparative and international education scholarship, expressly in the social cartographic work of the late Roland Paulston (1997, 2000) and as a perspective and instrument put to use by a number of scholars (e.g. Beech, 2002; Dussel et al., 2000; English, 2004; Epstein, 2006; Gordon & Lahelma, 1996; Ninnes & Burnett, 2003; Nóvoa & Lawn, 2002). However, the importance that some scholars now give to issues of spatiality should not be seen merely as academic vogue or, alternatively, simply as a progressive improvement in the practices of scholarship. Rather, it is important to set this in the context of main currents in European and American thought which, particularly since the Enlightenment, have exhibited a tendency to view space in temporal terms.

The temporalization of space enabled Europeans who traveled around the globe from the seventeenth century onwards to view themselves as “time travellers” whose journeys allowed them to observe different stages of civilizational progress (Leed, 1991). In indigenous/aboriginal peoples it was possible to see ancient Greeks, Romans, and barbarians (Sayre, 1997). And, accordingly, it was also possible to deploy the temporal category “primitive” as a descriptor of certain groups and their manners and mores. The self-privileging, tautological, and linear evolutionary trajectory that this inscribed is so familiar that it hardly bears mention, except that the pattern of positioning minority and marginalized groups in spaces that could be characterized by an absence of norms of civility and a need for “development” continues up through the present day (Popkewitz, 1998). However, to emphasize that philosophical, historical, and social scientific thought as shaped by the European Enlightenment tends to prioritize time over space is not to deny the historical importance that space has actually had. Over this same time-span, and well beyond the ways it functioned in narratives of progress, spatiality has had profound importance as a strategy of government (with “government” to be understood in this chapter not as synonymous with state but in the broader, classical political theory sense as a category encompassing the minute and multiple ways in which individuals are regulated and self-regulate.)

Nikolas Rose (1999) proposes that since the early nineteenth century we have seen the spatialization of governmental thought along three noteworthy axes. First, one can look at territorializations, the demarcations of spaces such as a “national economy,” “population,” as well as “classroom,” “school,” “family,” and “community.” Once these objects are thought of as discrete spaces it becomes possible to administer them, and to prevent and foster the movement (conceptual or physical) of certain individuals into or across them. Second, one can point to the inscription of power relations through maps, surveys, charts, and tables as “spatializing the gaze of the governors” (p. 36). This captures the importance to government of rendering visible the acts, dispositions, and “being” of those who are its subjects and objects. James Kay-Shuttleworth’s (1832/1970) study of the Manchester poor is an excellent example of how statistical investigations make objects visible so that they can be manipulated (e.g. the construct of “living conditions” as an aggregation of individual experience). Norms and values are inscribed in the very ways that such objects *are seen* as problems that can be alleviated or managed. Third, one can look at the way the “texture” of space has been understood or “modeled” in relation to government. Conceptualized as isotropic (everywhere the same), space

lends itself to repetitive action, reproducible products, standardization, and uniformity (Poovey, 1995). However, in modernity space has also at times been conceptualized to possess thickness and depth, notably in the division often taken to separate human experiences from “underlying” laws and principles (Foucault, 1971; Rose, 1999). When space is conceptualized not as a smooth plane but as nonregular, with varying, uneven depths, principles of differentiation ensue. For example, some areas emerge as sites suited for liberal, democratic participatory politics; others emerge as more appropriately governed through force, authority, and the inculcation of habit. Notwithstanding the fact that “smooth” and “uneven” notions of space produce very different strategies of governance, they can be deployed simultaneously, to be applied to one or another dimension of the social phenomena and kinds of individuals at hand.

Understanding the ways space has served as an arena and tool of modern governance allows us to see the school (1) as an enclosure used in the administration of populations and (2) as a site for the qualification/disqualification of individuals (and specific groups of individuals) for participation/non-participation in other social spaces. As will be seen below, forms of mobility and practices of migration interact with the operations of schooling and are problematized in educational policy and research in ways that are of deep significance for minority and marginalized groups.

Mobility

Closely tied to the social production of space is the social production of movement. Scholarly interest in people and objects in “flux” has exploded in the past two decades. With this, debate has ensued on how to approach mobility and movement as sometimes a privileged condition and sometimes (perhaps even frequently) more of a generic, widespread human experience. As James Clifford (1997) has pointed out, the customary paradigm has been to attribute movement and the advantages that accrue from an ability to occupy multiple positions to cultural elites, academic researchers among them (cf., Riles, 2000). Settlement, stability, and all that remains in-situ (i.e., most of what falls under the much-critiqued classical anthropological notion of culture as static entity) is then coded as a “backwards” provincial remainder needing to be reformed/transformed by “forces” seen as “moving in” from the outside. Connected to this is the analytic and cultural paradigm that views “authentic” forms of mobility as inhering exclusively in the free (and freeing) movements of subjects for whom journeys/departures are a matter of choice. When movement is prompted by economic necessities or forces “beyond one’s control”, it is taken as a considerably less desirable form of mobility (Bartkowski, 1995). This bifurcation is directly reflected in contemporary educational research literature, as is starkly evidenced by the radically different studies that one finds catalogued under the descriptor “student mobility”.

Looking globally and comparatively across education research on “student mobility” exposes a deep contradiction: in some settings this is a cherished objective and key desideratum of educational policy; in others it is woeful problem to be stemmed and urgently managed. In fact, it is quite rare to find any middle ground between the valorizing and excoriating perspectives. There is “student mobility” as exemplified by European Union

(EU) initiatives such as ERASMUS, SOCRATES, and TEMPUS. And, there is “student mobility” epitomized in a United States “school report card” – one of the accountability-related procedures required as part of President George Bush’s 2001 “No Child Left Behind” (NCLB) education reform legislation. In this second case, the reference is to the number of students who enter or leave a school during a given school year, something held to be one of several key indicators of a school’s student characteristics and a plausible mitigating factor in the quest to meet accountability-related performance objectives (Offenberg, 2004). While they diverge sharply, these two uses of the concept of “student mobility” illustrate how the spatialization of education is linked to strategies of governance that inscribe social norms and regulative ideals through the administration of spaces together with those who are (and those who are not) to pass through and across them.

António Nóvoa (2002) argues that mobility has emerged as a key touchstone in EU-oriented European identity formation. The concept becomes a means to imagine European citizenship, as it “contain[s] an imaginary of past journeys and cultural travels [and] suggests a sense of freedom and openness towards the future” (p. 146). EU-mobility programs such as ERASMUS play a symbolic role in inscribing “an experience of Europe in each citizen” (p. 147) that is collectivizing and unifying while also being entirely compatible with an imagined Europe of diversity, multiple identities and complexity. In 2007 the ERASMUS program celebrated its 20th anniversary, having provided grant support that to date has enabled around 1.5 million European university students to study at other institutions within Europe. The program has now been folded into the EU’s new lifelong learning program and will continue at least through 2013. In addition to boosting mobility, transparency, and facilitating the transfer of credits, the ERASMUS objectives include reinforcing the “European dimension” of higher education. As Nóvoa suggests, the program also reinforces the “European dimension” of Europeans themselves. As a technique for producing a collective identity, travel is a classic technique in the national imaginary repertoire (Sobe, 2006; Vari, 2006). Yet, as the EU pursues traditional nation-building strategies (flag/anthem/textbook) in conjunction with a knowledge- and competencies-based strategy that lays out new territories of affiliation and ideals of “Europeanness” (Schissler & Soysal, 2005; Soysal, 2002), mobility and movement have been recast to emphasize participation in networks that bring people together in contingent assemblages and temporary “common” projects (Papatsiba, 2006; Reed-Danahay, 2003). Student mobility in this milieu can be viewed as an individualizing educational practice that places new responsibilities on individuals and centers on employability-related competencies, even as these competencies are revised to encompass civic and political rationalities (Papatsiba, 2005). The TEMPUS mobility program, which targets higher education mobility between the EU and partner countries in Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East, and North Africa, extends this project of modernization and mutual learning, arguably helping to further cement the linkage between mobility and a European social imaginary configured around participation. This is hardly to suggest that TEMPUS programs don’t produce forms of exclusion (Lawson et al., 2003; Walsh et al., 2005), but rather to emphasize the ways that “student mobility” as it presently appears as an education policy problem in Europe is connected with identity work that normalizes individual movement, flexibility, and multicultural resourcefulness as the proper qualities of the enfranchised citizen.

Standing in stark contrast is the “student mobility” that appears as an education policy problem in the United States. This form of mobility – students moving from one educational institution to another mid-school year – is a particularly common problem in urban areas, though it has been noted as an issue that rural areas face as well (Schafft, 2005). It is quite revealing of ways that student movement is socially coded and culturally constructed in the US context that the policy and research language sometimes shifts from speaking in terms of “mobility” to discussing this as a form of “transiency”, the latter being closely linked with poverty and the perception that the individual(s) in question exhibit an almost pathological inability to live a proper, settled life. In other words, mobility is not seen as an advantage but as an obstacle to progress and stability. We can identify a similarly divergent coding of movement in the distinction sometimes made between “exile” and “refugee” (Clifford, 1997). Although there are great similarities in that both have been somehow forced to emigrate from a country of origin, the “exile” tends to be viewed as an autonomous agent, whereas the “refugee” is frequently stigmatized in terms of dependency (Mosselson, 2007). As mentioned earlier, the 2001 NCLB legislation has brought renewed attention to “student mobility” since this has now become one of the key characteristics that defines a school. Mobility here is related to the spatialization of family and community as objects of government, with Latino populations featuring as a particular concern, something we will also see in the following section on the education of migrant students. Student mobility in this problematization is multifaceted and could, for example, connect with homelessness, foster care, child custody issues, etc. Of course, it should not be overlooked that mobility can also be school-initiated due to discipline policy or the management of overcrowding. Russell Rumberger (2003) argues that while residential relocation is the largest factor prompting US primary and secondary students to enter or leave a school while the school year is in session (typically accounting for around 60% of student mobility) it is far from the sole reason. Particularly given that a large portion of residential relocation is local and would not necessarily force school relocation, some researchers are beginning to argue that student mobility also needs to be viewed as a purposeful, strategic action on the part of students and families who may be changing schools because of their own concerns about safety, teacher quality, and academic opportunities (Kerbow et al., 2003). However, as an NCLB school report card item, “student mobility” serves as an indicator of deviance within a school population, namely the deviance of those who stubbornly refuse to stay within the space(s) that are supposed to confine, regulate and advance them.

These starkly different orientations taken towards “student mobility” are partly – but not fully – explained by the differences in educational levels being considered. To be sure, there are European educational researchers concerned about connections between primary school student mobility and achievement (Demie et al., 2005; Strand & Demie, 2006), just as there are US researchers interested in student mobility in post-secondary education. However, in the US at the post-secondary level, by and large, the overall problematization does not shift from what we have seen at primary and secondary levels: student mobility becomes “multiple institution attendance” and is seen as a complicating factor, typically with adverse effects on degree completion and sector-wide efficiency (Pusser & Turner, 2004). Study-abroad at the college and university level would seem to

be the exception, except that in the US this is much more frequently constructed as an issue of “international exchange” than one of “student mobility”. Obviously studying abroad necessarily requires movement and travel on the part of students, nonetheless it seems quite evident that, in the US, the mobility aspect of this is not inscribed in a social salvation narrative anyway near to the extent that it is in European higher education reform discourses.

A similar contrast emerges when one compares European and US discourses on “teacher mobility”. Professional mobility, including teacher mobility is a policy desideratum only slowly beginning to be realized in Europe (Sayer, 2006). In US contexts this tends to be seen in terms of workforce attrition and through an equity lens that frequently reveals qualified teachers leaving urban schools with high minority student populations (Elfers et al., 2006; Scafidi et al., 2007). To an extent, focusing on different meanings imputed to “mobility” as a research descriptor forces a false dichotomy. Teacher credentials mobility is, after all, very much an active concern in the US. Likewise, teacher attrition and urban teacher retention are very much pressing concerns in Europe. Yet, our hope is that the comparisons drawn in this section usefully expose the conflicted nature of the educational politics around “movement” – as something possessing “proper” and “improper” forms. The regulation of who is and who isn’t to be mobile is a key dimension of the spatial practices within which and by which modern schooling operates.

Migration

It is now canonical in comparative education literature to note that population flows are transforming the composition of social and political communities around the globe. With this come new cultural formations (Appadurai, 1990, 2000) and new educational pressures (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Suárez-Orozco, 2001). This section of the chapter examines migration as a subset of mobility that concerns the relocation of people from one locality to another. Academic researchers and public policymakers frequently find it useful, if not necessary, to distinguish between “voluntary” and “forced” migration. While this distinction is redolent of the cultural coding of different styles of human movement as discussed above (and while some analysis in this vein would seem to be called for), military conflict and war are increasingly pushing issues connected with de facto forced migration onto educational research agendas (Burde, 2005; Pinson & Arnot, 2007; Talbot, 2005) and compelling scholars to confront the legitimately unique combinations of problems (repatriation, restitution, reconciliation, rehabilitation, etc.) faced by those forced to migrate under such circumstances. The discussion of migration that follows in this section will focus only on the category of “voluntary migration” and its frequent association with economic/employment driven relocation. Rather than tackling the enormous topic of immigration and the education of immigrant students (for an excellent synthetic treatment of immigrant education in the US see Olneck, 2004) we will continue with our focus on space and movement and look specifically at the education of migrant students. These are students considered by school authorities to be “in transit” (even while students themselves may have different

understandings of their school attendance). Some basic configurations and contours of migrant education can be illuminated by looking briefly at several cases: China, Spain, the United States, the United Kingdom, and India.

What is sometimes referred to as China's migrant rural population consists of individuals and families from the countryside who have become "unofficial" urban residents, typically because they were drawn to China's eastern urban conglomerations for jobs in the service and industrial sectors. Because of China's Residence Registration System, the children of these internal migrants are not categorized as local residents and until recently have not had access to publicly funded state schools (Liang & Chen, 2007; Shaoqing & Shouli, 2004; Yan, 2005). As a consequence, special unlicensed, private schools for migrant children have sprung up in the last decade – frequently started by migrant workers themselves (Jianhua, 2006; Kwong, 2004). Since 2003, however, government policy has begun to change, and more and more migrant children are entering public urban schools (Yuankai, 2006). In connection with this policy shift, in 2006 over 100 private schools for migrant children were forcibly closed in Beijing. There appears to be considerable variability from city to city as to whether there is adequate capacity in the public schools that are now, in principle, open to the children of China's internal migrants (French, 2007). The number of school-aged children in question is sometimes estimated to be around 20 million and the Chinese case stands as a powerful example of the ways that schooling is drawn into larger politics of social regulation, with considerable consequence for great numbers of children whose social exclusion is further exacerbated by the denial of educational opportunity.

In the United States, since the 1982 *Plyler v. Doe* Supreme Court decision, the equal protection clause of the constitution has been held to grant to the children of illegal aliens the right to a free, public education. Though not all migrant students in the US are of "undocumented status," this decision was pivotal in regularizing the provision of education to migrant students. The federal-level Department of Education contains an Office of Migrant Education that organizes regional networks and administers several funding programs. Alongside this, it is worth mentioning that the US possesses extensive networks of researchers and educators attempting to address the special educational needs of migrant students (Garza et al., 2004; Green, 2003). While the children that fall into this group share certain experiences of mobility as "children of the road," and while many of them are of Mexican descent, this population also includes students from Haiti, Puerto Rico, Africa, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Eastern Europe (Branz-Spall et al., 2003). They face similar challenges in the US school system including segregation due to limited English proficiency and/or their status as migrants; a general inconsistency in educational opportunities (Brunn, 1999); and, home-school conflicts (Lopez, 1999). Despite the attention paid to migrant education, as mentioned, only a small percentage of US educators serving this population have ever received professional development for teaching migrant students. In diametric contrast to the Chinese case, the parents of these migrant students are typically pursuing agricultural labor in rural areas. Nonetheless, a politics of documentation and registration is common to both instances, once again highlighting the school as a site where the regulation of movement is tied to the creation of governable populations.

In the last several decades Spain has experienced a rapid reversal, moving from being an immigrant-producing to immigrant-receiving country. At present around 9% of the population is classified as foreign, with the number of children between the ages of 0 and 14 in this category more than doubling between 2002 and 2006. Data indicate that the pool of foreigners residing in Spain contains sharply diverging profiles. No longer are the majority of Spain's foreign workers from North Africa. Even though Morocco provides the single largest national contingent, as a region it is Latin America followed by Eastern Europe now supplying the greatest numbers (Isusi & Corral, 2007). A sizeable population of Europeans from EU countries has also begun to take up residency in Spain, adding further uncertainty to the pattern or long-term trend that this is all pointing to. It is even unclear what portion of these populations might come to be referred to as "migrant," and what portion "immigrant." Educators face the challenge of teaching heterogeneous classes that include limited Spanish proficiency students (Harry, 2005). Some researchers emphasize that in the face of this Spain has adopted an "intercultural approach" that aims to recognize, accept and value the different cultural groups in Spanish schools (Garcia & Molina, 2001; Santos, 1999). The different ways that these various migrant groups will interact with the Spanish school system remains to be seen. However, when set alongside China and the US, Spain serves as a useful reminder that the spatial politics of migrant education are not fixed to a uniform pattern. The configuration of individuals, institutions, and proper/improper movement across and between is always to an extent in formation.

In the United Kingdom, "traveler" children have been a longstanding concern of educators (Bhopal et al., 2000). The recent post-communist migration of Romani groups out of Eastern and South-eastern Europe has added new layers of complexity to the multiple, and quite different, social/ethnic groups which are sometimes labeled as "gypsy." In the UK in particular, there is an extraordinary diversity within "traveler" communities, some mobile and others settled though still experiencing the social stigma of being considered itinerant (Acton, 2006). Recent scholarship (Derrington & Kendall, 2004) has detailed the continued obstacles that traveler/gypsy children face in schools, though also acknowledging the educational successes and advances that have been made. Among sections of these populations that are in fact migrant, researchers Martin Levinson and Andrew Sparkes (2005) have found that students face problems adapting to the way that space is used within the school, specifically "the highly structured use of space" (p. 764) which generates a cultural dissonance. This mismatch undermines the policy objective of preparing these children for participation in the larger society at the same time as recognizing home culture(s) and enabling these populations to continue to remain somewhat apart. The UK case shows how cross-cultural interaction adds a layer of complexity to the education of migrant students particularly as educators and policymakers sensitive to multicultural education concerns strive to accommodate the cultural distinctiveness of a given migrant population while also affording academic opportunities and attempting to alleviate social exclusion.

Pastoral nomads in Western India constitute one of the country's most marginalized groups (Dyer, 2001). Until quite recently schooling options have been quite limited for the Rabaris, a group in the province of Gujarat whose migratory pastoral practices have been steadily disrupted by development initiatives. For nomadic peoples, formal

education has frequently featured as a centerpiece of state-initiated sedentarization campaigns (cf. Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006). However, schooling is also something that can be leveraged by migrant groups to their own advantage. Researcher Caroline Dyer (2001) argues that educational attainment, while uneven, is increasingly viewed as a route to building social capital. Literacy in particular is viewed as standing to “eliminate the current disempowering dependency on others to provide information” (p. 319). Nomadic families frequently place a son in school as a form of “insurance,” less to aid pastoralism than to establish alternative economic options. This particular instance of nomadic migrant education is not a general example that would hold consistent across all instances of pastoral nomadism – such as in Iran or Nigeria (Umar & Tahir, 2000) – but it does illustrate the agency of migrant peoples with regard to education and with regard to their own mobility, even in the face of substantial state-related limitations and restrictions.

The five cases discussed in this section all show the various ways that the spatial enclosures of schools produce or limit participation in other social spaces. As we saw earlier with “student mobility” there is no one experience of educational space and movement but multiple forms of “migrant education” that need to be contextually and historically understood.

Conclusion

This chapter’s discussion of mobility, migrants, and minorities in education has revealed that alongside an interest in the spatial dimensions *within which* schools and education policies operate, it is also necessary to take into account the spatial practices *by which* they operate. In terms of the former, one can think of labor market flows, international trade in educational services, and the new media transmission of youth cultures as phenomena significantly responsible for shaping the “terrain” and “territory” of education. In terms of the latter, it is useful to remind ourselves that at least since the early nineteenth century schools have been a central node in the project of rendering individuals and populations subject to calculation and administration. The creation of spaces that can be studied, evaluated, and managed is one the chief techniques of this form of governance. Though the ways in which various components have been put into relation with one another has experienced considerable change in the intervening two centuries, education policy still fundamentally relies on the production of governable spaces such as “classroom,” “school,” “family,” and “community.” Even a multicultural educational project that attempts to recognize and value gypsy culture or preserve the livelihood of pastoral nomads invariably relies upon such governable spaces. We have proposed that spatial practices need to be analyzed in conjunction with the flows and stoppages that hasten and restrict the movements of people and objects into and across particular spaces. This could be a useful frame from which to analyze what is sometimes referred to as educational borrowing and lending and to use in more extensive and fine-grained studies of immigrant education globally. It also makes an extremely productive ground for cross-cultural comparison of curricular and pedagogical practices.

This chapter has suggested that increased attention be paid to the spatial organization of schooling, whether this is in relation to the physical architecture of classrooms and corridors, or whether this is considered in terms of the space of particular “populations”. Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000) recommend that we approach the issue of educational inclusion and exclusion as involving both a problematic of knowledge and an equity-participation problematic. The latter describes a problematization that takes as its central concern the access and representation of individuals and groups in educational and other social practices and emphasizes the structural role of the state as an interest-driven actor. The former focuses on the systems of reasoning and cultural practices that qualify and disqualify as they establish what is proper and improper or virtuous and deficient. To join these two problematics is a formidable analytic challenge; however, we propose that looking at the spatial practices within which and by which schools operate is one productive way to undertake such a project. It is an avenue of inquiry that promises to be extremely fruitful for scholars in comparative and international education.

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FUNDAMENTALISMS AND SECULARISMS: EDUCATION AND *LA LONGUE DURÉE*

David Coulby

Trend Spotting and *La Longue Durée*

An overview of educational discourse, especially in the UK, might review current trends, the latest, fashionable moves in writing on education policy at its various levels: the strands of the discursive strategy of educational policy. Thus, in the last 15 years of educational publication in the UK and in the *World Yearbooks of Education*, there has been writing on education and transitions, the control of the teaching profession, education and post-modernity, education and globalisation.

Some of this writing is spotting trends, ideally at an international level, internal to education: the regulation and de-professionalisation of the teaching profession; the shift to a shorter first degree; a concern at all levels with standards. Another strand seeks to identify wider social trends, such as the transitions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union following 1989 and 1991 (Coulby et al., 2000) or the economic process of globalisation (Coulby & Zambeta, 2005), and to analyse the ways in which they impact on education, or indeed are impacted on by education. Again the perspective of this strand is beyond one state and the systems examined within it may be quite other than that within which the analyst works. An even more ambitious strand seeks to isolate philosophical shifts either within academe or beyond and to show how these either help to understand the role of educational institutions or influence the ways in which they are shaped. Whilst the writing on post-modernity and education might be the most obvious example here, this strand would also include earlier Marxist writing and those concerned with the impact of ‘values’ on education and of education on ‘values’ (Cairns et al., 2001). This trend-spotting aspect of the educational literature is particularly prominent among those writing in comparative or international education. This is appropriately the case since such analysts are well placed to spot the ways in which similar concerns, policies and structures are emerging in different states: the shift to more vocational subjects at secondary school level, the growth of English as the first foreign language, the charging of fees for university education. Moreover, ideally, comparative and international commentators will be well placed to pick up the social and philosophical trends which are emerging within and beyond their state of location and to relate these to educational policy.

As indicated by the citations above, the *World Yearbooks of Education* over the last 10 years exemplify this mode of discourse. Their titles are likely to identify a social

or philosophical abstraction – interculturalism, special needs, urbanisation – and to link this to current and emergent practice in education. This is the normal science of comparative education. The comparative educationist must be alert to, on the one hand, trends in policy and practice in a range of states and, on the other, to changes in the theorisation of the social sciences as a whole. The task then gets to be to provide an exemplified and ever-current set of links between the two. Lo and behold: *Postmodernity and European Education Systems* (Coulby & Jones, 1995).

The job of the comparative and international commentator has, over the last 3 decades, become more complex as governments have set themselves up as instant comparative educationists. The literature and research has in some ways contributed to this, especially the performance league tables beloved of journalists. Technical education is best in Germany, the Fins are best at teaching literacy, Mathematics is best in Taiwan (or was it Hungary?). Politicians and bureaucrats scuttle to Heathrow and Narita in search of instant solutions. Thus one of the trends which comparative and international commentators have needed to chart has been the idiot cultural borrowing brought about by the existence of comparative data and research itself. If it works in Taiwan then obviously it is bound to work in North Rhine Westphalia.

This chapter is not advocating a paradigm shift in comparative and international education discourse. Rather it will make a contrast between this trend-spotting trend (as it were) and another approach to understanding social phenomena.

The French historian Braudel and his followers, along with others working in, particularly, economic history and the history of technology, have sought to understand the long-term shifts in social phenomenon (Braudel, 1985a, b, c, 1989, 1990, 1992). The question, to take an example that irked Braudel himself, is not who won the battle of Waterloo? But rather, how, in the period from the Reformation to 1815, demographically and historically insignificant England (later UK) developed the industrial and military capacity to snatch world domination from the apparently economically and intellectually superior France?

The long processes of history might be exemplified as the spread of Islam across Asia, Africa and parts of Europe; the process of European colonisation and decolonisation; the persistence of the Japanese and Chinese empires; the emergence of North America from scattered settler societies to the current position of the USA; the impact of Latin American mineral wealth, especially Peruvian silver, on the sudden rapid take off of the world economy following Spanish imperialism. At its most extreme, human history can be seen as the agency which spread the plant, wheat, across the surface of the globe (Fernandez-Armesto, 2001). These movements of history Braudel refers to as *la longue durée*.

It is possible across the *longue durée* to identify forces which are operant on a wide range of social phenomena not least on the curricula of schools and madrassas. The ebb and flow of languages across the globe and its educational institutions over the last two and a half millennia may provide an illustration here: Greek, Latin, Arabic, Chinese, Turkish, Spanish and English. The first point to make about this illustration is that these shifts hardly result from the decisions of educational policy makers. They are the result of much longer-term economic, cultural and political forces. Secondly, these changes would not necessarily have been prominent to contemporary trend-spotters. Even the most triumphalistic Roman, as late as the Battle of Actium, would have been unlikely to

predict that Latin would become an international language in Europe and beyond for the next millennium and a half. (Though, when asked what was the most important event of the nineteenth century, Bismarck brilliantly remarked the decision of the US government to make English its official language.) For those less prescient than Bismarck, however, there may actually be a conflict between trend-spotting and understanding the *longue durée*. It may be that a concentration on what is currently widespread and important in education can distract from the long-term, significant movements. Speaking of the crusades, Fletcher writes: 'Attitudes laid down like rocks long ago continue to shape their moral environment for many centuries thereafter. There is a geology of human relationships which it is unwise to neglect' (Fletcher, 2004: 159).

The *longue durée* forces operant on education are often military-political as in the European conquest of America or the centuries-long decline of Byzantium. They may also be cultural-political as in the Reformation in northern Europe or the deliberate attack on tradition by communist forces in the PRC or the former Soviet Union. These forces are sometimes straight ideological as in nationalistic elements which since 1789, say, have come to inform much of normative social and educational knowledge across a wide range of states. These forces can also be economic-technical as witnessed by the global spread of universities and in particular their Science, Technology and Engineering faculties. It would not be helpful to try to generate a strict typology here as these forces often come together: Islam as well as Arabic expanded geographically in the second half of the first millennia CE.

Nor are these forces uncontested: Catholicism spread with Spanish across Central and South America but at the local level it was a version of that religion which would have found little approval at the Council of Trent. Similarly, resistance to western science and technology remains exceedingly widespread. On the one hand this may be represented by lunatic fringe, though nevertheless influential, anti-evolution Christian fundamentalists in the USA and UK. On the other hand there is a more rational critique of the effects of western science and technology on the environment and on humanity itself. Emerging, inter-related crises of climate change and hydrocarbon exhaustion are the products of humanity's use of science and technology. It is highly unlikely that any solution to these difficulties – if such there is to be – will be derived exclusively from the scientific paradigm. There is not going to be some wonder science that can reverse global warming and generate infinite amounts of energy from sea water. No matter how powerful the social, economic, military or intellectual force, it will not be unopposed and, in the *longue durée*, it will reach its limits. Peak oil has already probably passed (Klare, 2005; Roberts, 2005).

The task of this chapter, then, is twofold: firstly to identify the current trends, attention to which might serve to distract from understanding the *longue durée* forces or indeed to ignore or misunderstand them completely; secondly to try to identify the *longue durée* forces which will lead to significant lasting change to what is taught in schools and universities. The immediate focus of the chapter is on educational institutions and religion but the exemplifications occasionally range beyond this. If this were a straight trend-spotting chapter it would obviously devote more attention to the impact of information and communications technology (ICT) on educational institutions and society (Brown & Davis, 2004). From the perspective developed here ICT is a further advanced manifestation of that science and technology developed and advocated inside the Enlightenment paradigm.

The Distraction of Current Trends

The attack on the World Trade Centre in New York was a manifestation of terrible murderousness. The appalling loss of life has rightly been universally condemned. In the toll of recent human murderousness it does not stand alone. It may be set, for example, alongside events in Szerbrinita or Dafur. September 11 was not a unique event though the very fact that both reader and author have internalised this date might imply that it was. What was unique was that it was an attack by an outside force on the territory of the USA. This has not happened since 1814. And in the period since 1814 the USA has become the uncontestedly most powerful state on earth. With this power the USA is uniquely able to inscribe its version of events across global consciousness. The result of this has been that the destruction of the World Trade Centre and the attack on the Pentagon are increasingly seen as a landmark event in both recent history and social consciousness. This may be exemplified by the use of the current term, 'post-9/11.'

In political terms the results have been major changes in US policy both foreign and domestic. In foreign policy the 'war on terror' has been used to justify military interventions as diverse as the Anglo-American occupation of the Iraqi oilfields and Putin's remorseless persecution of the Chechens. In domestic terms the event has become a justification for the erosion of civil liberties both in the USA and beyond, to the extent of the illegal imprisonments at Guantanamo Bay and the widespread sanctioning of the torture and mistreatment of enemy combatants and civilians.

It is perhaps early days to attempt to discern the influence on educational policy, or, more precisely, educational policy analysis. But one trend has already been widely identified by commentators and that is fundamentalism and its perceived rise (Burleigh, 2007; Duijzings et al., 2002; Leirvik, 2004; Micklethwait & Wooldridge, 2005; Soon-Yong, 2004; Victor, 2005; Zambeta, 2000). For the warriors on terror, fundamentalism is something that is automatically equated with Islam so that, in the extreme (but widespread), xenophobic version, all Muslims are fundamentalists and all fundamentalists are Muslims. More balanced commentators have noted fundamentalism on either side of the conflict, noting the extreme Protestant background of many of the American proponents of the war on terror, their links with the militia movement as well as their fervent support for the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and (previously) Gaza. Others (Sim, 2005) have claimed to discern a more general shift to fundamentalism including such diverse phenomenon as: Al-Qaeda, the Muslim Brotherhood, Hare Krishna, globalisation, Le Pen, Pim Fortuyn and the American militias. This holistic fundamentalism will be considered in due course. At this stage it is worth concentrating on the apparent clash of fundamentalisms eloquently evoked by President Bush when he referred to the war on terror as a crusade. The fundamentalisms here then are religious and historical: they have been produced and reproduced by educational transactions and institutions since at least the bloodthirsty sack of Jerusalem by the Christians in 1099. On the one hand are the anti-science, anti-women curricular aspirations of the fundamentalist neocons in many of the states of the USA, on the other the (also anti-science, anti-women) curricula of the Taliban madrassas. Education is seen as being taken over by the fundamentalists. This trend may be seen to be both pervasive and widespread. Pervasive in the penetration of the Greek school curriculum by

orthodox religion (Xochellis & Toloudi, 2001; Karakasidou, 1997; Mazower, 2001) or the hatred curriculum of the madrassas of north-west Pakistan. Widespread in that, in various states, Hinduism, Islam and fundamentalist Christianity would all appear to be on the rampage in both school and society.

Before going on to assess this trend it is appropriate to consider the role of the comparative or international commentator on education. This is not a matter of solipsistic concern with 'method', the fatal attraction of which almost brought about the institutional destruction of comparative education in the recent past. It is that, in dealing with more than one value system and in particular in considering value systems different from that in which the commentator was brought up and educated, it is necessary to consider the appropriate intercultural stance. To analyse one fundamentalism from the perspective of another is to engage in fundamentalism per se rather than social commentary. Cultural relativism has long seemed to offer some protection from the dangers of various orientalisms. The theme of fundamentalism is appropriate to a postmodern, relativistic approach in which all cultural and political forces are treated with an equal calm remoteness. This approach would seem to avoid the possibility of bias, of being committed from the outset to a particular grand narrative. Whilst this is appropriate to a point, and has been a stance much preferred by commentators in, say, intercultural education, it is not entirely sensible for educational discourse to imply equality of esteem between *Genesis* and *The Origin of Species*. There comes a point at which the postmodernist is in danger of implying parity of esteem between peace and war, between tolerance and intolerance, between truth and error. In the selection of the knowledge to be reproduced in schools and universities all decisions are informed by values. To claim that a selection is value-free is likely to be privileging a particular sort of orientation, almost certainly one derived from the Enlightenment. The claim to value neutrality is rarely other than disingenuous. It may be best then for commentators to acknowledge their background and let the reader make allowance for commensurate bias: I am not religious but have been educated in the European humanistic, scientific and artistic tradition.

The current climate of perceived fundamentalism might be misleading in terms of understanding the *longe durée* forces currently operant on society and education. Given the events of the first decade of the twenty-first century this climate is understandable. As this chapter was being written, four young men, educated in English schools and, in some cases, universities, bombed the underground railway and a bus in London. Reborn nationalism in Russia and Serbia and Bush's war on terror, can all too easily link in to fundamentalist forces for their power and justification. Even the sacred economic orthodoxies of the Breton Wood institutions can link with and reinforce these fundamentalisms in terms of the manifest destiny of new imperialisms. But such a sweeping analysis might be to identify schools and universities across the world too closely with the madrassas of north-west Pakistan. Other, less sensational but more enduring forces are at work on educational institutions.

Two examples might illustrate the ways in which the picture is appreciably more complex and conflicted than the triumph of fundamentalism. In both cases it is appropriate to note that radical changes do occur in schools and society but that such changes are far from a frequent occurrence. Fundamentalist Protestantism, firstly, has had a pervasive

influence on politics and society in the USA for at least the last 30 years. It has influenced the formation of institutions and the contents of curricula at all levels of education. But this influence in fact has been superficial. The common school of the USA is not yet in danger from these forces, nor is the teaching of Darwinian Science at Ivy League Universities. Traditionalist strands in the curriculum of the USA are more characterised by nationalism, and indeed xenophobia, than they are by religion. The nation-building function of the American education system remains fundamental and indeed is being renewed in the face of rapid demographic change, not least the expanding Hispanic presence in southern California. The precepts of the Constitution were designed to meet such challenges: it is unlikely that they will be overthrown by religious fissiparousness, no matter how politically influential this may be in the short term. Secondly, in the PRC the curricula of schools and universities have been radically politicised since 1949. Indeed the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s and early 1970s provides one of the most extreme examples of the politicalisation of education in the whole of human history. Yet beneath the surface other less radical trends characterise the development of Chinese education: the spread of the Han Chinese language, the development of technical vocational subjects, the blossoming of excellence in music and sport, the emergence of world class universities. Whilst the West is shocked at the severity of the repression of Fulan Gong, Llamist and Confucian ceremonies are openly celebrated in urban as well as rural shrines and temples. The point is that looking backwards through the revolutions of 1949 and 1911 there are continuities in Chinese history and politics: the centralisation of policy, the diffusion of the Han language, a regard for the cultural and technical excellence of the products of the Middle Kingdom, an awareness of at least equality of esteem with interloping western values (Fairbank & Goldman, 1998; Fewsmith, 2001; Massonnet, 2000; Nathan & Gilley, 2003; Roberts, 2003; Starr, 2001; Studwell, 2003; Terrill, 2003). The Mandate of Heaven has been renewed in surprising ways across the millennia, by Mongols and Manchus for instance. The dislocations of the twentieth century may similarly conceal the persistence of China.

As well as fundamentalisms, then, other forces are operant on schools and society. Obviously, as is clear from the two preceding examples, these will differ between states. However, predominant among these *longe durée* forces are the ongoing impact of the Enlightenment Programme together with its negative alter ego of imperialism and nationalism. The tendency in education has been to see the Enlightenment retrospectively in terms of its major impact on institutions and knowledge itself. One difficulty with this is that it tends to refer to a rather nebulous Enlightenment Project without actually analysing particular thinkers or policies (Lyotard, 1984; Jameson, 1991). In fact the Enlightenment is the product of many thinkers operating in a wide range of intellectual areas and it is impossible to tie it to a few prominent figures. When considering the work of the Encyclopaedists, Kant, Hume or Tom Paine, they seem far from the work of a unitary project. The Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution both clearly derive from the Enlightenment but despite their origins they followed different and at times apparently contradictory trajectories (Hobsbawm, 1975).

In 2003 the British Museum reopened the King's Library as its Enlightenment Gallery. In doing so it both boldly asserted its own importance – 'The foundation of the British Museum was one of the most potent acts of the Enlightenment' (Sloan & Burnett, 2003,

p.13) – and attempted to rediscover the Enlightenment within the terms of its own period. One of the impacts of this gallery is the sheer amount of material, natural and artificial, that it contains. Not only is the range of material vast – sculptures, ceramics, butterflies, books, geological specimens and so on – but so is the actual quantity. The large gallery is chocked full from floor to high ceiling. One principle of the Enlightenment was simply collection, this preceded and perhaps even superseded organisation. Enlightenment intellectuals were not overawed by the vastness of either nature or human achievement. They saw both as their fields of endeavour, even of pillage. It was on this framework that the Enlightenment became ‘a period when the principles of classification, taxonomy itself, came into their own’ (p. 13). Rationality, progress, truth and liberty are the abstract nouns of the rhetoric of the Enlightenment. The political and philosophical ideals of the Enlightenment impacted on the American and French revolutions and thus on succeeding centuries. But in intellectual and educational terms, it is the spirit of collection and enquiry that should be stressed; the spirit that believed that the natural and civilisational universes could be gathered, rationally organised and understood. It is easy to see that postmodern scepticism would perceive this as the attempt to contain the whole of nature and the whole of human achievement within a grand narrative of taxonomy, indeed within a museum. Nevertheless, it is that spirit of undaunted enquiry, that relentless search for increased understanding of all areas of rational thought that has characterised the impact of the Enlightenment on the knowledge of schools and universities. Despite the differences and limitations of its individual thinkers, it is within this strand of the Enlightenment that fundamentalism confronts a clear antithesis (Dawkins, 2007).

This strand of enquiry was in many cases secular and indeed anti-clerical from the outset, Gibbon as well as Voltaire. It was to prove devastating in its consequences for organised religion and belief. In geology as well as natural history, indeed in studies into the origins and nature of the biblical texts themselves, the Enlightenment spirit of enquiry undermined the teachings of the bible. As increasing areas of knowledge were opened to the flood of rational enquiry the terrain of inerrancy disappeared. Religion became no longer a matter of knowledge but of faith, furthermore of a faith which had to stand in the face of an ever increasing and varied amount of well established knowledge. The publication of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 represented both a culmination and a symbol of this process. Darwin had delayed publication for fear of the effect his work would have on organised Christianity and the controversy he provoked was profound and is still surprisingly ongoing.

Many Enlightenment thinkers and scientists had supposed that progress would sweep organised religion, in particular Christianity, into the dustbin of history (Hume, 1993; Paine, 1998). Of course, to a large extent this has happened. But organised religion remains a thriving institution in many states and a key component of identity formation for huge groups of people. Two main reasons may be given for this strange survival, both of them educational. Firstly, in many states of Europe religious institutions had infiltrated schools and universities prior to and during the Enlightenment period. The control of many schools and universities in the UK, the Netherlands and Greece, for example, meant that religious dogma could be reproduced alongside Enlightenment knowledge. The very framing of Enlightenment rationality was performed by institutions and personnel committed to the traditional, the irrational. Secondly, postmodernity

itself has offered prolonged protection for religions. Enlightenment knowledge was the grand narrative most suspected by postmodernists. If all truth was relative then religious diversity would be one of the hundred flowers permitted, even encouraged, to bloom. Thus, in the UK, state Catholic, Protestant and Jewish schools have in the last decade been supplemented by those representing Islam, Greek Orthodoxy, Hinduism and even anti-Darwinism. Postmodernity has encouraged traditionalist beliefs and practices and, in the revived guise of fundamentalism, these have proved hostile and destructive to Enlightenment knowledge itself.

In the light of the terrorist bombings in Madrid and London it is likely that there will be a reassessment of the European approach to multicultural societies and intercultural education. Of course a strong element of this reappraisal will be the traditionalistic nationalism and xenophobia which have always opposed cosmopolitanism. But another element will raise the issue of the anachronism of any kind of religious involvement in schooling in these highly globalised states. Following the attacks in London, *The Guardian* published a poll which reported two thirds of people in the UK to be opposed to any form of state aid to religious schools, including those run by Protestant and Catholic churches (Taylor, 2005). It is important at this point, then, to keep a sense of perspective and not to be over impressed by the continuation and revival of traditionalistic beliefs and practices. In terms of the long-term development of the Enlightenment spirit of enquiry these are minor phenomena and their impact on educational institutions is strictly limited. Whilst it is unequivocally regrettable and bizarre that a few secondary schools in England should indulge in anti-Darwinism, the development of science is not seriously impeded. Such indulgence is having no serious impact on the research programmes of laboratories in the Universities of London, Oxford and Cambridge. Whilst the sponsorship of Islamic schools, or for that matter Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox schools, by modern states is anachronous and anti-educational, the grip of religious institutions over the minds of young people has been steadily loosening over increasing areas of the globe since the Enlightenment.

Nationalism and imperialism have long been perceived as the down side of the Enlightenment. Whilst this may be argued in the instance of specific thinkers – imperialism hardly characterises Tom Paine, for instance, or even the slave owning Jefferson – nationalism was one of the forces which expanded across Europe and beyond with the armies of the Revolution and Napoleon. The increased trade generated by the Industrial Revolution, and conducted in the first instance by national trading companies, allowed ultimately the global penetration of European activities and ideas. The trading companies' 'intervention in local affairs – social, political and economic – grew stronger as increasing national support came not only in diplomatic but also often naval and military form. Thus while the Museum's natural history and ethnographic collections and British understanding of their history and cultures grew as a result of the activities [of the trading companies] ..., so the growing level of intervention by British and other foreign governments often ensured a concordant alteration of those same cultures. As Kant declared in 1784, this was the age of Enlightenment, but not an enlightened age' (pp. 24–25). The conquest of much of Africa, Asia and Australasia were to follow. Imperialism was the major mode of dissemination of Enlightenment knowledge. The cultural confrontations which resulted and which are ongoing in terms of globalisation form the basis of conflict

over much of the school and university curriculum in most states today (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Coulby & Zambeta 2005; Stromquist & Monkman, 2000). The opposition of the Enlightenment project to fundamentalism indeed to religions in general is neither a matter of a clash of civilisations nor some eschatology of epistemological right and wrong. The Enlightenment project has been far from an unmitigated blessing in terms of school and university curricula. The task of separating rationality from nationalism and racism in this respect has only just started. The postmodern critique of Enlightenment knowledge is not misconceived though it has proved unaware of the perils of other discursive strategies of knowledge.

Nationalism and imperialism may themselves now be seen as part of the process of globalisation. And globalisation represents the principle force currently operant in most states on both education and religion. The process of globalisation has many aspects and it has impacted on schools and universities in a variety of ways, not least through the development of the knowledge economy. However, given the focus of this chapter, it is the cultural dimension of the globalisation process which is considered here. Three cultural dimensions may be considered: language, nationalist history and culture and mass culture. The first two are important components of the school and university curriculum. The third, mass culture, stands potentially in opposition to them.

Firstly, in terms of language, the economic, political, technological and cultural activities which characterise the globalisation process are all conducted in English. Air traffic control, scientific and learned journals, the Internet, Hollywood movies, pop music, international conferences and diplomacy – all are conducted predominantly and increasingly in English. English is the first foreign language taught in almost every school system in the world. Increasing numbers of university courses are being taught in English even in non-Anglophone states. As international mobility among university students increases it is overwhelmingly the English speaking countries which are the destinations of choice. Fox, CNN and BBC have virtually global reach thus extending not only the English language but an Anglo-Saxon view of current events. However, English is not the only language which appears to be on the march. Although the spread of Russian has been halted and reversed, Han Chinese is a language which is increasing both its numbers and its geographical presence in Xinjiang, for instance, and Tibet. Nor is the spread of English language in any way a process which is unresisted. Each time an educational system or individual school elects to have a different or even a second foreign language the hegemony of English is resisted. This resistance has political significance in France as well as in the Arab world.

Secondly, nationalist history and culture have long been identified as fundamental features of educational systems especially at school level (Coulby, 2000). With the intensification of globalisation this role takes on a beleaguered significance. In the face of the tsunami of mass culture, the globalisation of the economy and the decreasing importance of individual states as international groupings such as the European Union increase their powers, countries such as France or Greece use their schools to stress their importance to the world in historical and cultural terms. Power may have shifted from Athens and Paris to Brussels and Washington but, in the school-inscribed identity of the individual, Waterloo can be assuaged, Byzantium retrieved. It is the contention of this chapter that traditionalism is gradually being eroded from society and educational institutions, but nationalism is

proving the most resistant of its elements. (Postmodern forms of cultural and identity hybridity are one of the most adaptive and even justifiable forms of this resistance, rather than the emergence of a new episteme.) This is not to say that nationalism cannot be intrinsically connected to religion as is certainly the case in Pakistan as well as in Greece. However, the trend has been, since at least the Enlightenment, for nationalism to supersede religion as the core element in identity and state formation. Current events in the USA or Saudi Arabia, notwithstanding, this trend is clear in, to use historically significant examples, Belgium, Spain, Mexico and Russia. When nationalism takes on a religious dimension (a common feature of fundamentalism) it certainly manifests one of the currently most successful resistances to modernity in both societies and schools and madrassas. It is likely that the school curriculum will remain one of the last bulwarks of nationalism and xenophobia whether or not religiously inscribed. However, it is the university which is increasingly the internationally significant institution of the Enlightenment and here the curriculum is gradually escaping its nationalistic construction.

Mass culture is the third and final cultural dimension of the globalisation process to be considered here. It is connected to the first, language dimension, considered above in that it is overwhelmingly transmitted in English: films, television programmes, popular music, newspapers and magazines, computer games and the internet. Where it is not transmitted in English, these media have often been created in English and then translated or distributed with subtitles (Crane et al., 2002). Indeed such is the potency of English in this area of subculture that popular music or advertising media are frequently composed and presented in English even where that is not the language of the society. This is not to deny the validity or global reach of mass culture in other languages: films from Cairo and Mumbai, television programmes from Brazil, international news broadcasting in Arabic, French and German. But the aspiration of the most successful proponents of mass culture is almost always to operate and market in English. The growing economic strength of China is likely to increase further the spread of the Chinese language. But whilst the number of its speakers may for a while outnumber the speakers of English, it is unlikely to be able to compete with the latter's global reach or penetration of international mass culture. Both religious and educational institutions have sought to incorporate and manipulate mass culture both as a form of resistance and as a way of seeking a way of appealing to young people. Nevertheless, the appeal of mass culture and its separation from and disdain for religious institutions and values is surely one of the forces serving to undermine fundamentalism: hence the widespread opposition to mass culture by the proponents of fundamentalism.

To recap: other forces than fundamentalism are currently operant on societies and educational institutions. Predominant among these is the ongoing impact, far from exclusively positive, of the Enlightenment Project. Furthermore these forces are themselves currently subject to the process of globalisation. In cultural terms the spread of and resistances to American cultural products is a global process. ICT has notched another ratchet on the progress of the Enlightenment Project in terms of communication and dissemination as well as electronic engineering. The Enlightenment agenda of science and rationality has become a global movement at least at the level of higher education. From the point of the *longue durée* then it may be that the impact of fundamentalisms will remain epiphenomenal.

Globalisation has itself thrown up trends which superficially would appear to be transforming education such as the spread of pragmatic capitalist business practice and theory and its educational embodiment in Business Studies and the currently ubiquitous MBA. Compared to the ground-shifting transformations caused by the developments in ICT these will be seen as but brief fashions. In the decline of religion there will be periods of revitalisation, fusion or extremism. In order to avoid the risk of secular fundamentalism the task of postmodernity will be to tolerate and learn from all differences whilst retaining and developing, no matter how hybrid, the perspective of rationality. The spread of the English language and its associated cultural products and values; the apparently unstoppable momentum of Enlightenment science and technology: these are the forces, contested and conflicted in a range of settings, which, in international terms, are currently transforming schools and universities.

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THE DOUBLE GESTURES OF COSMOPOLITANISM AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF EDUCATION*

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It might seem a contemporary cliché when I say that my thinking about comparative education is in a context of globalization. Intuitively, what else can the study of comparative education be except in a broader field that takes into account cross-national and “global” changes? As I say this, I admit a hesitation as “globalization” has the status of the planetspeak, to draw on the work of António Nóvoa (2002). It is a word that appears “everywhere” to explain everything, and without any author. My hesitation, however, is tempered historically, in part, through the insights of world systems studies and neo-institutional theory that relate the formations of the modern school and nation-forming from the nineteenth century to the present (Meyer et al., 1992, 1997).

My interest, however, enters the comparative study of schooling from a different intellectual terrain. This chapter focuses on the systems of reason through which the objects of schooling – the child, family, and teacher – are produced and administered. That is, schools are historical sites to change society by changing people. That is what pedagogy does. Modern pedagogy is the major social/cultural site where children are taught how to reason and problem solve and to become “reasonable people.” The principles of teaching and learning, I will argue, are concerned with the production of “reasonable people” through generating cultural theses about modes of living. The cultural theses are not merely variation of a single theme such as modernization or globalization. If one looks at the Chinese school reforms of May 4 Movement in 1919, US Progressive Educations, or current discourses about the Learning Society and the Lifelong Learner, they entail different cultural and institutional assemblies and connections about who the child and teacher are and should be. Understanding schools comparatively, then, is in considering historically the changing principles generated as the cultural theses of who the child is and should be.

My approach to the comparative qualities of the system of reason of schooling is through the notion of cosmopolitanism (Popkewitz, 2008). Cosmopolitanism, I argue, is at the heart of schooling. In its northern European Enlightenment traditions, cosmopolitanism embodied the radical thesis about human agency, participation, and science as an emancipatory project of humanity. That enlightened individual places faith in the application of reason and rationality in directing change, and for the self-improvement and progress of society that respect diversity and hospitality and compassion for

* The thesis of cosmopolitanism and reform is drawn primarily from Popkewitz, 2008.

“Others.” Schooling, or at least modern schooling, is concerned with the making of the child as the future citizen of the nation who embodies cosmopolitan characteristics. Further and oddly enough, the reason of the cosmopolitan that was to be inclusive embodied comparative inscriptions to order the phenomena and people. The “reason” of European modernity recognized and differentiated “others.” When brought into schooling, the very universalizing principles about humanity and emancipation of the pedagogical practices carried its opposites, the child who did not “fit” in and thus was excluded from the inscribed qualities and characteristics of the cosmopolitanism.

The cosmopolitanism in schooling, however, is not merely the dissemination of Enlightenment notions in a world system. Rather, there are different assemblies, connections, and disconnections that produce cultural theses of the cosmopolitanism of the child and collective belonging. The reason and “reasonable person” in pedagogy are linked with principles of collective belonging and home. This might sound ironic, as the European cosmopolitanism was to shed the provincialism of the nation. Yet it did not and its particularism is embedded up to the present in schooling. The “enlightened” individuality was not the same “person” in the making of Brazil, Belgium, Japan, or Britain.

The first section considers schooling as embedded in processes of globalization in the long nineteenth century to the present.¹ The analysis draws from the US and Europe educational “reform” sciences and policies concerned with restructuring teaching and teacher education. I argue that the modern schooling was to remake society through remaking the child who was to become the future citizen.² Pedagogy embodied cultural theses about the mode of life of that cosmopolitanism. But embodied in pedagogy were comparative distinctions to differentiate and divide “the civilized” cosmopolitan from “the uncivilized.” The next section explores the traveling of Dewey’s pragmatism as a historical exemplar of cultural theses about cosmopolitanism and its “Others” in reforming society at the turn of the twentieth century. The final section looks at the comparative instantiations of cultural theses in contemporary school reforms. It examined what I call the unfinished cosmopolitan who is the lifelong learner that lives through the continuous making of choices and innovation and its Others – the disadvantaged, the at-risk, immigrant, and the “child left behind” who are recognized for inclusion yet cast out as different and potentially dangerous to the stability and consensus. The final section draws the analysis into considering the theoretical implications of cosmopolitanism as cultural theses for comparative studies of schooling.

My use of cosmopolitan is diagnostic and not normative. It is to consider the distinctions and differentiations that partition sensibilities in ordering children’s cognition, problem-solving, and collaboration in “communities of learning,” to use commonsense words of contemporary reforms. The “ism” of cosmopolitanism is to give attention to the different assemblies and connections through which the principles of reason and reasonable people are produced rather than to treat the word as a distinctive doctrine.

Modern Schooling in a Historical Context of Global Processes

Four brief points raised in the introduction are discussed. First, modern schooling is embedded in processes of globalization from at least the long nineteenth century to the present. Second, the notion of cosmopolitanism is a strategy to consider the changes in the cultural

theses about modes of living in schooling. Third, the sciences of school pedagogy inscribe principles of reason that ordered the cosmopolitanism of the child. Fourth, the universal, transcendental qualities of the cosmopolitan child embody a comparative method that inscribes the cultural thesis of the cosmopolitan child and processes of abjection that differentiates, casts out and excludes particular “other” children in processes of inclusion.

1. Modern schooling is embedded in processes of globalization that relate to changes associated with the long nineteenth century. This does not mean that there are no continuities and overlapping with prior schooling, as the historical studies of David Hamilton (1989) continually illustrate. Rather, particular configurations of contemporary schooling become apparent through changes in pedagogy and its theories of the child.

The purpose of modern schooling is to *remake society through remaking the child*. The founding figures of the American and French Republics recognized this. The citizen was not born but made. Democratic participation was “something that had to be solicited, encouraged, guided, and directed” (Cruikshank, 1999: 97). The maintenance of the nation was dependent on making the citizen who was self-governing and participating in social affairs.

Education was central in making of the individuality on whose participation modern government was dependent. One might say that the problem of social (re)construction of society through schooling was placed at the foot of the child. Mass schooling was seen as essential to the producing of the individual who embodied the transcendental principles of nation. Brazilian, Mexican, Columbian, and Chinese school reforms into the early twentieth century, for example, embodied cultural theses about the child’s reflection and participation that linked salvation notions of the individual with the nation (Buenfil Burgos, 2005; Warde, 2005; Qi, 2005; Sáenze-Obegón, 2005). The Swedish Torsten Rudenschöld in the 1800s spoke of a cosmopolitanism when thinking of the school as producing “the free will of individuals” in society (cited in Hultqvist, 2006). The introduction of the vernacular language in China after the May 4 Movement of 1919 can be read as well as bringing a different relation between people and collective belonging, albeit different from that of European and North American schooling (Qi, 2005).

2. Central to the pedagogy of the school was cultural theses about the cosmopolitanism of the child. Both in the West and outside of it, notions of cosmopolitanism emerged to join secularization processes of individual agency and progress with salvation themes of redemption that was tied to the nation that had some irony. The northern European and North American Enlightenments spoke of cosmopolitanism as a universal mode of living in which reason and rationality provided for a more progressive world of freedom and liberty. That cosmopolitan world was quickly inserted in the particular narratives and images of nations. The different progressive pedagogical ideas embodied in John Dewey, G. Stanley Hall, Edward L. Thorndike, and George Counts in the twentieth century, for example, inscribed cosmopolitan principles in the planning of schooling and the child. These principles embodied cultural narratives about “American exceptionalism,” the nation as an epic account of the progressive development of the highest ideals of cosmopolitan human values and progress.

3. Cosmopolitanism joined science with reason in effecting change in one's own life and community. As the physical sciences could master the natural world, science was viewed as a way to order and artificially intervene in the natural order to effect change and human progress.

The notion of human science, however, had different configurations in providing for change. Science provided knowledge, for example, about the planning that enables conditions for the pursuit of happiness and liberty. Urban planning: the formation of the modern welfare state, were instances of the relation of science to finding the right mixture of knowledge and strategies for social development. Reform became a constant activity. And that reform of society also entailed principles for governing the cosmopolitan society through planning modes of living. The sciences of pedagogy, for example, made the interior of the child a site of intervention. Dewey's problem-solving and Hall's child development and growth gave an order to life through designing the processes and procedures of "thought" that gave consensus and stability to the rules and standards applied for action and the future.

Psychology is central to pedagogy. If I focus on Europe and North America, psychology opened up the interior of the child as the site of calculation and intervention in the pedagogical. Speculative and analytical psychologies were replaced with experimental psychologies in diverse sites that moved across Russia, Germany, and the US. The beginning of modern schooling, pedagogy, and its sciences of education, Ó (2003) argues, was designed to act on the spirit and the body of children and the young. Examining French and Portuguese pedagogy at the turn of the twentieth century, Ó explores the method of the pedagogical sciences as observing and making visible the inner physical and moral life in order to map the spirituality of the educated subject ("the human soul"). The French pedagogue Gabriel Compayré in 1885 asserted that pedagogy is an applied psychology and the sources of all the sciences "that are related to the moral faculties of man; pedagogy contains all the parts of the soul and must use always psychology" (cited in do Ó, 2003: 106). The purpose was, however, not to find God but to provide knowledge that helps to free man through the path of reason.

The narratives of cosmopolitan reason and science embodied salvation and redemptive themes that traveled along with practices of rationalization. In an almost counterintuitive sense, Western mass schooling cannot be adequately understood without understanding the Reformation and Counter Reformation. Themes of individual salvation were secularized as earthy concerns of progress and the organization of daily life (Weber, 1904–1905/1958) that become embedded in constructions of modern pedagogy (McKnight, 2003; McMahan, 2001). The secularization and modernization processes of the Kemalist Revolution in Turkey during the twentieth century, as well, entailed modernization processes that assembled European enlightenment projects with those contained within the Ottoman Empire and its Islamic traditions (Kazamias, 2006). A similar argument can also be expressed with the Japanese modernization processes associated with Meiji reforms of the middle nineteenth century to the post-World War II constructions of the state and schools (Shibata, 2005).

4. *While the impulse of cosmopolitanism is inclusionary, its system of reason entails double gestures that excluded.* Cosmopolitanism entails comparative methods that differentiate and divide the qualities and characteristics of those who are enlightened and civilized from those who threaten the consensus and stability – the “uncivilized” person who was called “backward,” “savage,” and the “barbarian” in the nineteenth century and today’s at-risk and delinquent child.

The comparative method inscribed in cosmopolitan reason was a particular historical practice that had different trajectories. The analytical qualities of modern science and medicine are made possible through the comparison of “things” and parts as it relates to some unity of the whole. Comparative installations also entered into social and cultural practices through classifications and differentiations formed a continuum of value and hierarchy that placed “man” in a continuum of people and civilizations that was “seen” as moving from advanced to less advanced and uncivilized. Modern historicism as narratives that linked past/present/future appeared, for example, in the nineteenth century. It provided ways to talk about nations as tracing their histories through progressive developments of “civilizations” that started in Ancient Greece or Rome and arrived at the present; and at the same time, ways of justifying colonialization.

The rationality and reason of cosmopolitanism visualized the civilized and their hospitality to others through the recognition that demarcated difference. The comparative quality functions to differentiate and divide those capable of cosmopolitan “reason” and thus given as the civilized people from those in other cultural spaces – the individual whose qualities of life are given classifications as “not as advanced.” The differentiations and divisions are embedded in modern philosophy, the human sciences, and schooling (Rancière, 1983/2004). Theories of the human sciences made the arbitrariness of differences into necessity and inevitability. The recognition of difference stabilizes groups as outside normalcy and “incapable of ever acquiring a taste for the philosophers’ goods—and even of understanding the language in which their enjoyment is expounded” (Rancière, 1983: 204).

Cosmopolitanism, then, provides a historical strategy to consider reason as simultaneously systems of inclusion and exclusion in schooling historically and across different social-political spaces. The universal and inclusive practices of school reforms that speak about “all children” as a gesture to unify the whole of humanity are, I will argue, processes of abjection in which the divisions are produced that cast some qualities and people as outside of the spaces of inclusion.³ Today’s reforms that speak about an inclusive society produce unlivable spaces that are occupied by the disadvantaged, the urban child and family, the poor, and the immigrant, and, as I will argue from the US context, the child “left behind.”⁴

Cosmopolitan “Reason(s)” and Globalization at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Dewey as Conceptual Personae

In this section I explore cosmopolitanism historically as an intellectual “tool” in which to consider the cultural theses generated through pedagogy, and its systems of abjection. I focus on the traveling of John Dewey’s pragmatism as is a cultural thesis about enacting

the cosmopolitan life that is not merely that of Dewey.⁵ Dewey functions as a *conceptual personae* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1991/1994), enunciating particular solutions and plans for action within a grid of social and cultural practices that give the “ideas” intelligibility. As Dewey was the international salesman for American pragmatism at a time when mass schooling was institutionalized in diverse cultural and political fields, the encounters with and rejections of pragmatism provide an initial comparative strategy to consider the principles interning and enclosing who the child is and should be.

Pragmatism and the Planning of the Cosmopolitan Self

Dewey’s pragmatism embodied a cosmopolitan that presupposed the individual as a purposeful agent of change in a world filled with contingency. That agency brought notions of science into a process to order life as a continual and changing set of problem solving. The science that Dewey spoke about was not about what physicist or biologists did. It was a cultural thesis that brought Enlightenment notions of the transcendental power of reason and progress as a habit of reflection and action. Dewey said that since “the future of our civilization depends upon the widening spread and deepening hold of the scientific habit of mind, the problem of problems in our education is therefore to discover how to mature and make effective this scientific habit” (cited in Diggins, 1994: 227).

The “habit of mind” embodied a particular reform Protestantism of northern Europe and North America at the beginning of the twentieth century. Dewey saw no difference between a universalized notion of Christian values about the good works of the individual and the democracy of the nation. It was a twofold response that responded to the moral and physical disorders to the city brought by industrialization and immigration. Dewey and his contemporaries were also concerned with reinscribing Christian values in society thought lost in the unbridled capitalism of the Robber Barons of Carnegie, Mellon, and Rockefeller, among others. These values were about the individual’s social obligations in performing “good works” linked to the general welfare of society.

Dewey’s pragmatism entered into an international field in reforms related to changes in politics, society, and individuality (Popkewitz, 2005). The travels of Dewey’s notions of agency, “intelligent action,” problem-solving and community in the writings of Dewey functioned in traveling libraries as amalgamations of different sets of ideas in which cultural theses were produced about modes of living. The ideas and concepts of Dewey, for example, are assembled with the Swiss pedagogue Claparède and the Belgian Decroly in South America as national reformers sought to bring into being “the New Education,” a name given to a variety of efforts to reform the school through scientific principles.

While Claparède, Decroly, and Dewey traveled together in many places, there were different amalgamations of the texts in constructing cultural theses of who the child is and should be. Decroly translated Dewey in a Belgian missionary, evangelistic, and propagandistic pedagogical discourse (DeCoster et al., 2005). Pedagogy was to keep Christian doctrine as a safeguard of the order of progress through ordering children’s lives. Dewey was assembled in Columbia through Decroly and “local” authors, in contrast, as a reactionary and conservative pedagogy (Sáenze-Obegón, 2005). Dewey and Decroly were placed in the company of the German Kerschensteiner and the Swiss Claparède as the philosopher of a social redemption that Yugoslavian pedagogic work

would produce to center on the child's activity. Dewey joined Georg Kerschensteiner and Adolfo Lima in the Portuguese reception, structuring, and relaunching of the so-called New Education.

The different libraries were not variations of a single theme in generating cosmopolitan theses about the child as the future citizen of the nation. The Mexican Revolution discussions of schooling in the early twentieth century joined Dewey's pragmatism in and Catholic religious emblems and traditions with notions drawn from the Enlightenment, rationalism, pragmatism, democracy, socialism, and republicanism (Buenfil Burgos, 2005). The Chinese May Fourth Movement, in contrast, sought to replace the existing hierarchy of the Confucius traditions, with Dewey's philosophical and pedagogical notions as central to introducing vernacular language, literary changes that valued the individual author, and child-centered education to sanctify individual rights through one's location in a group (Qi, 2005). The new pedagogy did not do away with social and political hierarchy; but was placed in a new organization of hierarchy and notion of collective belonging about what it meant to be "Chinese".

The traveling of pragmatism entailed, as well, counter theses to Dewey's cosmopolitan theses. German pedagogues, working within Lutheran traditions and its own vision of its people as the embodiment of culture and humanity, placed Dewey and pragmatism as devoid of spirituality and violating the *geist* of the nation. Brazilian Catholic Counter-Enlightenment Reformers fought against Dewey's pragmatism as an "urban" secularism devoid of the universality and spirituality embodied in Catholicism (Warde, 2005).

My exploration of Dewey as a conceptual personae assembled, connected, and disconnected in traveling libraries is to recognize that the modern school of the long nineteenth century embodied different cultural theses. Further, that individuality is projected in terms of a universal humanity but has particular links of individuality and sociality in creating belonging and "homes." Dewey as a conceptual personae in effect meets other conceptual personae (the Belgium Decroly, the German Kerschensteiner, the Swiss Claparède, the Turkish Yücel, the Brazilian Teixeira, and the Chinese Hu Shih, among others. The changes in the social and cultural practices were global but with these different cosmopolitan images and narratives of the child and society to govern the principles of reason and rationality in ordering life.

Double Gestures of Hope and Fear: Processes of Abjection

The growing optimism about the "eternal promise" of childhood in pragmatism and more generally in the pedagogical reform movements were not only about the child as the future citizen in promised lands. The positive hope of planning was a process of abjection. Salvation narratives in "intelligent action," problem-solving, and community gave recognition to those who had not secured the benefits of the good life, recognized for inclusion yet different.

Those recognized for inclusion and abjected as different were embodied in cross-Atlantic Protestant reform movements about *the Social Question*. The Social Question directed attention to the perceived moral disorder of immigrants, the working class, and racialized groups in cities. Protestant reform politics circulated among the English Fabian Society, German Evangelical Social Congress, the French Musée Social, U.S. progressive politics, and the transatlantic Protestant's Settlement House movements to

change the conditions of the city and to change the new urban populations (Rodgers, 1998). This entailed, for example, the growing consciousness of the limits of market capitalism and urban planning that would confront the debilitating effects of industrialization. Alcoholism, delinquency, prostitution, poverty, and family disintegration were perceived as threats to cosmopolitan aspirations of the different societies. The cosmopolitan urbane gave focus to the urban!

The new sciences of society and education were part of the response to the Social Question. It embodied the hope of a cosmopolitan future and fears of those who did not participate and act as agents of change. The social sciences were to identify and find solutions to the urban contexts. The notions of community and primary group were concepts to overcome the debilitating effects of modernity in the city, for example, in US urban sociology. The theories and studies draw on German social theories about the alienation and abstract qualities of daily life in the city that erased prior pastoral relations of trust and community built through face-to-face relations. The notion of community was urbanized to “fit” the social patterns through which belonging, attachment, and grounding in an ethics of daily life could be articulated in city life. Dewey’s “habits of the mind” and George Herbert Mead’s notion of the *self* arising out of socially symbolic gestures and interactions, for example, embodied this rethinking of community in the context of the social as a method to counteract the debilitating effects of modern urban conditions.

I draw on this history of the social and education sciences as not merely national projects but of a globalization about the planning of society and people through science. The narratives and images were of the cosmopolitanism; that is, an individuality guided by reason and science in effecting human agency and social progress that was given a universalism in its purposes even if those purposes were historically specific. The sciences moved schooling as a civilizing project in the name of the cosmopolitan society, although that society and individuality had differences when examined cross-nationally and culturally.

The Social Question embodied a comparative set of distinctions that I spoke about earlier. The distinctions and divisions were inscribed through the theories and studies that recognized the need to include. The comparative “thought” entailed populational reasoning that ordered groups through probabilistic theories that placed individual characteristics into categories which classified the modes of living of individuals (Hacking, 1990). Populational reasoning, for example, produced particular aggregates of characteristics of people as a unity of the whole that could be targeted interventions. The comparative distinctions also made possible modern theories of race and class. Eugenics, for example, constructed difference and division on physical or psychological distinctions among populations and races.

Cosmopolitanism and Abjection at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century: Cultural Theses of the Lifelong Learner and its Others!

If we move to the turn of the twenty-first century, the cosmopolitanism and processes of abjection entail different assemblies and connections. Today’s cosmopolitanism is talked about through the lifelong learner and the Learning Society. John Dewey is still with us

in this cosmopolitanism but travels in a different global traveling library of psychological constructivism that includes the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (Popkewitz, 1998a). This joining of the two in pedagogy is historically ironic. Dewey wrote to bring Protestant reformist ethics into social policy of the liberal Republic; Vygotsky was Jewish but sought a psychology that articulated the moral commitments of the new Soviet regime. Both are dead now. Their “history” emptied, to borrow from Walter Benjamin (1955/1985). The two “authors” function as universal heroes in the “new” reform pedagogies in contemporary South Africa, Spain, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States, among others.

A globalization of the individual who is a lifelong learner is impressive. Google search (which of course was not possible at the beginning of the twentieth century) brought up 1,090,000 pages under “lifelong learner.” The phrase crosses broad social and political arenas and geographical locations (Fejes & Nicoll, 2007; Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2004; Lawn, 2001; Álvarez-Mendiola, 2006). European, American, and Taiwanese school and teacher education reforms, US Christian religious schools, the rights of patients in medicine, among many others, evoke the term *lifelong learner* as the embodiment of who a person is and should be. The American Academy of Allergy, Asthma & Immunology Lifelong Learner (AAAAI) Bill of Rights, for example, declares the patient “a life-long learner who has chosen to engage in continuing ... education to identify or fill a gap in knowledge, skill or performance (*Academy News*, July 2005, <http://www.aaaai.org>). Since the mid-1980s, the making of European Union identify is in the cosmopolitanism of the citizen who is the lifelong learner. A draft for European teacher education, for example, asserts that teachers’ responsibilities for the future hinge of the development of the child who is the lifelong learner (European Commission, 2006).

My interest in the lifelong learner is not to celebrate it as the contemporary salvation story of the twenty-first century. It is to think about the comparative study of schooling through exploring its cultural thesis of cosmopolitanism and the comparative instantiation of who does not “fit” its notions of reason and the “reasonable” person. Further, while there are distinctions between the cultural thesis of the lifelong learner in Taiwan, Mexico, and northern Europe and North America, my analysis will primarily draw from US and European literatures as exemplars of the problematic of study in which to engage in comparative studies.

What is the Cultural Thesis of the Unfinished Cosmopolitan?

The revelation process of the lifelong learner is living as the problem-solver. Today’s problem-solving of the lifelong learner, for example, evokes Dewey but with a different assembly of ideas, authority relations, and institutions. A Finnish “Life as Learning Research Project” asserts that the lifelong learner is a complex, variable, less structured individual that is flexible and adaptive to multiple demands (www.aka.fi).

The problem-solving is a calculus of intervention and displacement of the ethical obligation for the child. The rules and standards of problem-solving administer the personal development, self-reflection, and the inner self-guided moral growth of the child.

The administration is therapeutic, to fabricate a better-managed, healthier, and happier individual.

The salvation themes of the lifelong learner are realized through collaboration and participation. The governing of action is through communication systems and networks (discourse communities) of the reformed curriculum. Agency is spoken of in psychological notions of problem-solving and the political evocation of voice and empowerment through community participation and collaboration.

Teachers are now partners and collaborators governed through communication systems and networks (discourse communities) in the construction of personal knowledge. The cultural thesis of the teacher is a decision-maker who is “empowered” and given “voice” through partnerships with communities and parents. The teacher assesses the processes of learning and problem-solving to calculate and supervise the making and remaking of “self” and the child’s biographies. The teacher observes the child’s problem-solving processes from a constructivist standpoint in which there are multiple paths to attain answers. The process and choices are what is important to teaching. The teacher is also an action researcher who reworks herself and the child through a continual construction of life histories or portfolios.

Belonging is no longer directed toward a single public sphere but in diverse communities and individuality that constitute the common good. Emotional bonds and self-responsibility are circumscribed through networks of other individuals—the family and the community. One works actively in “communities of learning” or “discourse communities” as life is a continuous course of personal responsibility and self-management of one’s risks and destiny.

The narratives of community express universal values about creating the conditions for *all* individuals to achieve social or economic progress and for the revitalization of democracy. There is less talk about general social values that children are to ascribe to and more about children constructing knowledge and teachers as partners and collaborators.

The lifelong learner can be thought of as an unfinished cosmopolitan. It is an individuality continually responsible for making choices and innovation as an unending process of life. The future and progress are about making choices and the only thing that is not a choice is choice itself. In educational, health, and crime prevention education in the US and Sweden, for example, the story told the individual of a mode of live of obliged to live with constant changes in society (Popkewitz et al., 2005). Modern schooling, for example, continually links the individual to narratives of social or economic progress and the revitalization of democracy that will bring personal betterment. That individuality is talked about as a lifelong learner who plans one’s biography as continuously solving problems, making choices, and collaborating in “communities of learners.”

The nation does not disappear but is scaled in different ways. Lifelong Learning performs as a particular project to the construction of transnational government and integration with the European Union (Lawn, 2003: 330). The problem-solving life is a governing discourse that travels across national boundaries to recast the educational space into an imagined European community in which knowledge is a key to industrial competitiveness and employment. The image of Europe is of a transnational normativity about cosmopolitan homogeneity. Unlike national identity categories,

its legitimacy appears as not rooted in histories or ancient cultures and territories. The Europe of the lifelong learner is future-oriented whose terms are of universalistic principles about abstract values of human rights, democracy, progress, and equality as everyone's modernity.

What is ignored are the conflicts and divisions through which consensus and peace are celebrated and scaled. The unfinished cosmopolitanism of the lifelong learner is placed in a hierarchy in which the universal moral good of the nation is envisioned as the European Union. Soysal, for example, found a degree of affinity in goals and agencies by actors in different national institutional contexts across the European Union. The emphasis was on a Europe constituted by dialogue, conflict resolution, tolerance, human rights, and intercultural understanding. This is a Europe taken for granted and its project's furtherance was not questioned (Soysal, 2002: 272). Except for the German textbooks that focused on a cosmopolitan universalism that did not mention the nation, the central structures of textbooks linked individual and collective identity with cultural homogeneity that legitimizes the nation-state (Pereyra & Luzón, 2005: 179). Europe is more at its core than in its margins, as in the cases of Turkey and Greece, as the content of education still prioritizes the nation and its chronology (Soysal, 2002: 278).

Social belonging and attachments, however, are not lost. The school and classrooms as communities of learning are sites for recalibrating the political aspirations of the individual with the new assemblies of communities as *the social*. The "barriers" breached across groups in narrations of collaboration join individual agency with the general development of society.

Further, the unfinished cosmopolitanism embodies a fatalism. That fatalism is in its individualizing that speaks of continuous choice, innovation, and flexibility in the face of globalization. Globalization is placed as something that is omnipresent and the given to which the individual needs to develop responsible responses in order to create a better place for the self and ensure "its" progress. This fatalism is continually expressed in policy and research which talk about schools needing to respond to make the Learning Society necessitated by the information society and globalization that have no authors but stand as something that structures who we are and should be.

Comparative Reasoning about Reason: Casting Out Who is not the Unfinished Cosmopolitan

If cosmopolitanism provides a way to think about the hope of the future, its cultural thesis generates principles that order the qualities and characteristics of people who threaten that future. The hope and fears of the child are expressed through reforms and research that are to achieve an egalitarian society where *all* children can learn, *all* children have high achievement, and so on. The *all* expresses the broad political commitment about the unity of society and schools as a positive social institution that serves all segments of society equally. The reforms equally serving all children are not about the unity of the whole. The hope that "*all* children learn", ironically, recognizes and divides the unfinished cosmopolitanism and its "Others."

The efforts for rescue in school reforms bring to bear the double sense of recognition and difference – the fear of not being able to achieve the hope of schooling in making a more equitable society and the fear of the dangers and dangerous populations for the future. The fears have dimensions inside and outside of parameters of inclusion. Contemporary schooling in the industrialized nations, for example, produces “worries” about providing adequate learning for the child who is academically and socially “at-risk.”

The fear of not succeeding with particular children is not only recognition of rescue of those fallen behind. *The recognition of particular populations establishes difference.* The differences are of the qualities and characteristics of dangers and of the dangerous populations – the at-risk child, dysfunctional families, divorced and single parents, juvenile delinquency, drug abuse, and sexual promiscuity, among others. In some countries, the fears are expressed in the discourses about immigrant children, the poor and “needy” who are not doing adequately in schools and whose values and behaviors demand school programs of remediation. The fears are given often through psychological words of difference about lacking self-esteem, the moral disintegration of the family, and inadequate child development that requires rescue, remediation, and counseling. (For a more general discussion of this “property” of modern thought in relation to a European Union study of educational governance and social exclusion, see Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000.)

The fears appear in the new statistical capacity of European Statistic System (ESS) to produce an inclusive society. The special task force began in 2001 with representatives of five countries (Germany, Netherlands, Portugal, Finland, and UK), European agencies, and two Denmark and Swiss experts (Lawn, 2003: 334). The task force was to identify numerical information and indicators from within European programs about the lifelong learner and the child in need of remediation.

The indicators of success established determinate categories about kinds of people: the “needy,” or the “at-risk” or “disadvantage youth” in schooling (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000). In the European context, the child who is not the unfinished cosmopolitan appears in statistical reports as the addicted youth, the teenage mother, and the child of a single parent (mother). These characteristics are placed in relation to ethnicity, race, and other categories of the individual whose difference makes it not possible to ever be of “the average.” The categories have a redemptive quality to social policy, but they also produce divisions and principles that differentiate the “reasonable individual” from those who differentiated as different. The divisions function to qualify and disqualify individuals for action and participation.

A similar process of inclusion and exclusion are embodied in teacher education reforms. The National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future (2003), *No Dream Denied: A Pledge to America’s Children*, for example, signifies the unity of the nation through cosmopolitan values about the inalienable “educational birthright” of *all* children that has an equal place with the constitutional rights of the citizen. The birthright is bound to *being* a lifelong learning in “a culture of continuous learning” in which the competent teachers will emancipate and liberate the universal qualities of human reason and rationality of the child.

The securing of the child’s “birthright” is a double gesture that embodies fears of those who do not “reason” and act as “reasonable people.” The school where “*all* children learn” is a comparative injunctive of fear. It is the fear that not engaging in

the reforms that include will not enable the realization of the dream of the nation. The inclusion of diverse learners is to enable them “to acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that will allow them to succeed” (Hammerness et al., 2005: 390).

A report on the middle school instruction, as well entails double gestures, qualify and disqualify individuals for participation that takes into account developmentally appropriate psychology. Planning teaching should reflect the physical, psychosocial, and cognitive development of young adolescents, inscribes the threats to the moral order of young adolescence who experience increased peer pressure to experiment with tobacco, increased sexual activity and sexually transmitted diseases, teenage pregnancy, alcohol, illegal drugs, and criminality (Manning, 2002: 50–51).

While no longer evoking the earlier Social Question of the city, the question of moral disorders still occupies reforms. The Social Question is transmogrified into the optimism of rescuing and rectifying failures by turning to reforms that recognize and differentiate “targeted populations.” The populations are not placed in the space of *all* children, but to be included yet cast out as dangerous.

Working Toward Comparative Studies of Schooling as a Historical Problem of the Present

Cosmopolitanism is used as an “intellectual tool” to think historically and comparatively about schooling as sites that connect individuality with collective belonging and “homes”. I spoke about cosmopolitanism as cultural theses to consider the principles generated about modes of life in pedagogical policy, reform, research, and pedagogy. I considered, for example, how the categories about the child as a problem-solver, acting in communities, and collaborating are not merely concepts to express policy intentions or altruistic goals of schooling in relation to child empowerment or self-realization. Such concepts are assembled historically and, shaped and fashioned as governing practices in ordering conduct. Further these governing practices of reflection and action link to principles of collective belonging *about* the future citizen of the nation that is scaled today in different ways than previously. The relation of the individual qua citizen of the nation and European “identity” in the European Union is one such example of scaling.

I used the plural, cultural theses, for two overlapping considerations.

First, the plurality is related to cosmopolitanism and processes of abjection. The principles generated about the cosmopolitanism of the child entailed the production of “others,” the child who does not have the qualities and characteristics of “reason to qualify as a ‘reasonable person.’ Those who do not enjoy the status of the subject, but whose lives are circumscribed by the cosmopolitan modes of living are part of the same phenomenon of schooling and not, as in the equity problematic, distinct and separate qualities. The phrase “all” children embodied a comparative instantiation of the unity of the whole from which to establish difference. The subsequent and continual reiteration in policy statements about school reforms about ‘all children will learn’ and that programs ‘accommodate *all* students’ create a space of mystical participation in a common good that, in fact, differentiates and divides. My argument, then, is that the

production of the cosmopolitan child in school reform evokes and enforces its Others” in its principles of inclusion.

Second, the individuality embodied in cosmopolitanism is not merely variations of a single cultural thesis but produced in different assembles, connections, and disconnections. My focus on the cultural thesis of the unfinished cosmopolitanism and processes of abjection, for example, drew primarily on historicizing the principles generated and mutating from northern Protestant European and North American enlightenments. This strategy is to provide historical specificity; yet at different points there were different and diverse cultural theses such as within Dewey’s “traveling” as a conceptual personae. Cosmopolitanism, then, is a historical rather than normative method to explore the generation of principles about modes of life in a broader historical field of comparative studies.

Cosmopolitanism as generating cultural theses is to consider the politics of schooling. That politics lies not in the conventional notions about the allocation of values that dominate political science literatures and school questions about who rules, whose knowledge, and who is ruled. The politics that I speak about is the prior system of reason that classifies, distinguishes, and differentiates the qualities and characteristics of the child who is qualified and disqualified for participation. The universalism given in the cultural theses about the cosmopolitanism of the child provide a seeming transcendent set of values that shreds the provincial and the past. That transcendence is for an inclusive society spoken about in contemporary European and North American policy and research as schooling for “all children.” The “all” is to signify the enlightened unity that transcends human differences. The gesture about the “all” of humanity, however, is not universal but historically and particular. It embodied exclusions: processes of abjection that cast some qualities of people as outside of the spaces of “reason” and inclusion. And it embodied a distrust of democracy itself as participation and collaboration were ordered through shepherds.

Cosmopolitanism, then, is a strategy to historicize the present and explore the cultural theses about modes of life formed and the changing patterns of power embodied in the modern school. The problem is not whether people have good intentions or not, or are reasoning properly. I assume that people have good intentions but different paths to bring happiness and to recognize and to correct those classified as not being able to participate, are marginalized, or excluded. Yet the practices of inclusion are processes of abjection that cannot be considered as Kantian categorical imperatives of reason. The processes of inclusion and abjection are embodied in the very systems of reason through which intention and purpose circulate in the complexity of what is both inside and outside, both rescued and cast out as threats to cosmopolitanism, and thus as the unlivable spaces.

I want to focus some issues that emerge in these considerations for the study of schooling.

First, today’s governing is not one of weaker or stronger state compared to the state operating in the “future of yesterday.” The state is not withering away. There are different cultural and historical spaces where new configurations in governing the self are formed.

Second, the discussion of cultural theses places certain strains on the residual categories of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century theories. Those theories differentiate

the social and the individual; private and public. The discussion of cosmopolitanism points, I believe, to the historical poverty of these distinctions in questions of schooling and pedagogy.

Third, the focus on cultural theses was to recognize the overlapping of cultural, social, political, and economic distinctions in schooling. While it is fashionable to speak of schooling as a reduction to economic categories, reading of school reforms entails no such thing. There is no evidence that there is any relation between schooling and the competences of work except in the general qualities of one's habitus (Meyer & Jepperson, 2000). While it is fashionable to talk about the economic as structuring educational policy and theories of the child, economic theories of work are often psychological theories of the moral and habitus of the worker today; industrial theories are cultural theories of modes of living that relate individuality to leisure as well as work productivity. There is evidence that pedagogical theories are also transported into business theories and practices that instrumentalize work.

Finally, there is a paradox to this argument. The focus on cultural theses about cosmopolitanism in schooling is a comparative historical "tool" to diagnose the system of reason through which principles are generated that differentiate and divide who the child is and who is not that child (Popkewitz, 1991, 2008). The paradox is that to examine the comparative system of reason embodied in schooling while arguing for a method of comparative studies. In one sense, this chapter lives with the blackmail of the Enlightenment's commitments to reason in even its arguing against its modern dogma (see Foucault, 1984).

Notes

1. I use the long nineteenth century to consider uneven historical movements from the late 1700s through the turn of the twentieth century that come together in the making of the modern school and its pedagogy.
2. The notion of citizen is considered historically as the "responsible" individual who is the agent of change in the political community of the nation. Few nations today have government that is based, at least officially, on its population responsible for electing its representative. This notion of participation is related but not necessarily bounded by the ideal types of Republican government and its notions of civil virtue in comparison to that of the notion of subject of the nation. While Sweden and Australia, for example, are not formerly republican forms of government, ideas of civic virtue and democracy do prevail and in this sense, it is appropriate to use the notion of citizen. This historical use of citizen is linked to the function of schooling in the making of child who participates in and feels "belonging" to the nation.
3. This term emerged in work that I did with Jamie Kowalczyk (see, e.g., Kowalczyk & Popkewitz, 2005) and related to Kristeve (1982) although our use was without the psychoanalytic traditions that Kristeve draws on.
4. The production of differences as it relates to urban education is discussed in Popkewitz, 1998b.
5. The following is drawn from Popkewitz (2005), particularly the introduction.

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT: ADDRESSING THE VARIED PERSPECTIVES AND THEMES

Carl A. Grant and Ayesha Khurshid

We live in a global village shaped by technology that allows us to watch events unfurl in real time even if they are occurring thousands of miles away. Economic market forces are reshaping our world in many ways, changing how and where we live. Since the end of World War II, there have been huge changes in maps of our physical world, as arbitrary political boundaries shift and change and nation states both arise and disappear. Demographic maps continue to change and evolve, as population numbers increase and decrease due to birthrates, war and political and economic emigration, and population characteristics such as age, race, religion, socioeconomic status and ethnicity shift likewise.

As educators committed to multicultural education, we recognise the multiplicity of identities and cultures that exist in our global village and we acknowledge that they are often sources of conflict or foci for controversy. We believe that everyone should enjoy fundamental freedoms for without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; but we acknowledge that basic human rights still do not exist in some parts of the world. We also know that the very words we use to describe our goals and the tools we use to achieve them remain contested terrain: multiculturalism and multicultural education mean different things in different countries, and the impetuses for acknowledging and advocating them often spring from very different sources.

In some countries, multicultural education is promoted as a means to help students obtain skills for employment in the global society and to educate citizens to accept and affirm human/cultural diversity. In other countries, the idea of multicultural education (and multiculturalism) is seen as a way to address equality issues; and still in other countries it receives a mixed acceptance or it is rejected for various reasons, including a perception that it is a threat to national 'solidarity' (Kanpol & McLaren, 1995; Parekh, 2000).

The reasons why multicultural education has evolved, arrived or been accepted or contested in countries vary. In some, it is a response to demographic changes created by immigration, or it is related to the exclusion of indigenous groups (Bullivant, 1981; Kivisto, 2002; Parekh, 2000). In other countries, it arose from the actions of marginalised groups to achieve equality and equity.

Multicultural education is often seen as a contested space where the issues of diversity, power, oppression and resistance are shaped in the context of citizenship and by the affects of globalisation. A comparative examination of multicultural education reveals

a number of similar themes in different countries. However, a critical analysis of these themes shows that they are multilayered and multifaceted constructs (Banks & Banks, 2004; Kivisto, 2002; May, 1999; Parekh, 2000). It is thus difficult to make sense out of the meaning and impact of multicultural education without first closely examining the historical and social context in which it is situated.

The goal of this chapter is to address the varied perspective and themes of multicultural education as they operate in different countries. We identify idiosyncrasies of apparently homogenous themes in part to show that multicultural education is not a simple concept (e.g. mainly about tolerance) but is complex, multilayered and ever-evolving. In addition, we address the similarities in the struggles of students and teachers for better educational opportunities. Our approach is to identify and juxtapose themes and to discuss how governments, individuals, organisations and events influence attitudes and policies about multicultural education.

Much of the chapter is based on an analysis of the works of educators and researchers from different countries that grew out of the International Symposium on Multicultural Education: Theories and Practices, held in 1997 at National Taiwan Normal University. This conference was then followed by a symposium at the American Education Research Association (AERA) conference in 1998 and then compiled into a book, published in 2001, titled *Global Constructions of Multicultural Education: Theories and Realities* edited by Carl A. Grant and Joy L. Lei. We analyse research on multicultural education from Australia, India, France, Argentina, Taiwan, northern Scandinavia, Brazil, Pakistan, Canada, the United States, Spain, South Africa, Namibia, United Kingdom, Latin America and Chile.

This chapter is informed by a critical and multicultural theoretical framework (Grant & Sleeter, 1985; Sleeter & Bernal, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). The focus of the chapter is primarily on the role of the government policy at the national level, rather than groups, movements or organisations. This is so because national policies and resources are a major influence on multicultural education, even in those countries that function under a federalist system. That said we do discuss the struggle and influence of teachers, students, parents and other social actors for multicultural education.

We will use the following organisation to address the varied perspectives and themes of multicultural education as they operate in different countries: (1) multicultural education viewed as a problem rather than a goal or solution; (2) multicultural education and the 'other'; (3) inspiring events for and opposition to multicultural education; (4) the focus of multicultural education in different countries; (5) implementing multicultural education policies; (6) teachers' roles and participation in multicultural education; and (7) globalisation and multicultural education. By no means is this chapter intended to be exhaustive, or even comprehensive. Rather, we hope that the analysis will inspire increased attention to the subject and spur additional scholarly research and discussion.

Multicultural Education Viewed as a Problem

Multicultural education is considered a problem in most countries. It is often presented as a social and financial burden on the citizens of a country because it is presented as a tool for educating immigrant children, who have come with different cultural traditions

and languages (Glenn, 1996; Pitkanen et al., 2002; United State Accounting Office, GAO, 2004). Australia and Canada are two countries where multicultural education policies are connected to immigrants. In the United States, however, multicultural education is seen as a product of the 1960s Civil Rights Movements (Banks, 2004; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1999) and is therefore perceived as a new crusade against racism. Nonetheless, multicultural education is often viewed as an educational frill in the United States, and, as such is often underfunded or ignored when budgets are compiled.

In France multicultural is a non-problem problem. It is considered an antithesis of the republican principles of equality, enlightenment and freedom. There is no policy on multicultural education because France's official assimilation policy requires everyone to adopt and follow traditional French norms and ideology. France is a special case, because while some other countries use assimilation ideology to guide their multicultural education policies, France is explicit in its argument that multiple identities must melt into the French culture (Dussel, 2001; Glenn, 1996; Seijuq, 1997).

Multicultural Education and the 'Other'

An important feature of multicultural education in some countries is a focus on marginalised groups that have been excluded from mainstream society because of their race, ethnicity, birthplace and language (Kivisto, 2002; Moodley, 2004; Parekh, 2000). Class is often considered along with these factors, whereas gender is often marginalised because of the ideology of the country.

There is an unstated or stated idea – depending on the country – that multicultural education is about the Other; and the Other is most often a member of a racial/ethnic minority, either from an indigenous group or part of an immigrant population. A striking example of this is the “othering” of the Sámi people. The Sami nation's boundaries overlap the national borders of Sweden, Norway and Finland. Sweden established separate schools for Sámi people to protect them from the ‘evils of civilisation’. Norway and Finland, in contrast, established assimilation policies which allowed Sámi students to attend mixed schools, but placed a ban on the use of Sámi language in schools. The lumping together of people based on their cultural heritage or language into an artificially constructed Other ignores the multilayered and multifaceted diversity inherent within and across the groups when developing multicultural education and constructing immigrant policies (Kivisto, 2002; Parekh, 2000).

Inspiring Events for and Opposition to Multicultural Education

The presence or absence of policies about multicultural education in any country is inherently connected to historical events and social relationships in that country (Seijuq, 1997). Such events and relationship may create top-down or bottom-up initiatives for multicultural education. In Australia, for example, issues over immigration, including language and birthplace helped to bring about the creation and adoption of multicultural policies (Smolicz & Secombe, 2003; Sturman, 1985). In the United States, multicultural education grew out of bottom-up efforts. It is primarily a product of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement for racial equality (Banks, 2004; Grant,

& Ladson-Billings, 1999). The bottom-up and top-down peculiarity reinforces the importance of connecting the objectives and implementation of multicultural education to its origins.

Opposition to multicultural education is predicated upon different reasons and usually comes from different groups of actors. In the United States, for instance, much of the recent opposition comes from some people who believe that issues of equality were resolved during the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s that focused on racial equality, gender equality and the acceptance of gays and lesbians in society. In contrast, critical scholars believe that multicultural education is a weak approach to effecting social justice such as eliminating the structural inequality they believe still exists in the United States (Sleeter, 1995).

The opposition to multicultural education in France is at the official governmental level. France does not see itself as a multicultural society, despite a significant presence of minority populations. The basic premise of French nationhood is that there can be no group affiliation more powerful than the nation. The official ideology considers schools as a privileged place where the goals of equality can be achieved through structures of centralisation and homogenisation (Dussel, 2001; Glenn, 1996, Seijuq, 1997). This ideology remained largely unchallenged until the veil affair when an official policy introduced in 1994 distinguished and banned only hijabs as religious symbol in schools. The debate over this issue was presented as a battle between universalism/democracy ('France') and integrism/fundamentalism ('the Muslims and the ghost of 'Iran') (Dussel, 2001; Giry, 2006).

Opponents to multicultural education in Argentina consider it a North American discourse. However, the nature and content of this opposition is different from the opposition in France. Opposition to multicultural education in Argentina has grass-roots support and is led by working class students and teachers (Glenn, 1996; Dussel, 2001). This movement emerged as a result of the education reform supported by the World Bank (Dussel, 2001). These reforms replaced the earlier idea of social equity in schools with compensatory programmes that provided lunch snacks and special aid to poor children. These compensatory programmes in Argentina differentiated students on the basis of their parents' ability to obtain resources. These reforms not only introduced competition amongst schools over scarce resources but also resulted in the closing down of many schools because of insufficient funding. As a result, working class teachers and students initiated an opposition movement to resist their expulsion from schools (Dussel, 2001).

The Focus of Multicultural Education

Historical context, as we noted, plays a central role in defining the focus of multicultural education in any country as well as the focus on the *Other*. Yet, there seems to be a somewhat common approach to multicultural education in many countries, particularly Western countries. For example, multicultural education in the United States and Australia has arisen from different circumstances. However, both countries have approached the implementation of multicultural education in a similar fashion.

To illustrate this point, we have divided the history of multicultural education in different countries into three broad categories or phases. These phases are not exhaustive in reporting all that took place in an approach in every country, but they allow us to see the general pattern and trend that has been followed in most of the countries.

First phase: The first phase includes using assimilation policies at schools, which encourage and/or insist immigrant and minority group members adopt dominant customs, habits and ways of thinking and acting. In most countries we examined, multicultural education is about the endorsement of these assimilation policies to control ethnic and racial differences. Examples include students of colour adhering to white middle-class teaching and learning ideologies in the United States and the banning of Sami language in mixed schools in Finland and Norway. Assimilation policies in both countries were ineffective in that they failed to eliminate racism and discrimination against minority students. Nor did these policies improve the academic performance of minority students.

Second phase: The second phase is marked by the adoption of weak multicultural education practices such as the acknowledgement of minority groups' signs and symbols of culture and celebrating their culture with food fairs and festivals. Some reorganisation of diversity curriculum is included in the curriculum and some teachers may espouse a culturally relevant pedagogy, but most of these efforts are superficial (Sleeter & Grant, 2007). This is especially so in Australia, United Kingdom, Canada and Chile (Grant & Lei, 2001). The ideology guiding this phase is based on the idea that ethnic and racial minorities have a legitimate culture that should be celebrated. An interesting observation of this phrase is that some of the neo-liberals in the countries share the belief – articulated in Gordon Allport's contact theory – that contact with the Other will counter issues of racism, prejudice, ethnocentrism and xenophobia.

Our assessment of this phrase is that official (and unofficial) multicultural education policies in most countries including the United Kingdom, Chile, Canada and Australia remain mainly at the level of acknowledging diverse cultures, but not affirming diversity and taking power into account. While the guiding ideology acknowledges that ethnic and racial minorities have a legitimate culture, it still promotes assimilation, and mainly advocates tolerance between and among groups. Carl E. James (2001), for example, points out that policy makers in Canada see multicultural education as merely 'difference' and they base educational policy on an idea of 'cultural democracy' that assumes that all the norms, traditions, institutions, laws and policies are culturally neutral, and each and every citizen should be able to equally avail of them without any barriers.

James goes on to argue that although multicultural education programmes include instruction in languages other than English and French; the study of 'foreign' cultures, heritage studies and literature of different groups, the policies and programmes neither address nor acknowledge the dominance of Anglo-Celtic Canadians as an ethno-racial group and the construction of those of English and French heritage as the 'real' Canadians. In addition, he contends that within these policies the 'cultural other' is constructed as exotic and the difference is made out to be 'foreign'. These policies, he asserts, overlook the issues of colonisation, power and resistance that shape the lives and realities of the students in the classroom.

Third phase: The third phase within the multicultural education movement is marked with tension between anti-racist/critical multiculturalism advocates and traditional multicultural education advocates. Critical multiculturalism advocates argue that traditional multicultural education does not address structural inequality in schools and society (Sleeter, 1995). Harry Tomlinson (2001) argues that traditional multiculturalism focuses exclusively on culture and assumes that everyone starts on an equal base. He concludes that these policies, despite good intentions, have put minority students like Black children at a further disadvantage in the United Kingdom. A number of educators and researchers from different countries present anti-racist/critical multiculturalism as an alternative to traditional multicultural education. The anti-racist/critical multicultural perspective seeks to provide students with a critical understanding of their social position and experiences as structurally influenced by unequal social relations in school and society. This perspective is strongly associated with the idea and possibility of social justice, equality and economic democracy. It also identifies the challenges inherent in the notion of 'difference' as well as the close relatedness of the concept of difference with capitalist exploitation, profit and individual gains. Thus anti-racist/critical multiculturalism articulates that it is possible to examine critically the issues of power and racism while supporting the cultural activities. The tensions within the multicultural education movement are reflected in the debate around this issue in South Africa. Jeremy Sarkin (2001) explains:

The Black Consciousness movement endorses the anti-racist approach by arguing that multicultural education promotes differences by thinking about people and culture in specific ways instead of creating national unity in the post-apartheid South Africa. They assert that culture cannot form the foundation of education policy since it has been distorted by racism and capitalism. On the other hand, advocates for the multicultural education perspective argue that multiculturalism arose out of the struggles of people to have equal and desegregated schools. They also believe that multicultural education can lead to national reconciliation through implementing a curriculum, which values diversity, tolerance and appreciation of cultural differences. This approach, they believe, can help students to manage cultural differences productively without resorting to violence or isolationism.

Joy Lei and Carl Grant (2001) define the tensions within the United States multicultural education movement in terms of the goals of equity and equality. The equity perspective advocates an active fight to resolve the racial crisis and other forms of oppression in the United States, whereas the equality perspective focuses on recognising and valuing various cultures and devotes less attention to race, racism and other forms of oppression.

An additional feature of the third phase calls attention not only to the debate around diverse approaches to multicultural education, but also to the gaps between theoretical conceptions and practical implementation of multicultural education. Lei and Grant argue that multicultural education is much more difficult to implement than to define. Moreover, they contend it is easier to espouse the equality perspective by committing to implementing equal and fair representation of people of colour, women and people with disabilities than to espouse the equity perspective because the latter demands making substantial policy and implementation changes in the entire field of education, in order to eliminate racist, sexist, Eurocentric, classist, heterosexist and able-ist policies and practices.

This argument leads to the next section, which outlines the issues related to the implementation of multicultural education policies, which often focuses on the equality perspective. We report that the mere presence of a multicultural education policy cannot ensure a positive result on behalf of equity and social justice.

Implementing Multicultural Education Policy

Both the introduction and implementation of multicultural education have faced challenges in most, if not all, countries. Some of the challenges are pertinent to the exclusive focus on multicultural education, e.g., the Aboriginal population in Canada considers the multicultural education policy irrelevant to them since this policy makes no reference to their language or culture. However, there are also a number of other implementation challenges, such as dualisation of schools as well as a lack of structural support (e.g. funding) at schools to carry out multicultural education policies.

Dualisation of schools: Sveta Dave Chakravarty (2001) argues that the main objective of multicultural education in India is to bring about an effective education, which is accessible to all who attend the common school system. Although the constitution of India provides for protection of different minority groups, the educational system of India continues to perpetuate inequities which have a long history in the country. The centuries-old caste system, which confined education to people from higher castes, and the British colonial system, which encouraged only a small segment of society to acquire education, are still in place. India has a multi-tiered educational system: private schools, English medium school and public schools.

Mainly children from the privileged section of the society attend the private schools or the English medium schools, where they are prepared for elite jobs in society. Children from the most disadvantaged sections of the society are only allowed to attend public schools, where they are trained to memorise and recall information instead of analysing and critiquing information (Chakravarty, 2001; Sinha, 1997).

Chakravarty (2001) contends that although the Indian government has taken some important initiatives to bring about equal access to education, most of these initiatives fail because of bad management and/or the way the centralised bureaucratic system operates. Policies are implemented with an assumption that students across the country will have uniform levels of achievement if the same content is delivered in the same way. One initiative by the government includes expanding the number of primary and secondary schools and increasing the enrolment rate. Another initiative is the government reserve seats for students from marginalised groups in higher education institutions and in the elite civil services. These initiatives, and others, however, have not resolved the problems that the many students from marginalised groups face regarding access to high-quality primary education as well as entrance into and completing higher education. Chakravarty argues that factors such as high dropout rate and the Indian multi-tiered educational system are contributing to the school problem in India. In short, she argues that despite the presence of affirmative action policies at the higher education level, the education system has largely been unsuccessful in ensuring equal access to all sections of the society. The main goal of multicultural education in India,

Chakravarty believes, should not only be to attract and retain children from all backgrounds but also to provide them quality education.

Carlos Alberto Torres (2001) presents a similar case for Latin America. Torres argues that schools prepare two groups of citizens. The first group consists of students who are privileged in that they may exercise their political and social rights not only through voting but also through the networks of power. These students often come from privileged sections of society. The second group is students who are considered 'dispensable'. This group faces political isolation, fragmentation and economic disparity. They are citizens who often come from marginalised backgrounds; and some of their marginalisation comes from the way they are constructed in media. The neo-liberal thinking that people are free to exercise their right of representation through voting, and thereby have gained equality in schools and other social institutions is refuted by the striking disparities in not only the quality of education that these two groups receive, but also their educational outcome. The gender, racial and class hierarchies embedded in the social and political structures do not allow the 'dispensable' citizens to use education to improve their social and political position in the society.

In South Africa according to Sarkin (2001) the 1994 post-apartheid legislation ended the official segregation of schools and promised to provide free and compulsory education for everyone in order that they might be able to overcome past racial inequality in schools and society. However, this legislation has yet to be successfully implemented, since it is only the White schools that have been integrated. Black schools still face issues of overcrowding, under-qualified teaching staff and inadequate funding.

Structural Support to Implement Multicultural Education Policies

There are a number of countries that officially acknowledge the importance of introducing policies and programmes to support the academic and social success of students from marginalised sections. However, gaps often exist between official education policy, which espouse the need of multicultural education, and the procedures and practices within schools. This is sometimes the result of lack of or minimal government enforcement of policies.

The United Kingdom presents an example where the issues associated with racial inequality are given some attention in curriculum, but issues of racial inequality are not comprehensively addressed in the overall educational reform programme because, in part, the education authority does little to enforce policies and practices that directly deal with racial equality. Instead, sometimes education authorities offer up programmes that they argue will better prepare students to get jobs, leaving aside attention to racial inequalities. Harry Tomlinson (2001) argues that many of the educational reform that advocated forging relationships with community and parents, in practice diverted attention from race issues by introducing new curriculum and national assessment procedures, local management of schools and open enrolment. He contends that, despite an explicit acknowledgement of multicultural education, these reform efforts did not create structural support to address and resolve the issues of racial inequality.

Germany, Italy and Switzerland are some of the other European countries that support the right of racial and ethnic minorities to retain their culture and language in

principle, but have not introduced effective programmes, enforcement mechanisms to translate educational policies into a practice, or encouraged teachers to support multicultural education. Cristina Alleman-Ghionda (2001) argues that a gap exists between the official pronouncement of support for minority rights and the programmes and practices in schools which instead adhere to the principles assimilation. Alleman-Ghionda contends that a challenge to the implementation of multicultural/intercultural policies has to do with convincing teachers to take recommendations for multicultural education seriously. She argues that it is not possible to translate official policy into practice without the consent and active participation of teachers. Further, Alleman-Ghionda contends multicultural and/or intercultural policies have not been successful in challenging the influence of the mainstream idea of 'one region, one culture, one language'.

Multicultural Education: Teachers' Role and Participation

The preparation and participation of teachers are critical dimensions of multicultural education. Education scholars argue that teacher preparation is key to multicultural education as well as the key to working with students who come from diverse socio-cultural, racial and ethnic minority groups (Cochran-Smith, 1991; Grant & Gillette, 2006; Grant & Sleeter, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Nieto, 2000; Sleeter, 2001). These scholars assert that teacher preparation should engage in critical pedagogy that should prepare teachers to build on the cultural difference of students, as well as teach them how to develop and establish positive relationships between teachers, parents and other community members.

In addition, these scholars presently contend that most teacher education programmes do not prepare teachers to be critical educators. Miguel Santos-Rego and Servando Perez-Dominguez (2001) argue that teacher preparation programmes in Spain are isolated and fragmented because of a lack of specific regulations. They contend that universities are given self-rule to prepare teachers according to their economic autonomy. By this, Miguel Santos-Rego and Servando Perez-Dominguez mean that if the university has funds available to introduce multicultural education and has professors who are willing to work in the area of multicultural education, they may proceed. If not, they cannot proceed.

Teachers as individuals and as a group do not have the power (and have not shown the desire to) to demand staff development in multicultural education. The limited collective participation of teachers in policy making becomes a significant factor in their lack of willingness to implement multicultural education programmes (Ladson-Billings, 2000). In Brazil, where the official ideology is 'racial democracy', the school curriculum neither acknowledges the diversity of racial groups, nor the existence of racial inequalities in the society. Here, although there is racial prejudice and discrimination in the public schools, teachers refuse to admit that they notice the race of their students. However, schools and teachers contend that Dark and Black students should 'whiten' themselves in order to be successful at schools (Hypolito, 2001).

In Argentina, teachers have spearheaded a movement which opposes multicultural education and describes it as 'a North American discourse'. These teachers, however,

it should be noted oppose educational reforms that push students and teachers out of schools, close schools because of lack of funding and question the goals and curricula of schools that receive support from the World Bank. The premise for this movement is that current educational reforms have replaced the idea of social equity with differentiating compensatory programmes. In addition, the teachers and students are resisting neo-liberal policies that support the privatisation of schools and the reduction of schools in the public sector.

Globalisation and Multicultural Education

Educational reforms in a number of countries have turned schools into private enterprises in the name of market competition (Edwards & Usher, 2000). Many countries have a growing concern about job loss due to international market competition and focus on the need to prepare students for a global market-based economy. The impact of globalisation has been particularly devastating for low-income people in 'third world' countries. For example, in Pakistan the education system was privatised in hopes of producing students with skills needed in the global economy. This privatisation, however, has created even more income disparity between the poor and the rich than existed before it was enacted.

This is because, although the education system in the past was not particularly successful in serving the marginalised sections of the society, the state-subsidised schooling at all levels did provide some opportunities to people from low-income groups to enter into professional colleges; and the state-run higher education institutions also provided quota for students from different sections of the society. However, these provisions and other opportunities are being completely wiped out in the name of educational reforms (Khurshid, 2007).

Tomlinson (2001) argues that the marketisation of schools in the United Kingdom resulted in a dual process of taking the power from schools and placing it in the hands of parents at the local level, who often are more interested in examination results than social issues.

Cahill (2001) argues that pro-globalisation educational policies in Australia have been marked by a popular support for racialised policies towards immigrants and indigenous groups. He explains that these racialised policies are supported by the downwardly mobile groups in both urban and rural contexts as well as by the middle-class. This is because people of the urban and rural working class who lost jobs because of the effects of globalisation do not want to compete with immigrant and indigenous people for existing jobs. The middle-class supports these racialised policies because they fear losing their jobs to immigrants. Cahill points out that a number of these racialised policies have cut services to immigrants and have also negatively affected multicultural education in schools including downgrading the focus on ESL in the education system.

As we look across the different countries, it is clear that globalisation has, to some extent, resulted in further marginalisation of many minority students in schools. The reduced role of the national governments in education due to such reform efforts as privatisation of schools has not only led to limited support for the disadvantaged groups, but has further jeopardised the well-being of the group. In addition, the effects

of globalisation have increased competition over scarce resources, which has in some cases resulted in the rise of anti-immigrant movements.

Conclusion

This chapter is a reading and discussion of the research on multicultural education in different nation states. We have used this literature to identify the common themes. We conclude that multicultural education in the global context is multifaceted and often constructed on an unequal landscape where power relations are very active. There are a number of themes that are common to different countries, such as using multicultural education to support assimilation policy. In addition, we conclude that it is the power of the people who engage in the struggles for equity and equality that has pushed establishments in different countries to introduce and implement multicultural education policies. At the same time, we argue, that, based on the literature reporting on multicultural education, much remains to be done if the goals of equality and equity are to be accomplished.

Finally, it is clear that while it is advantageous to learn from the history and experiences of the multicultural education movements in different countries, it is, nevertheless a dangerous practice to adopt and transport a model of multicultural education from one country to another. That said, the recognition and analysis of similar themes can serve to help build international connections between scholars and educators throughout our global village.

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INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Nancy Kendall

From moralizing calls for its end (Esteva, 1992), to critiques of its discourses and practices (Samoff, 1999), to recent arguments for the potential necessity of its continuance (Ferguson, 2002), the effects and goodness of the field of international development (education) has been debated for decades. Despite these critiques, it has witnessed a renaissance in the past 15 years. This chapter describes the history of the field of international development education, examines current practices and trends, and discusses emerging questions for the field. It concludes that there are both legitimate concerns about the effects of international development education practices and reason for cautious optimism about some current practices, particularly those that take account of past critiques and attempt to restructure the relations and activities undertaken in the name of development education. International development education continues, however, to rely primarily on out-of-date discourses, rationales for its existence, and ways of dividing up the world; without addressing these issues in an inclusive manner, international development education funding, policies, and programming will rarely support positive change, will in some cases make things worse, and will lose its relevance and widespread support. Before continuing, I briefly discuss the terms “international,” “development,” and “education”.

Development

The vocabulary and concepts employed in the international development arena are highly contested, as they reflect, represent, and some would argue (re)create underlying tensions concerning power and authority. The first arena of dispute is the word “development” itself, which, as Grillo and Stirrat (1997) note, is often placed in quotations by researchers to highlight various problematics. International development is generally understood to encompass goodwill efforts by richer (industrialized, “modern”) states to improve the lives of people in poorer (agrarian, “backwards,” or “primitive”) states. This general definition draws on a number of historically Western concepts (linear progress, the nation-state, individualism, state-sponsored mass schooling) that form the core concerns of many critiques, such as the continued assumption that there is a unitary and linear path of “development” upon which all people and states must tread in order to enjoy the good life (Kothari, 2005). For other critics, the central problematic is the simultaneous creation of under- or undeveloped people and places through the

construction of developed ones (Escobar, 1995). Still others focus on the asymmetrical relations of power and authority created through development discourses and practices (Samoff, 1999).

Many of these critiques highlight a central paradox: the concept of international development seems superficially unimpeachable. In practice, however, international development efforts are judged failures for many reasons and with great consistency. Despite this, they continue to serve as the primary official global approach to addressing issues of equity, progress, and our connections as fellow humans. How are we to understand what it is, then, that development discourses, practices, and resources do to people and places around the world? How are we to judge whether they help or hinder? As Rist (1997: 1) states:

[T]he strength of ‘development’ discourse comes of its power to seduce, in every sense of the term. . . . How could one possibly resist the idea that there is a way of eliminating the poverty by which one is so troubled? How dare one think, at the same time, that the cure might worsen the ill which one wishes to combat? . . . How are we to explain the whole phenomenon, which mobilizes not only the hopes of millions but also sizeable financial resources, while appearing to recede like the horizon just as you think you are approaching it?

The history of the concept of “development” is a long one (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989); it has been used to indicate the current set of activities, ideas, and relationships termed “international development” for only about the past 60 years. The current definition crystallized in the post-World War II era as a group of so-called modern states (primarily Western European states and the United States, and later Canada and Japan) created institutions (such as the International Development Association and UNESCO), ideational statements (such as the UN Declaration on Human Rights), and professional venues and organizations (such as the UNESCO regional education meetings and the US-based Comparative Education Society) that supported an array of activities designed to learn about, support, and improve life, including through education, in so-called developing states.

The history of this term is central to understanding its current use. Perhaps the most important influences on current conceptualizations of international development (education) stem from the nineteenth century Enlightenment period and the taken-for-granted goodness of particular models of modernity, civilization, Enlightenment, truth, progress, and schooling that developed in Europe and the United States during this time (Meyer et al., 1977; Meyer, 2000). These models continue to heavily influence conceptualizations of international development and development education, from the actors and institutions considered legitimate (e.g. states), to the concepts of comparison and ranking that drive conceptualizations of neediness and its causes (Chabbot, 2003; Manzo, 1991).

Rist’s *The history of development: From Western origins to global faith* (1997) provides an excellent overview of historical and current development paradigms and points to some important considerations about current definitions. First, most are self-referential—that is, they depend upon the definition of progress, justice, desired

lifestyle, and forth held by the individual—and thus are problematic as a shared construct (Rist, 1997). Poerksen's (1985) notion of “plastic” words may be of great utility in understanding the power and weaknesses of current definitions of development. Plastic words are those that began as words with distinct meanings in common parlance, that were then expanded to be used in more generalized scientific discourse, and finally were taken up in general and technocratic language in such a manner that their definition is almost infinitely malleable by individual speakers. “Development” is such a word, and its strengths and weaknesses lie at least in part in the ability of individuals and organizations to fill it with their desired meanings.

Second, which definitions of development education come to dominate is a reflection not of a singular reality, but instead of the relations of power and authority that shape the voices heard and their effect on the development imaginary. Current definitions generally begin with the ethical question of how to make sense of, and correct, inequalities in wealth and life opportunities around the world and the suffering that is experienced by the world's poorest people and states. International development aid, focused on poverty reduction, is the answer of the world's rich to this problem (Collier & Dollar, 2000). What, though, constitutes “poverty,” acceptable levels of inequality, or acceptable levels of development aid? These are heavily debated constructs for which the world's richest usually set the terms of engagement; so, for example, the current definition of extreme poverty used by most international development organizations is people living on less than US\$1 a day, and the OECD's member states have set the goal of having each state provide 0.7% of their annual budget for international development funding.

Third, the definitions used by most of the powerful actors and institutions in the international development arena center economic discourses and indicators of progress, survival, equity, and justice. Development, poverty, and equity are still generally measured first and foremost in economic terms (e.g., growth in GDP per capita; growth in the creation of formal labor market jobs; access to “modern” resources such as hospitals or electricity). The centrality of economic imaginaries and rationales (from education as human capital development to people as “homo economicus”) and the discipline of economics in the field of international development is an important factor in explaining why alternative development imaginaries (political, cultural, social, religious, etc.) have failed to gain much traction in the international development arena (Easton & Klees, 1992). Despite the historical role of education systems as (re)producers of political, cultural, and social relations and generational transmissions, not only of productive laborers, this is true even in the development education arena. Early works such as Schultz's 1953 *The Economic Value of Education* and Balogh's 1966 *The Economics of Poverty*, and later rate-of-return studies (e.g., Psacharopoulos, 1985) helped reposition education in relation to models of economic growth and development (Schultz, 1953; Balogh, 1966).

Although there have been challenges to the centrality of economic measures of development (e.g., Bhutan's Gross Happiness Index, which purports to present an alternate model of human development rooted in Buddhist philosophy), these alternatives have seldom mounted significant challenges to the presuppositions

embedded in mainstream development definitions. They have not addressed the issue of defining development by defining its desired outcomes (thus ignoring the problematic “black box” of development practices and relations), nor the significant issue that the process by which alternate models and measures of development have been created has not generally significantly expand the circle of people and institutions that have power to determine what alternative measures of development might be.

The relative stability of the term “development” thus reflects continued general agreement amongst powerful actors and institutions around the world on the shape and scope of the international development arena:

- On the nineteenth century model of modernity that underlies it (Manzo, 1991)
- On the centrality of economic models in which “homo economicus,” the state, and more recently the market are the central actors in educational rationales and processes (Resnik, 2006)
- On what the state’s educational endeavor should constitute (mass school-based primary education, not initiation ceremonies) (United Nations, 2005)
- On the types of actors and institutions involved in the contemporary field (e.g., states and non-governmental organizations) (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2007)
- On the types of exchanges of money, goods, services, and other resources that constitute valid “development” support (loans, grants, products, technical assistance to less affluent governments in exchange for adopting certain conditionalities and hiring and buying practices that favor more affluent states, but not “corrupt” practices such as bribes to public and private institutions) (Walliser, 2004)

More serious debate and destabilization has occurred in the terms used to describe relations among actors and institutions in the development arena. In much of the official literature produced by affluent bilateral (USAID, DfID, CIDA, NORRAD, JICA, and GTZ) and multilateral (the UN, the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO) organizations, these organizations are referred to as “donors” of “foreign aid” or “overseas development assistance.” The states receiving development funds are referred to as “less developed,” “underdeveloped,” or “developing” states and “aid recipients.” There have been a number of thoughtful and serious critiques of these terms, which create the appearance that particular states and organizations (largely European states, the United States, and Japan) are donating resources to less affluent and more needy recipient states. Perhaps the simplest critique is that the vast majority of international foreign aid funding returns directly to the “donating” state. For example, a great deal of aid from countries is tied aid—that is, the money must be used by recipient governments to purchase “donor” government products. So, for example, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) provides resources for a Ministry of Education to print and distribute textbooks to all government-sponsored schools in a country, but the printing must be done by a Canadian publisher.

More seriously, the concept of “donation” usually connotes one who gives or contributes to a charitable cause. In contrast, many argue that international development

funding is more often given for geopolitical gain, to maintain or foster neocolonial relations, or to spend out so-called donor organizations' funds without regards to the needs of the so-called recipient (Tilak, 1988; Schraeder et al., 1998; Lumsdaine, 1993). Likewise, there is extensive evidence (Cornia et al., 1987; Sparr, 1994) of the damage to poor populations, or at a minimum the lack of "development," that has resulted from many poor states floating their currencies, reconceptualizing education as a tradable commodity, privatizing industries such as government printing presses, and shrinking civil service positions and salaries (Alderman et al., 1992); yet these remain popular neoliberal international development education conditionalities and reforms.

Still another critique of the donor/recipient discourse has arisen in response to evidence that the end result of many reforms aimed at developing so-called recipient states has been to open up their economies to greater exploitation by "donors" by, for example, lowering the price of the goods they export or the salaries that they can pay (Sagasti & Alcalde, 1999; Rankin, 2001). This creates a situation in which the so-called donor states become recipients of people, goods, and other resources from the so-called recipient states. In this manner, the true recipients are the states and institutions that supposedly "donate" aid.

Lastly, for development funding given as loans instead of grants, "donor" states and "aid" organizations have made more money in interest from "recipient" states than those states have received in initial capital (Jubilee USA Network, 2005). In this sense, again, the traditional understandings of the words "donor" and "recipient" may be contrary to, or certainly not straightforwardly related to, common usage.

Despite these cogent arguments that destabilize the donor/recipient binary assumed in international development relations and discourse, these terms remain in general use, partly because they have been institutionalized in common parlance, partly because they reflect the development imaginary that is favored by the most powerful actors and institutions in the arena, and partly because other terms put forward as alternatives (North/South, industrialized/industrializing, rich/poor) are generally themselves open to similar contestation. For example, the geographic binary North/South can be useful in discussing which states and non-governmental organizations are generally poorer and which are richer in the world. There are, however, important inaccuracies in the geographical divide, such as Australia in the "South," the Caribbean in the "North," and a growing number of states such as India and Kuwait that now embody what would traditionally be considered aspects of both "Northern" and "Southern" states. All of these binary labels, in fact, assume and fix the focus of developmentalist debates on states at a time when divisions between rich and poor, "North" and "South" are as great or greater within countries as across them, thus concealing the issue of how inequality and poverty affect "Northern" geographical spaces as well as "Southern," and how people, groups, and development-like resources flow within and across state boundaries. In practice, then, no set of binary terms can do justice to these complex relations and resource flows, yet the terms remain in use as shorthand that may in fact reinscribe the central problematics in the development arena.

Education

In contrast to the plasticity and contestation of the term “development,” the “education” concept in use in the international development education arena has been generally fixed since the inception of the field, and has become more so over the past 15 years. Although other models of education have predominated throughout the world’s history, it is possible to argue for a near-hegemonic understanding of and belief in formal, Western-style, state-provided, mass schooling as constituting “education” (for development) in the twenty-first century. This hegemonic conception has its roots in the Prussian mass education system, which was adopted throughout Europe and the United States over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and was promulgated by many ex-colonies in the post-independence period (Ramirez & Boli, 1987). This model of formal schooling became the focus of international development resources following the 1990 World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA); has been inscribed in international development frameworks such as the Millennium Development Goals; and drives the shape and scope of resources made available to less affluent states through the international development education process.

This model of education, generally speaking, entails support for mass, standardized, state-provided, formal schooling that, in its appropriate form, includes children learning (primarily from adults), about “high-stakes” academic subjects (reading, writing, arithmetic, science), on a fixed schedule, in an indoor setting that includes particular features (desks, chairs, chalkboards, written teaching and learning materials). As with models of international development, there is an imagined, linear educational progression from informal, family-provided education concerning daily tasks (such as survival skills learned by hunter-gatherer children from their parents), through more formalized educational experiences organized by larger bodies (such as initiation ceremonies or trade apprenticeship systems), to “modern” schooling systems.

The international development model of education posits that mass, state-sponsored schooling is: (1) central to the creation of a “modern” nation-state; (2) central to the development of “modern” workers and families; and, thus (3) central to a state’s “modern” economic growth and international acceptance. This general conceptualization of education and development has received critical attention since its inception, but has yet to be significantly challenged.

International

As with “development” and “education,” the term “international” has historically taken on a particular set of meanings in the international development education arena. The concepts of development and of mass education described above rest on the centrality of a particular model of the nation-state that arose in Europe in the eighteenth century and now dominates maps and our imaginaries alike (Meyer, 2000; Ferguson, 2002). For the purposes of this chapter, it is important only to note that the term “international” traditionally refers to interstate affairs and relations. The majority of international

development resources continue to be directed to official state governments, although there has been a shift since the late 1980s towards increased funding of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In the post-World War II era, it was the sovereign state that was given the right to control the natural and human resources within its boundaries, and the responsibility to fulfil the universal rights (such as for education) of its citizens. Thus, the state had both the right to inculcate its values in its citizens through education, and the responsibility to provide them with such basic services as were deemed to be universal by the UN and its constituent state members. State boundaries around the world reflect everything from wars, genocide, and colonial relations, to topographic divides and historical compromises. The interest and capacity of various states to provide equal resources to all citizens varies just as much as the historical foundations of mapped boundaries. Yet in the eyes of the global community, by the end of the 1960s, most of the world had been divided into sovereign states, each regardless of its size, resources, or propensities, now viewed as the equal of all other states.

As global economic, political, and social relations have shifted, so too has the utility of understanding the world as constituted by sovereign states. From regional economic organizations to intense internal divisions, from NGOs to transnational communities, from rebel groups that control vast swathes of land to transnational investors that can collapse national economies in days, from HIV to global climate change, the bodies and forces that govern people's daily actions and play a role in determining their opportunities for mobility, survival, and thriving differ in their shape, scope, and imaginaries from 60 years ago. Nevertheless, with the exception of increased discussion about the roles of NGOs and private organizations in educational provision (Archer, 1994; Mundy & Murphy, 2001), the field of international development education has not responded significantly to these changes. Current state divisions and international conceptions of state sovereignty fundamentally affect the ability of development efforts to identify and address global, regional, and "local" inequities; however, without destabilizing some of the assumptions currently made about national versus cross- and transnational issues, many inequities conceptualized as state development issues cannot be addressed by international development efforts (Ferguson, 2006).

Below, I review the history of the field of international development education since the 1950s, paying particular attention to the actors and institutions involved in the arena, changing ideas about what constitutes good development education practices, and the critiques that have been levelled against these practices. As will be noted, there is a certain cyclical and fickle nature to development discourse and practices: if an idea, such as universal primary education, gains momentum, the momentum is likely to be lost just as widespread agreement is reached, only to reappear a decade or two later in a slightly revised form as the brand new panacea for the constant refrain that development education. This cycle is likewise visible in education's positioning in the broader international development arena.

1950s and 1960s

In the 1950s and 1960s, international development actors posited that there was a linear progression from hunter-gatherers through to "highly developed," "modern"

industrialized nation-states made up of productive workers (and intelligent, controlled reproducers) that progressed and developed individually. The nation-state developed through the cumulative effects of these individual activities. This conceptualization of modernity and development relied heavily on models of linear progress and growth stages, often drawn from the natural sciences. The model of the rational, developing whose individual actions create a greater good drew from Enlightenment ideas and classical economic theorists such as Adam Smith. Although there was important work done during this period concerning social, political, psychological, and other forms of development (see Adams, 1977 for a review), the general focus of the field came to rest solidly on economic development as, depending on the author, either the absolute or the proxy for all other forms of human and state development.

This early work laid the foundation for current mainstream conceptualizations of international development. It argued that all states could achieve development if they followed the path already trod upon by Western states—modernization through industrialization, urbanization, and population control. Within this framework, education came to play a major role in state development models, as education was the primary means to increase individual productivity. It should also be noted that development education models, which had missionary roots in most poor states, were also seen as central to “civilizing” non-white, non-Christian people.

The curricula of western schools inculcated a distaste for agrarian (and manual) labor and fueled students’ desire to move to urban, “modern” spaces (Corby, 1981). Schooling thus forwarded economic and sociocultural practices viewed as central to development and modernization. Funding for international development education reached its highest levels until the 2000s during the 1950s and 1960s, receiving up to 6–7% of all international development funding.

The burgeoning field of development economics laid out what remains the primary rationale for development education: because state development occurs through the aggregation of increased productivity on the part of its constituent members, the best way to develop the state is to increase constituent members’ human capital, and thus productivity. In these models, education is purely functionalist, and education is a worthwhile investment only to the extent that it translates into increased worker productivity (and later into other easily quantified health, civic participation, and lifestyle outcomes such as decreased fertility). Productivity was initially measured in terms of worker wages in the formal labor sector, and so growth of the education sector only remained productive as long as the labor market could absorb graduates. Over time, increased productivity was measured in more diverse ways, such as by increased agricultural output.

This emphasis resulted in the 1950s and 1960s in a strong focus in international development education on secondary and particularly tertiary education (Buchert, 1995), where the professionals needed for development and modernization (doctors, economists, planners) were trained, as well as on planning for the “modern” labor market. Bilateral organizations (such as GTZ and USAID), multilateral organizations (such as UNESCO), and Foundations (such as Rockefeller and Carnegie) all played significant roles in first sending people from poor and newly independent states for training in Europe and in the United States, and later building secondary and tertiary education institutions in poor and newly independent states.

In the newly independent states, the development education focus was also often adopted by independence leaders, who emphasized the need for their country to staff their own bureaucracies and professional institutions in order to be truly liberated. Nonetheless, development education models focused on tertiary and secondary education sidelined the common pre-independence-era focus on addressing the inequities of colonization through the massification of (early) educational opportunities. For example, following independence in 1964 in Malawi, the new government bypassed pre-independence promises of education for all and spent the majority of the education budget building the University of Malawi, the first tertiary institution in the new state. It received international development support for this effort. In socialist states like Tanzania, the focus of education development remained on mass primary education. Schooling was still conceptualized as human productivity development, but it was the state's, not the market's, responsibility to harness and plan for the use of this improved capacity.

The critiques of this approach diversified over the decades. Early critiques included those that focused on conceptual flaws in the economic models being used to argue for the "productivity" of education, such as Balogh's (1964) scathing set-down of the economic models used to measure the effects of education; those that addressed fallacies in the concept of linear progress and development; those that argued that educational experiences were not all equal and models were needed to address the "black box" of classroom practices and education processes; and those that expressed concerns that development education practices were fostering neo-colonial relations.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, critics were discussing the failure of development education investment to lead to predicted economic growth in many poor states; were increasingly questioning the nature of the relationships between so-called development donors and recipients (Altbach, 1971); and drew on Marxist and dependency theories to argue that one of the reasons for the "failure" of education to increase equity and life chances was that the model of education promulgated by development education experts was not a functionalist black box, but instead a system designed to reproduce class (and other) inequalities (Carnoy, 1977).

1970s

By the 1970s, there was a countermovement amongst many of the states that were targets of international development funding. They argued for a focus on basic needs as opposed to elite services and fought to center discussions of global and state inequality in international development debates. There were new discussions about the role of schooling in fostering neocolonial, as opposed to liberatory, relations (Keith, 1978). And dependency theory provided a new framework through which to make sense of relations among "developed" and "developing" states and to understand the failure of development loans and grants to achieve their expected results (Carnoy, 1977; Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Lewin & Little, 1984; Little, 2000).

In the education arena, a rich discussion developed about how to improve the relevance of formal education systems in poor people's lives, as did interesting work on and critiques of non-formal and adult education as alternatives to formal education models (Sheffield, 1972). There were new demands for international support for basic

education for all (now discussed as a basic need), paralleled by a body of economic studies that purported to find improved state returns on investments in primary, as opposed to secondary or tertiary, education. At the same time, critics were pointing out that economic models used to understand the effects of development and education were not able to “count” its effects on women or their work (Kelly & Elliott, 1982), agricultural work, or indeed the informal economy.

At the same time, educational investment by states and international development organisations generally still targeted secondary or higher education, and development resources for education began to fall as a growing pessimism concerning the inability of the past decades’ educational expansion to improve economic growth grew (Weiler, 1978). This trend of disinvestment in and growing cynicism about formal education expanded when the oil crisis hit. As “developed” economies wobbled, international debts were called in and resources for new loans slowed, causing crises in newly independent and poorer states with high debt loads (Frieden, 1992). This crisis effectively silenced the development target states’ countermovement.

1980s

In the 1980s, Structural Adjustment Policies or Programs (SAPs) circled the world and transformed the funding available for and conceptualization of the role of education in international development. Aimed at restructuring the macroeconomic policies of states in crisis, SAPs were promulgated and enforced by the IMF and the World Bank. They included reforms such as state privatization of national resources, floating national currencies, removing state subsidies for agricultural and food goods, removing trade barriers, and shrinking the state. SAPs were based on the neoliberal notion, increasingly popular in Europe and the United States, that the market was always more efficient than the state (Carnoy, 1995; Arnove et al., 1996; Torres, 2002).

Particularly in early SAPs, social services like education were reconceptualized as peripheral-to-state responsibilities, and in fact likely to be ineffective and unproductive to the extent that they were state-provided. Education, health, and other social services were defunded and privatized, often at least in part to pay “donor” states back as older development loans came due (Reimers & Tiburcio, 1993). For example, Malawi implemented a SAP in 1981. Funding for education dropped from 13.7% to 8.9% of government expenditures. At the same time, debt servicing increased from 17% to 36% between 1977 and 1986 (Kaluwa, 1992). Such declines in overall educational expenditures were often accompanied by international restrictions on civil servants’ salaries and hiring, which weakened the long-term capacity of SAP-ed government institutions to provide services and train the next generation of administrative leaders.

Throughout this period, mainstream international development education discourse focused on the need for states to increase the efficiency of education systems so that governments could reap greater benefits with fewer resources (Fuller & Habte, 1992). The World Bank led a movement to introduce cost sharing in education, a policy perspective that argued for the need to have individuals and their families pay a greater proportion of the costs of schooling—even primary schooling (Tan et al., 1984); and reframed repetition and dropout as systemic inefficiency issues. There were also early discussions about the appropriate role for the private sector in education provision (Colclough, 1991).

There were significant critiques levelled against SAP-influenced education approaches, ranging from protests over the absolute cut in funding and services for poor people; to critiques of neoliberalism and its recalibration of state-market-society relations; to feminist critiques of patriarchal development models and practices (Beneria & Sen, 1981); to critiques from anthropologists and postmodernists about the assumptions of Western, progressive concepts embedded in most development education models (Masemann, 1982); to growing concerns about the lack of widespread participation in development decision-making. New arguments in support of basic education, both from progressives interested in increased equity and economists who claimed evidence of the supremacy of primary education investment returns in poor countries (Psacharopoulos, 1987), gained momentum.

1990s

In 1990, the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) was held, heralding a new discursive phase in international development education. The WCEFA was the culmination of years of economic and human rights arguments put forward by international organizations (multilateral and non-governmental in particular) and poor states to address rising global and national inequity and their desire to have individuals and states manage their own development. The conference focused on basic education as a fundamental human right and on the state as the body responsible for its provision. It centered economic models of educational utility and effects that argued that primary education, particularly for girls, was one of the best investments a state could make in economic growth (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991). It resulted in a strong international development education focus on expanding access to primary schooling, some would argue at the expense of educational quality.

Based on the WCEFA and the mounting evidence that SAPs were fuelling the abjection of millions of poor people without resulting in improved economic growth, international development organizations heralded a new idea: structural adjustment “with a human face”. They began the arduous process of refunding support for the social service sectors they had so recently helped to dismantle. Resources for social services increased a bit, resources for education became more focused on primary education, and calls for user fees in primary education were discarded; however, there was no net increase to education funding (Bennell & Furlong, 1997). A programmatic and policy focus on educational expenditure and system efficiency continued, though discussions about the relevance and efficiency of primary education faded somewhat in the face of human rights arguments that all children had the right to a basic education and could learn to be literate and numerate—the two tasks repositioned as the primary goals of basic education.

The WCEFA was the first global education conference to include NGOs in any significant way (Mundy & Murphy, 2001); their inclusion reflected growing critiques of development education practices as neo-colonial, and a new willingness on the part of state and international governmental organizations to recognize the potential contributions of “civil society” organizations and participatory approaches in improving development education practices and outcomes. This was also the gender decade in international development education; based on global data showing significant gender gaps in enrolment rates in many areas of the world (Hill & King, 1995), organizations such as USAID

provided significant resources to support multifaceted initiatives designed to improve the status of girls' education. For example, in Malawi, USAID funded the Girls' Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education (GABLE) project, which included support for national policy reform, the creation of a gender-appropriate curriculum unit, gender-sensitive teacher training, a social mobilization campaign designed to increase community support for girls' education, and a girls' scholarship program for non-repeating female students.

During this decade, there was also increasing interest in sector-wide funding approaches (Harrold, 1995). Development experts argued that traditional project-based support produced short-term, unsustainable, uncoordinated efforts with parallel administrative structures to official government education structures. Sector-wide approaches, in which international organizations pledged support for a national budget in exchange for government agreement to meet certain conditions, seemed a mechanism through which to address many of these critiques (Ratcliffe & Macrae, 1999). Extensive aid accountability frameworks were also put in place to address concerns about efficiency of aid use in various countries. These measures almost always targeted aid recipients, not providers, despite evidence that there was corruption and administrative incompetence on both sides (Therkildsen, 2001).

2000s

By the 1990s, it was clear that the "bitter pill" of market (neo)liberalization had not resulted in the economic growth or improved quality of life assured to citizens in many poor states. In fact, as measured by life expectancy, educational completion, GDP/capita, and many other development measures, the last 25 years has resulted in an absolute decline in the standards of living of many people in the African region (Ferguson, 1999; Arrighi, 2002). Recently, the World Bank and IMF have acknowledged (even as they continue to push similar reforms) that SAPs have failed (SAPRIN, 2004). In the wake of these acknowledgments, international arguments against state provision of social services have shifted in important ways. Poverty alleviation plans and programs that include some attention to public provision of basic social services have been encrusted over earlier forms of neoliberal state transformation. There are now even some calls from European states that supported SAPs for poor states to "take responsibility" for basic social services like education.

This shift has resulted in an increase in total international development spending on education, raising levels back up to those seen in the heyday of the 1950s and 1960s. Not only international resources to education have increased; in the wake of the WCEFA, a number of countries (e.g., Malawi, Uganda, Kenya) implemented EFA-style fee-free primary education systems (usually as part of an officially democratizing political process (Kendall, 2007)) and now spend upwards of one-quarter of their entire annual budget on education. There has been rapid growth in NGO involvement in development education activities in many poor states, and they have become increasingly networked (Mundy & Murphy, 2001). Communities are also investing significant (and in some cases, more) resources in their children's education, partially in response to their perception that education offers their children the best chance of mobility in a globalizing environment.

These funding increases mirror increased belief in and demands on formal education; as a number of authors have noted, education is once again viewed as a development panacea (Vavrus, 2003), and formal education is expected to do everything from grow economies, to prevent new HIV infections, to create small and healthy families, to socialize democratically-oriented citizens. Although as in all social service areas there is increasing pressure to conceptualize the education sector as a market and educational services as a tradable good, education has emerged as the social service in which the state has the most viable, internationally supportable, and public role to play. This is due in part to the history of state educational provision in the United States and Europe, to historical models of schooling as a (re)producer of nation-state citizens, and to the continued conceptualization of basic education as direct human capital development.

As the actors and resources in the development education arena have increased and diversified, as the political reality of primary-school leavers clamoring for secondary school places has hit, and as investment in primary education has proven to be less transformational than expected, there are now calls for a more “balanced” approach to education funding. Sectorally, this has translated into support for improved primary educational quality, improved secondary and tertiary education access, and growing discursive support for early childhood and adult education. In terms of implementing agents, national governments’ position as the central development partner continues to be undermined by the predominant neoliberal rationality in international development. NGOs continue to be viewed by many international governmental organizations as more representative and more efficient development partners than central governments, and a growing percentage of international development funding is being channeled through NGOs instead of states (Hearn, 1998; Makoba, 2002). Likewise, and following the roll-out of decentralization reforms often “inspired” by international organizations, central governments and NGOs are facing new competition for funds from local government bodies.

Participatory approaches, called for by 1980s and 1990s critics of development practices, are now, at least discursively, fully integrated in most development planning practices (World Bank, 1996). For some critics, this is seen as a co-opting of radical critique, for others an honest effort by development organizations to improve their practices (Kendall, forthcoming). More broadly, international development education has been folded into both global plans for development transformation (such as the Millennium Development Goals) and into the poverty alleviation frameworks that now shape most bilateral and multilateral organizations’ funding for new development activities. In both cases, education is usually incorporated in two ways: as a call for primary schooling for all, and as a call for gender equity in formal education, and thus development, opportunities (Mundy, 2006). The poverty alleviation approach, coupled with sector-wide funding approaches and joint budget financing (Walliser, 2002), has led to a narrowing and intensification of development resources and targets in a smaller number of states throughout the world.

New actors, such as family foundations, individual donors, local governments, private organizations, community-based organizations, and universities have received increasing attention in the development education arena, as have new issues including HIV/AIDS, early childhood education, educational quality, and child-centered

pedagogical approaches (Tabulawa, 2003). Perhaps the most important new focus is on improving within-classroom resources and practices—that is, affecting change in the traditional educational “black box.” In most of these efforts, student learning (usually as measured on standardized tests) is the ultimate measure of educational success. For example, a current USAID education project, the Malawi Teacher’s Training Activity (MTTA) provides preservice and in-service training and support to the education sector in the areas of English, science, math, and life skills, as well as in gender equity in the classroom. It does so by providing preservice teacher training materials, training school personnel to use local resources to create their own in-service trainings and teaching/learning materials, providing books from international sources to Teacher Development Centres so that teachers can update their content knowledge, and creating a mobile teacher training troupe that provides support for improved teaching and learning through the exchange of innovative practices and ideas across school zones. Effects are measured primarily by students’ and teachers’ increased content knowledge scores on standardized exams.

Discussion

Interest in globalization, and particularly the role of education in the creation and distribution of information, opportunity, state and worker competitiveness, and individual characteristics such as flexibility, has led to a renaissance in international development education (Crossley, 2000). This same movement is destabilizing concepts that have underpinned the field for over 50 years. Perhaps the most important of these is the continued emphasis on the individual and the nation-state as the central units of analysis and action in international development education. Given the practical effects of globalization on the economic, political, and social coherence of states and people’s everyday lives, this seems short-sighted. Discussions about the appropriate roles of NGOs, private entities, substate and regional actors and institutions, and local and/versus international labor markets point to the variety of daily educational and life experiences that are no longer primarily organized by or within the state, and the extent to which the traditional concerns of development—progress, life improvement, equity—are no longer (if they ever were) concerns that make sense to discuss within the confines of state borders. A growing literature on globalization and education (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2005; Welmond, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Stromquist & Monkman, 2000; King & Buchert, 1999) highlights the extent to which the decisions involved in education practices are (differentially) global in nature, and a parallel literature on global imaginaries (Ferguson, 2002) points to the transformation of people’s understandings of belonging and opportunity, which have been poorly addressed by development education researchers and programs.

These changes threaten to destabilize the economic and human rights rationales that have dominated development education since its inception, and this may be a good thing. For what continues to be lacking from many of the critiques of development broadly, and development education particularly, is real and sustained engagement with the question of what, exactly, education for development might look like

and mean in people's lives. It is clear that such a discussion can no longer emanate from and respond to the demands of any one state or region, as it has historically done to Western Europe and the United States. It is equally clear that there will be no single imaginary, and that the currently taken-for-granted models and goals of education and its relation to state, market, society, and international relations of power, authority, and survival are in flux. Funding for development education is on the rise, and there are reasons to believe that these funds can positively affect (by both "international" and community measures) the lives of people, and even some poor people, in poor states. The MTTA project described above, for instance, has had significant effects on the classroom experiences and educational outcomes of teachers and students in some target schools, and it has positively transformed relations of power and authority among students, teachers, parents, and district officials in such a manner as to both expand teachers' willingness to learn from multiple sources (including each other and students), and to improve community support of teachers and schools. These shifts have in turn resulted in classrooms that provide students very different, and potentially empowering, messages about learning, authority, knowledge, and success. For example, they provide students with opportunities to assume academic leadership roles within the classroom and to see teachers work collaboratively with other teachers and with community members around knowledge production.

Such positive outcomes appear to occur most frequently when the "recipients" of aid take part in development education practices at all stages of the development programming process (planning, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating), and particularly when they play a role in determining the intended outcomes of the activities. Positive outcomes are also more likely in situations where initiatives are given time to develop and to improve, and enough funding to continue for a long enough period of time to become institutionalized. This rarely occurs in the international development arena, which usually runs on 3–5 year funding and idea cycles.

There is also reason for caution in supporting international development education efforts. First, even by development standards, there are plenty of failed development education projects and plans. As with all development arenas, these failures may outnumber the successes and may have actually negatively impacted the lives of those they targeted, both directly (as in sending more children into unhealthy educational environments) and indirectly (through, for example, increased state dependence on international monies to fund educational promises and increased domestic spending on debt repayment). Even development education successes may be shallow. For example, a report on USAID support for education in Malawi notes that projects that achieved their official goals (e.g., improved teacher training) were hampered from having broader effects by the absence of many students attending class on a regular basis, of classrooms, and of basic teaching materials (Anzar et al., 2004).

Second, there are serious questions about whether education is the key human right or economic investment to transform the lives of poor people. When poor states spend one-quarter of their budget on education without significant changes in their citizen's life experiences, we need to question the assumptions that underlie international support for further investment in education.

Third, western education occurs to individuals, and in current models, it is individuals who succeed (or more commonly fail) to progress as a result of their formal schooling experience. It may thus serve, as Marxists theorists argued in the 1970s, as a system to constrain people, not as a liberatory process. And development education resources do not address global inequities, they reinscribe individuals and the state as the units of analysis that succeed or fail to progress.

Many of the concerns of people living in less affluent countries—how to cobble together a survival; how to stay healthy and care for the ill; how to access increasingly privatized resources such as water and land; how to transmit moral, cultural, and religious practices to the next generation—are simply not on the international development education radar.

People in less affluent countries are responding to this reality in perfectly reasonable ways. For a minority, education is absolutely central to geographic mobility, which in turn is central to individual and familial survival. For them, continued educational investment makes sense. For many others, though, schooling is a brief blip that may or may not provide skills and lessons useful for daily survival and thriving (Kendall, 2007). In countries where neither formal labor, nor expanded agricultural opportunities, nor opportunities to travel to more affluent countries are growing, schooling may seem relatively disconnected from daily needs or future opportunities. Not surprisingly, enrolment rates are decreasing in some of the poorest countries in the world, and in others, dropouts are accelerating.

The international development community is always looking for the next panacea: sustainable environment? Global health? The extent of future support for educational resourcing from communities, states, and international actors will depend on the field's capacity to create space for a multiplicity of actors and institutions to reimagine the global relations among education, equity, and individual and communal survival and flourishing. At a minimum, this will require extensive engagement with ideas that move beyond the current universalizing neoclassical economic orthodoxy (Harriss, 2001) and human rights frameworks to address the diverse realities of people's changing lives, survival strategies and dreams. From these may be drawn, the shape and scope of potentially empowering educational practices that might be supported by international development education practices.

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THE OECD AND GLOBAL SHIFTS IN EDUCATION POLICY

Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard

Introduction

In 1994, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) published an important account of its work on education. The author of this account was none other than George Papadopoulos, the highly regarded deputy director responsible for education in the then Directorate for Social Affairs. Although celebratory in tone, Papadopoulos closely examined the planning and implementation of the organization's educational activities between 1960 and 1990, situating them within the context of the OECD's broader interest in economic policies. He suggested that this period was characterized by much debate and various shifts in policy focus. In the 1960s, for example, quality in education and human resource development were the major issues, replaced in the 1970s with concerns of equality of educational opportunity and the democratization of education (Papadopoulos, 1994: 202).

At the end of 1980s, however, Papadopoulos sensed further changes occurring within the OECD, with educational policy again becoming more closely aligned to economic imperatives. He noted that: the exponential growth of knowledge and rapid technological change; economic restructuring and changes in labor markets; changing attitudes to the role of the state in initiating and funding public policy; the emergence of new concerns about social equity and cohesion; and a market-driven and consumption-oriented society and the growing political, economic, and cultural interdependence of countries inevitably demanded some shifts in the OECD's policy work in education.

Little did Papadopoulos realize in 1994, however, how extensive and profound these shifts were likely to become, both in relation to reshaping the context within which the OECD works and to the ways in which the OECD would interpret and respond to this context. The issue of "globalization," for example, does not feature in Papadopoulos' analysis; and "a new humanism" he regards as an integral part of contemporary culture does not even appear on the organization's current agenda. Although the concepts that were central to the OECD's educational work during 1960–1990, such as educational equality and social cohesion, have not been abandoned, they have been thoroughly rearticulated, given new meaning, becoming instruments of economic policy associated with a new vocabulary of the knowledge economy. And although the OECD remains concerned with issues of educational reform, accountability and social

efficiency, it no longer treats them as matters of philosophical debate, but as issues to which it can apply its growing technical expertise.

Significantly, also, the OECD's work has now become embedded within a new multilateral system constituted by various international policy networks, involving not only its member countries but others as well.

In this chapter, we seek to do two things: to understand how the contemporary processes of globalization have affected the OECD's policy work in education, how, in turn, the OECD has ideologically named these processes, and has sought to steer its members and non-members alike towards its preferred conception of education, through both a new ideological vocabulary of reform, which, following Taylor (2004) we refer to as a "social imaginary," and its growing technical expertise in monitoring educational performance.

A Historical Background

Established in 1961 out of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) funded under the Marshall Plan for the economic reconstruction of Europe, the OECD has variously and simultaneously been described as a think tank, a geographic entity, an organizational structure, a policy-making forum, a network of policy-makers, researchers and consultants, and a sphere of influence (Henry et al., 2001: 1). In formal terms, the OECD views itself as an intergovernmental organization of some 30 of the world's most developed countries, which produce two thirds of the world's goods and services, and which are committed to the principles of a market economy and a pluralistic democracy (OECD, 1997). Article 1 of the OECD's convention requires its members to promote policies designed to develop the world economy and trade on a multilateral and nondiscriminatory basis.

Although primarily an economic organization, the OECD has, since its inception, emphasized the role education must play in both economic and social development. Within the organization however, there has been much debate about the ways in which economic and educational policies might be related. In the 1970s and 1980s in particular, the European countries sought to "tone down" the dominant US versions of market liberalism, with their own distinctive social-democratic agendas, refusing to view education and social policies as secondary to, or instruments of, economic policies. Haas (1990: 159) has suggested that the OECD could best be viewed as "a rather incoherent compromise between the United States and the European members," especially with respect to the role education plays in the total polity.

Indeed, as Papadopoulos (1994: 11) points out, in the OECD's original charter there was no independent structural location for education, though there was always an "inferred role," derived from early human capital formulations of links between economic productivity and educational investment, then conceived somewhat narrowly in terms of boosting scientific and technological personnel capacity and, by extension, of improved and expanded science and mathematics education in schools. Hence, education-related activities were initially carried out under the rubric of the Office for Scientific and Technical Personnel, which in turn grew out of the former OEEC's pivotal work in mapping the technological gap between

Europe and North America, against the backdrop of the geopolitical issues relating to the Cold War.

It was not until 1968 that the Centre for Research and Innovation (CERI) was established within the OECD, partly as a result of a growing recognition within the organization of the “qualitative” aspects of economic growth – “as an instrument for creating better conditions of life” – and, along with that, a more comprehensive view of education’s multiple purposes. By 1970, the organization recognized a fuller range of objectives of education – a less “economistic” view of education policy, as Papadopoulos (1994: 122) puts it, enabling it to attach equal importance to education’s social and cultural purposes. For most of the 1970s and 1980s then the dominance of economic concerns within the OECD was tempered by the recognition of the social dimensions and purposes of economic growth and development.

This was clearly evident in the educational work the OECD pursued, organized under four programs: two of them emerging from the Education Committee and CERI’s Governing Board, with the other two being the more specialist Programmes of Educational Buildings (PEB) and Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE). An illustrative list of the projects sponsored by the organization during the 1970s and 1980s includes analyses of: school pedagogy and curriculum, educational disadvantage, multicultural education, education of girls, linguistic diversity, alternative education, early childhood education, links between school and work, school–community relations, youth employment, youth at risk, people with disabilities, teacher education, educational and performance indicators, the economics of education, educational technology, recurrent education and lifelong learning, and adult literacy.

These themes were largely supportive of national agendas, brought to the OECD by the member countries. They pointed to the OECD’s consensual approach to decision-making in which nation-states retained a great deal of autonomy in defining the ways they wished to use the resources of the organization, in both thematic and national reviews. These reviews indicated the OECD to be a broad ideological church respectful of the diversity of ideological positions. According to Papadopoulos (1994), to view OECD as a homogeneous unit with a narrow, static agenda is to fail to capture its educational reach, the contestations within its various forums and the ideological layers that underpin its charter aimed at both economic and social development.

This is not to deny the existence of deep ideological tensions within the OECD. Any analysis of the debates until the mid-1990s both within the organization’s committees and its secretariat reveals an ideological cleavage between social-democratic and neoliberal policy stances. These tensions however were resolved in the way the OECD worked: without any prescriptive mandate it operated through processes that involved its “traditions of transparency: of providing explanations and justifications for policy, and of engaging in critical self-appraisal” (OECD 1998). As Martens et al. (2004: 15) point out, the OECD does not have any legally binding mandate over its members; nor does it have the financial resources at its disposal to encourage policy adoption. It thus seeks to exert influence through the processes of “mutual examination by governments, multilateral surveillance and peer pressure to conform or reform.”

Recent Transformations

Papadopoulos provides a convincing historical account of how, until the early 1990s, the OECD's educational work can usefully be characterized as involving a struggle between its concerns for promoting economic efficiency and growth, on the one hand, and education's broader social purposes, on the other. Since the mid-1990s, however, this tension, we want to argue, is no longer so evident, as education is once again increasingly viewed in instrumental terms, as a handmaiden to the organization's primary interest in economic matters. With a greater focus on the changed context in which education now works and armed with a new discourse of globalization and the knowledge economy, the economic efficiency perspective now dominates the OECD's educational work, which is increasingly more technical and data-driven, and which has replaced the earlier normative debates about the multiple purposes of education.

Equally, the way the OECD works and the manner in which it relates to its members have changed. Indeed, this much is explicitly acknowledged by the organization in suggesting that:

OECD has evolved greatly in the globalising world economy. It has been 'globalising' itself, notably through new Members and dialogue activities. . . . Further, analysing the many facets of the process of globalization, and their policy implications, has become the central theme in OECD's work, as the challenges and opportunities of globalization have become a high priority of policy-makers in OECD countries. (OECD, 1996a: 15)

The OECD now asserts – perhaps accurately – that “a broad consensus exists on many aspects of the policy requirement for a globalizing world economy.” In this way, the OECD has made considerable use of the idea of globalization in both redefining its policy program and in reconceptualizing its relationship to member countries, often prescribing the manner in which they should interpret and respond to the pressures of globalization, and take the opportunities offered by the global economy.

However, in articulating the logic of globalization in this manner, the OECD appears to “reify” the economic relations it regards as “globalizing,” treating them as if they were self-evident and inevitable. This has the effect of masking some of the normative assumptions underlying its conception of globalization, treating them as if they were beyond political debate. Yet, globalization is a highly contested term that refers to a whole range of social processes. Indeed, it is possible to interpret globalization in a number of contrasting ways (Held & McGrew, 2005). The OECD's perspective on “globalization” seems to accord market relations conceptual primacy, referring to a set of social processes that imply inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies. It correctly associates globalization with technological revolutions in transport, communication, and data processing, but explores only their economic implications, and not the cultural transformations to which they have also given rise.

And in so far as the OECD considers the political aspects of the global economy, characterized as informational, networked, knowledge-based, postindustrial, and service-oriented, it suggests a radically revised view of the roles and responsibilities

of the state (OECD, 1995). It assumes that the old centralized bureaucratic state structures were too slow and sclerotic and “out of sync” with the emergent needs of transnational capital. It therefore calls for a minimalist state, with a greater reliance on the market. It argues for new devolved forms of governance that are more compatible with the so-called demands of the global economy. It recognizes increasing levels of cultural interactions across national and ethnic communities, but views this as both an opportunity and a challenge to the social cohesion necessary for economic growth and development.

A problem with this account is that it views globalization in terms of an objective inexorable set of social processes. This focus on description however overlooks the fact that globalization is also a subjective phenomena, which involves actual human agents interpreting the conditions of interconnectivity. Nor does it permit the possibility that it may be a deliberate, ideological project of economic liberalization that directs people towards more intense market forces (see Bourdieu, 2003); and that it is based on a politics of meaning that seeks to steer them towards a certain taken-for-grantedness about the ways in which the global economy operates and the manner in which culture, crises, resources, and power formations are filtered through its universal logic. It thus “ontologizes” the processes it describes, seeking to create subjects who view policy options through the conceptual prism of an assumed logic. As Schrato and Webb (2003: 1) point out, represented in these terms, “globalization” designates certain power relations, practices, and technologies, playing a “hegemonic role in organizing and decoding the meaning of the world.”

Given this representation, the OECD no longer seems to entertain broader philosophical debates about the purposes of education, but locates them instead within its presumed normative commitment to globalization’s ideological forms, articulated in terms of a neoliberal logic of markets. This depoliticization of educational issues leads the organization to reconceptualize its policy work in mostly technical terms, concerned with questions of how best to understand the so-called imperatives of globalization; how education can be a more efficient instrument of economic development; how greater accountability of educational systems can be ensured; and how education should develop social subjects who view the world as an interconnected space in which informational networks play a crucial role in sustaining market activity.

Indeed, within this neoliberal economic logic, the OECD now accords greater importance to education than ever before. So much so that in 2002, it established a separate Directorate for Education, something it had resisted for most of its history (Papadopoulos, 1994). In establishing the Directorate, the secretary-general of the OECD (2004) stressed that “Education is a priority for OECD Member countries and the OECD is playing an increasingly important role in this field. Society’s most important investment is in the education of its people.” This observation is clearly based on the OECD’s interpretation of the requirements of the global economy, in which knowledge is assumed to be a key ingredient and in which innovation and commercialization of knowledge are considered major drivers of economic development.

Given these normative convictions, it is not surprising then that much of educational policy deliberations at the OECD are concerned with technical issues, as is evident in its work program for 2005–2006, which suggests that internationally comparable

statistics and indicators must underpin much of the educational work of the OECD, and that the ultimate outputs of its policy recommendations must be designed to increase both the quality and equity of education systems. Listed as major concerns are issues of equity in access and outcomes, quality, choice, public and private financing, and individual and social returns to investment in learning. Underpinning this list is the conviction that education is a major factor in contributing to human capital formation and economic growth, and that policy research in education should therefore be directed to this end.

Changing Modes of Working

With this conviction firmly in place, the OECD's mode of working has undergone substantial shifts. According to Papadopolous (1994: 14), the OECD's general approach to education between 1960 and 1990 was based on international cooperation, which involved its education committee to identify problems on which such cooperation was felt to be useful. Country educational policy reviews were conducted on a voluntary basis, and followed "a *sui generis*' pattern in terms of their methods of investigation, coverage and periodicity." The Secretariat in turn brought to the education committee newly emerging policy concerns, around which it was authorized to conduct thematic reviews. And although these reviews made recommendations, there was no mechanism for ensuring that they were implemented, beyond encouragement and advice.

In more recent years, however, while the OECD has retained this general rhetoric of international cooperation, the balance between the political work of the education committee and the technical tasks performed by the secretariat has shifted. With a greater agreement over the organization's ideological position, the debates within the committee are no longer as intense, and are replaced by the setting of work priorities and a consideration of the administrative issues of coordination and monitoring. The OECD now devotes more resources to the collection of comparative performance data in education than it has ever done before. Equally, the country reports no longer occupy the centre stage; and it is around the performance data that the organization explores issues of educational equity and outcomes. The notions of multilateral surveillance and peer pressure have always existed within the OECD, as we have already noted, but in the current context, the organization insists that the effectiveness of policies requires mutual adaptation and that the "peer pressure" system is essential for countries to become more transparent, to accept explanations and justification, and to become self-critical (OECD, 1998: 2).

The OECD has traditionally viewed itself as a unique forum, which enables its members to examine and formulate their distinctive policies in both economic and social spheres. However, in recent years, its outreach and impact have become greatly extended, through its work with 'non-member economies' and through the global recognition of the technical expertise it has acquired in comparative performance assessment. Its Directorate for Education, for example, has developed a Unit for Cooperation with Non-member Economies (NME), the terminology used by the OECD to refer to non-member countries. The Directorate's interest in NMEs is based on the view that in the context of

a global integration of economic activity, it is no longer possible to understand the economic competitiveness of its own members without focusing also on comparative issues, and monitoring the challenges posed to them by transitional economies, especially those that are now achieving higher levels of growth.

Of particular interest to the OECD then are the transitional and fast developing economies of China and India. Its Global Relations program is based on its realization that in a globally integrated economy, an understanding of and strategic cooperation with these economies is vital for the sustainability of the economies of its own members. It therefore conducts a wide range of policy dialogue and capacity building activities not only with China and India but also with other NMEs. Through its *Country Programmes, Regional Approaches and Global Forums* and the like, it shares best policy practices with them on matters that bear on OECD's policy debate. It holds regular global forums on such policy themes as the knowledge economy, governance, international investment, competition, agriculture and education, but on an assumption that 'the OECD has progressively evolved from the traditional concept of 'outreach' in its relations with the rest of the world to a two-way flow where giving access to and participation in core OECD work and processes is as important as disseminating OECD's best practices' (OECD, 2007: 4). Ultimately, the OECD insists that its global relations program is based on its desire to contribute to the harmonious functioning of the global economy, to promote shared prosperity and to encourage shared knowledge for better public policy.

The OECD's perspective on globalization has also led it to develop formal links with a number of other international organizations, with the expressed purpose of helping bring the OECD's institutional and policy expertise and technical know how to NMEs. It has therefore worked, for example, with the World Bank and UNESCO on the development of a World Education Indicators (WEI) project. WEI is a joint initiative of these organizations designed to provide a set of comparative educational data about transitional economies. The OECD's role in the project has been to provide technical advice based on its long history of work with performance indicators. But as Rutkowski (2007) points out, this role is grounded in the OECD's neoliberal precepts, and it is difficult to separate the OECD's technical expertise from its normative assumptions about the role education must play in the development of the global economy.

These normative assumptions now constitute a global ideology that both informs the OECD's policy work in education and have become central to its multilateral relations with NMEs and international organizations alike. This has of course happened within a broader context of the changes in the ways in which nation-states now relate to and work with each other. The traditional conception of the nation-state as a fundamental unit of world order, a unitary phenomenon characterized by its relative homogeneity with a set of singular purposes, has been replaced by a fragmented policy arena, permeated by transnational networks as well as domestic agencies and forces. As Held & McGrew (2005: 11) argue, 'the contemporary era has witnessed layers of governance spreading within and across political boundaries', transforming state sovereignty into a shared exercise of power. With the emergence of new patterns of political interconnectedness, 'the scope of policy choices available to individual governments and the effectiveness of many traditional policy instruments tends to decline' (p. 13).

However, this multilateral cooperation does not occur in a politically neutral space, but in a space that is characterized by asymmetrical relations of power. The flows of information and policy ideas are skewed towards the most powerful countries and their political interests. However, as facilitators of information flows and policy dialogue, international organizations have acquired greater power and influence than ever before. In the past the OECD viewed itself a forum for open dialogue with its members, but it is now clear that it has increasingly become a policy actor in its own right (Henry et al., 2001). Both through the construction of its agenda for policy dialogue and its technical statistical work, it displays a marked preference for certain policy priorities. This preference is now carried over into its multilateral work. This much is evident in the ways in which the OECD has promoted a new social imaginary around the discourse of the knowledge economy.

A Social Imaginary of the Knowledge Economy

In recent years, scholars such as Taylor (2004) and Appadurai (2000) have used the notion of ‘social imaginary’ to show how ideologies are promoted through social imaginaries, in ways that make them appear self-evident and natural. A ‘social imaginary’ (Taylor, 2004) represents a discourse, or a set of overlapping discourses, that is at once descriptive and prescriptive of conceptions of how practice is best organized around policy, is directed towards certain outcomes and is organized around a set of norms. For Taylor, the idea of social imaginary involves a complex, unstructured and contingent mix of the empirical and the affective – not a ‘fully articulated understanding of our whole situation within which particular features of our world become evident’ (Taylor, 2004: 21).

Importantly however a social imaginary is not simply inherited and already determined for us, it is rather something that is in a constant state of flux. It is through the collective sense of imagination that discourses and institutional practices are created, and are given coherence, and acquire the character of a taken-for-granted commonsense. Appadurai (1996) has analysed the role of social imaginary in the formation of subjectivities within the globalizing context in which we now live, a context that is characterized by diffusion of social images, ideas and ideologies across communities around the world. This diffusion is facilitated by electronic media, mass migration and the mobility of capital and labour.

Within such a context, international organizations play an important role, in directing people away from the dominant national narratives to shared transnational imaginaries, through the global distribution of particular policy ideas and ideologies that link ‘states together and transformed sovereignty into the shared exercise of power’ (Held & McGrew, 2005: 11). In this way, as Bourdieu (2003) has pointed out, there is a slide from the descriptive usage of globalization to a normative or performative one that elides the politics of meaning surrounding concepts such as the ‘knowledge economy’. As Kenway et al. (2006: 4) point out, “the contemporary policy discourse of knowledge economy, with its interlaced ideas about knowledge, information, learning, economy, and society, has become so influential that it has assumed the status of truth, dominating policy lexicon and excluding alternative economies –even denying that

they exist". A social imaginary that becomes hegemonic makes it difficult to imagine its alternatives.

No other organization has been as globally influential in promoting the social imaginary of the knowledge economy as the OECD. This imaginary suggests that education is central to human capital formation for the development of national economies in the face of international competition and global pressures. Within an increasingly global economy, knowledge is assumed to be an intrinsic component of economic production and activity. The OECD has been centrally important in articulating and spreading this policy talk about the knowledge economy and the role education, innovation and research must play in it. Indeed, its document, *The Knowledge Based Economy* published in 1996 set the tone for the ways in which the knowledge economy is now described. Other international organizations such as the World Bank, UNESCO and the European Union followed its suit, as did many national governments, liberally using the concepts associated with the discourse of knowledge economy to develop their own policy recommendations.

The discourse of knowledge economy fuses various ideas about knowledge, information, learning, the economy and society into a single imaginary. Its claims to authority reside both in recent developments in the supposed facts of globalization and in recent economic theory, particularly new growth theory. According to new growth theorists such as Romer (1986) and Howitt (2000), in the era of globalization, economic growth is driven largely by technological progress or innovation that involves converting existing knowledge and human capital into new and improved knowledge products. In contrast to earlier economic theories, the new growth theory regards knowledge as endogenous to economic activity, requiring improvements in the ways in which knowledge workers and resources are used. It puts knowledge at the centre of economic policies, and makes investment in knowledge producing sectors such as research and education central to policy interventions.

Human capital development thus becomes a key to economic growth and competitiveness. As OECD (1996c) argues, "governments will need more stress on upgrading human capital through promoting access to a range of skills, and especially the capacity to learn." It suggests that the knowledge economy requires a larger proportion of workers to be prepared for highly skilled jobs, workers who have competencies to use new technologies effectively and favorable cultural attitudes towards change and innovation. In a rapidly changing world, these competencies include certain behavioral traits such as adaptability, organizational loyalty, and integrity; the skills of communication, information processing and problem-solving; the ability to work independently and under pressure, take responsibility for decisions and work in culturally diverse contexts, to seize upon the commercial potential of knowledge and to be able to work in teams and provide leadership.

In the knowledge economy, knowing about facts and theories is less important than an understanding of the world of social relations and the networks through which knowledge is converted into innovation and commercially viable products. This is considered more important than formal, codified, structured, and explicit knowledge. Against these assumptions, it is suggested by new growth theorists, such as Foray and Lundvall (1996), that a nation's capacity to take advantage of the knowledge economy

depends on how quickly it can become a ‘learning economy’. Learning, Foray and Lundvall argue, should not only involve the ability to use new technologies to access global knowledge, but should also mean using technology to communicate with other people about how to improve productivity. This implies that individuals, corporations, and nations create wealth in proportion to their capacity to learn and share innovation. If this is so then learning must be continuous and not restricted to formal schooling – that is, it must be lifelong learning.

Together these ideas constitute a new social imaginary, now vigorously promoted by the OECD, shifting the focus of learning from “knowing that” to “knowing how,” giving rise to new conceptions of the ways in which learning is defined, arranged, valued, and utilized in largely market terms. It represents an almost universal deepening of a shift from social-democratic to neoliberal orientations, in which economic goals of education are given priority over its social and cultural purposes. When represented as having a solid, almost incontestable, intellectual foundation, it does not permit alternative questions of value to be raised. As Kenway et al. (2006: 2) point out the discourse of knowledge economy does not question the values it promotes. They argue, moreover, that the “knowledge economy is haunted by the spectres of alternative economies,” because it does not examine how it privileges certain values over others, taking for granted its priorities, exclusions, contradictions, and blind spots.

In its popular form, the social imaginary of the knowledge economy imagines all human behavior to be based on the economic self-interest of individuals operating within free competitive markets. It assumes economic growth and competitive advantage to be a direct outcome of the levels of investment in developing human capital. It suggests that in a global economy, performance is increasingly linked to people’s knowledge stock, skills level, learning capabilities, and cultural adaptability. It therefore demands policy interventions that enhance labor flexibility not only through the deregulation of the market but also through reform to systems of education and training, designed to align them to the changing nature of economic activity. And it suggests a society in which economic concerns shape not only subjectivities and social relations but also governance structures. It encourages greater demands for accountability, surveillance, as well modes of policy coordination based on measurements of comparative performance, to provide information about the levels of global competitiveness.

The Rise and Rise of PISA

It is within the broader context of this social imaginary of knowledge economy that the enormous success of the OECD’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) can be understood. PISA is based on a fundamental assumption that the international competitiveness of national economies is based on “the quality of national education and training systems judged according to international standards” (Brown et al., 1997, pp. 7–8). The OECD has been enormously successful in representing PISA as the most accurate and legitimate measure of comparative performance. Indeed, it has built a new policy niche for itself amongst international organizations for its

unmatched technical expertise in educational performance assessment. Published in its annual publication, *Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators and in other reports*, PISA demonstrates the important role that OECD now plays as a policy actor and mediator of knowledge (Henry et al., 2001), with an increasing capacity to shape policy priorities in education not only among its member nations but others as well.

As we have already noted, for example, UNESCO and the World Bank have drawn heavily on the OECD's expertise in developing the World Education Indicators for the education systems of the transitional economies. The OECD has also worked closely with the Commission of the EU in developing technical infrastructure for the collection and analysis of data of various kinds, including indicators, and has provided technical advice to numerous national systems. In this way, it has become a major international source of technical expertise in educational statistics. This expertise however privileges what might be referred to as "a number approach" to policy work, which sidelines the broader philosophical discussions of educational purpose, focussing instead on an input/output systems; attempting to offer policy insights about the efficiency and effectiveness of national educational systems.

In pursuing this technical approach to policy research, the OECD has been singularly successful in not only shifting the goals of the education towards the social imaginary of knowledge economy, but it has also been able to promote a particular notion of "good governance" in education, a phrase that masks an underlying shift in educational ideology. Located within the ideas of the new public management (OECD, 1995), which attaches a great deal of importance to the mechanisms of "steering at a distance" through comparative performance measures, the OECD has effectively shifted the focus of the educational governance from questions of purpose to such issues concerning transparency of decision-making processes, forms of devolution, technologies of measuring educational performance, international benchmarking, mechanisms of quality assurance, appropriate accountability regimes, sources of educational funding, effective uses of public resources, and so on. Even this short list shows how most of these issues relate to economic efficiency, defined mostly in terms of the extent to which educational systems are responsive to the labor market needs of the global economy.

Around the world, the effectiveness of educational systems is now increasingly measured against the performance data provided by PISA. Its results are taken very seriously by participating nations as a measure of the effectiveness of their education systems and the quality of their human capital, currently and potentially. Witness, for example, the apparent education policy panic in Germany following their poor results in the first PISA of 2000. The outstanding performance of Finnish students on all measures on all PISA testing to date has, on the other hand, made Finland something of a laboratory for educators looking to improve their systems. In each case, the categories around which the PISA is constructed have seldom been the subject of political debate, as comparative performance and relative rankings have assumed centre stage.

PISA was developed in the 1990s and was based on the 1999 OECD report, *Measuring Student Knowledge and Skills – A New Framework for Assessment*. It is conducted every 3 years to examine the applied knowledge and skills of students at the end of compulsory schooling at age 15 years. PISA tests the capacities of students near the end of compulsory schooling in the use of their knowledge and skills to meet

real-life challenges. Thus its tests are not curricula based; rather they are constructed in a purpose-built way by a contracted consortium of expert agencies with the support of technical advisory committees. A lot of sophisticated test development is done to ensure as far as possible culture fair testing and accurate translation. In this way, PISA creates its own data rather than drawing national data into a space of international comparison. PISA regards as crucially important its claim to comparability and a commensurate space of international comparison – a space of uniform measurement, or what Desrosieres (1998) refers to as a “space of equivalence.”

Within national frameworks; there was always greater concern about the creation of this national commensurable space than about construct validity, more about issues of reliability and comparison than ontology. The same is the case with PISA. It claims to have created a global commensurable space of measurement of the effectiveness of schooling systems in terms of the capacities of students at the end of compulsory schooling in the “application of knowledge to real-life challenges.” Its architects suggest that PISA is constructed in a policy relevant way and is concerned to ascertain the dispositions of students at the end of compulsory schooling for lifelong learning. As such, while there might still be some technical debates about the nature of the tests, most of the national and international media and political responses to PISA results are about the league tables of performance and comparative national positioning. In this way, the technical is privileged over the political, and the popular social imaginary of the knowledge economy is sustained. As Rose (1999) has argued, policy as numbers tends to do this – the power of numbers is such that they “render invisible and hence incontestable – the complex array of judgements and decisions that go into a measurement, a scale, a number” (Rose, 1999: 208). Arguably then PISA’s rise and rise would not have been possible without the social imaginary of knowledge economy complementing its central claims.

Rearticulating the Social

While PISA deals mostly with literacy, mathematics, science, and problem-solving (only in 2003), it also requires students to complete a questionnaire about themselves on their backgrounds, study habits, while background data on the school in terms of resourcing, size and the organization of the curriculum are also collected. This allows for the generation of some very policy-useful correlational data between variables such as socioeconomic background and performance, which has helped reignite equity debates both within the OECD members and elsewhere. However, as Berliner (2007) points out, the PISA’s technical focus means that its own analysis of equity matters is located within a very narrow definition of equity in education, as formal access to educational institutions. It eschews the broader political issues about educational justice, both within and across nations.

This is broadly symptomatic of the OECD’s general approach to educational policies. Indeed, while it would be wrong to assume that the organization is not interested in social and ethical issues relevant to education, it is equally true that, given its social imaginary of the knowledge economy, it views these issues within the broader

framework of education's economic ends. In this way, its exploration of such issues rests on what George Soros (1998) has called "economic fundamentalism," a kind of conceptual prism through which even such moral notions as equality are considered, with their meaning rearticulated. Equality, for example, is no longer interpreted as an intrinsic moral end as such, but is linked to the instrumental purposes of human capital development and economic self-maximization. So while the OECD continues to utilize seemingly ethical concepts, this work is increasingly couched in terms of such notions as access, social capital, and social cohesion, rearticulated in a language that views them as necessary for participation in the knowledge economy.

What such economic fundamentalism fails to do, however, is to recognize that access to education is a conceptually complicated matter and that a purely economic analysis of its character is never sufficient to realize the potential of education. So while a commitment to formal access to educational institutions is entirely consistent with the idea of economic efficiency, it is not enough to achieve social justice, more broadly conceptualized, concerned with the multiple and diverse ways in which human societies function. That this is so can perhaps be demonstrated by considering issues relating to the education of girls and boys. In recent years, organizations such as the OECD have repeatedly emphasized the importance of gender equity in education. And indeed much has been done to provide girls greater access to education; and the number of girls attending school has never been greater. In recent years, organizations such as the OECD have repeatedly emphasized the importance of gender equity in education. And indeed much has been done to provide girls greater access to education; and the number of girls attending school has never been greater; PISA results have been used to document the generally poorer performance of boys on literacy measures. The concern for girls has been about economic outcomes from schooling compared with boys in terms of income and career opportunities.

However, the arguments presented for gender equity by the OECD reveal its preference for a social imaginary that is cast largely in terms of economic efficiency, and the requirements of the knowledge economy. According to the OECD (2006), "Investing in women (with respect to education, health, family planning, access to land, etc.) not only directly reduces poverty, but also leads to higher productivity and a more efficient use of resources." Such an argument reduces concerns of gender equity to a purely economic logic, which is arguably sexist, since it views women as a means to certain economic ends, rather than as people who participate in education for a huge variety of reasons, some economic, others social and cultural.

A stronger claim to gender equity in education, on the other hand, would address issues not only of their access to formal education but also of social outcomes of their education, as well as the broader cultural issues of gender relations. Here the picture is decidedly mixed. Recent data show that while girls are participating in education in larger numbers than ever before, the benefits of their education are not proportional to their effort. For example, in recent years, there have been many more opportunities for women to utilize their education in paid work. However, this work has been predominantly in the service economy of global information, global communication, global retailing, and global finance (Scholte, 2000: 251). Each of these areas has been

characterized by “flexible” labor conditions and poorer career prospects, perpetuating and sometimes deepening gender hierarchies.

What this analysis indicates is that gender equity beyond access requires a radical overhaul of the educational and social processes that perpetuate gender inequalities. This aspiration is clearly informed by a broader purpose of education than that suggested by the OECD’s social imaginary of the knowledge economy, which, while it demands better utilization of the human resources that women represent, does not seek the social transformation through which gender relations could be reconfigured. For such a transformation, there would clearly be a need to highlight not only access and social inclusion, but also the importance of rethinking the terms of this inclusion. It would envisage societies that have potentially been economically, politically, and socially transformed in gender terms. It would require changes not only to the ways education is administered but also to curriculum and pedagogy, especially in the context of globalization with its potential to reshape patterns of both economic and social relations.

What is clear then is that the OECD’s interest in the social is largely driven by its commitment to the social imaginary of the knowledge economy. So, for example, its work on social cohesion is no longer promoted because it is morally worthwhile, but because it is necessary for economic sustainability and development. A similar logic is evident in the way the OECD has used the concept of social capital. Following Putnam (2000), the concept of social capital has received a good deal of attention within OECD circles in recent years. But, as Thomson (1999) suggests this interest stems from three impulses: a response to the dominant individualism underpinning the development of human capital for purposes of national competitiveness; a recognition that economic success requires a certain level of social cohesion, stability and trust; and a growing recognition that many people are decoupling economic success from sense of well-being.

In this way, social capital appears as a policy for managing economic marginalization, social exclusion, and heightening levels of cultural differences within societies, to promote social cohesion considered necessary for economic activity. But such a view of social cohesion presupposes economic efficiency to be a primary value, within the framework of which social and educational policies are couched. This effectively residualizes social concepts such as equality and social cohesion, no longer treated in moral terms, or as necessary for cultural sustainability, but essential for economic productivity. Educational policy, couched in terms of these concepts, thus assumes education to be a strategic tool for the management of economic change. Social exclusion is interpreted as a matter of failure to engage with the knowledge economy, either through the lack of appropriate skills or disposition or through the lack of effective governance, and not as a broader issue of social and cultural formations.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have argued that a fundamental tension has always existed within the OECD between two competing perspectives on educational policy. The first of these perspectives views education in terms of its multiple purposes, as an instrument

of economic development but also a vehicle for promoting democratic equality and social mobility. This tension is accurately and insightfully described by Papadopoulos. For much of the period Papadopoulos worked at the OECD and discusses in his book, education was viewed in social-democratic terms, concerned with the development of democratic citizens, who could participate in their communities in a critically informed manner. Education was regarded as a public good, implying that maximum benefit could only be derived from education if every member of a community was educated equally to realize their full potential. The primary purpose of education was thus the creation of productive citizens. Economic outcomes of education were recognized, but were located within the framework of the broader role of education in the development of a socially cohesive democratic community.

We have argued that in recent decades this perspective on education has gradually given way within the OECD to an alternative perspective that emphasizes instead the role of education in ensuring economic efficiency within an increasingly globalized market. This perspective requires education to play an instrumental role in producing workers able to contribute to the economic productivity of nations and corporations alike. Its focus is not only on the needs and development of individuals but also on the efficiency with which educational systems operate. The emphasis is on the system's capacity to make an adequate return on investment, assessed in terms of its contribution in producing workers with knowledge, skills, and attitudes relevant to increasing productivity. In this way, education is viewed both as a public and a private good: public because it contributes to the economic development of a community; and private because it serves individual interests within a competitive labour market.

The ascendancy of this perspective to on education within the OECD, we have suggested, has been associated with a new discourse of globalization and its implications for educational policy. The OECD has justified this shift in its orientation in its educational policy work in terms of the need to reflect the changing global realities. In the process globalization has been reified, treated as if it is inevitable, with its various forms self-evident. Not only has the OECD's policy work been transformed in such terms the organization has also played an important role in globally promoting it. This has been done through the development of what we have called a social imaginary of the knowledge economy. Such an imaginary is based on the ideological belief that social and economic "progress" can only be achieved through systems of education more geared towards fulfilling the needs of the market in which knowledge has acquired greater importance than ever before.

With the purposes of education so instrumentally defined, education has been allocated the primary task of producing workers who have a grounding in basic literacy and numeracy, who are flexible, creative, entrepreneurial, and multiskilled, who have good knowledge of new information and communication technologies, and who are able to work in culturally diverse environments. Issues of social policy relevant to education such as equity and social cohesion are still considered important by the OECD, but their meanings have now been rearticulated to a consideration of the social conditions necessary for the development of these attributes and for economic sustainability and development within the global knowledge economy.

This ideological shift has led the OECD to a radically different view of its policy work in education, now concerned less with debating philosophical issues about the purposes of education and the sociological conditions in which education can serve its various purposes, and more with the technical issues of performance management, exemplified most explicitly in its educational indicators project, PISA. Ultimately, the OECD, which, in the Papadopoulos period, represented a unique forum for its members to debate educational issues has now become a policy actor in its own right, which promotes, through its ideological and technical work, a particular view of education concerned more with economic efficiency than with issues of social and cultural formations.

Note

This paper extends the work of an Australian Research Council funded project (1995–1997) conducted by Miriam Henry, Sandra Taylor, Fazal Rizvi, and Bob Lingard, as well as a book derived from that study, *The OECD, Globalisation and Education Policy* (Henry et al., 2001). The section on PISA also draws upon the project “Fabricating Quality in European Education Systems” as part of an ESF Eurocores project, in which the UK element is funded by ESRC (RES-00-23–1385). Bob Lingard acknowledges the contribution of his colleague, Sotiria Grek.

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CAN MULTILATERAL BANKS EDUCATE THE WORLD?

Claudio de Moura Castro¹

This paper can be seen as a primer to educators who know little about the World Bank (henceforth WB) and the Inter-American Development Bank (henceforth IDB).² It tries to draw a broad picture of these somewhat mysterious and awe-inspiring organizations.

While both banks lend for a wide variety of sectors and the rules and principles are approximately the same, the paper focuses on education loans. One consequence of this narrower focus is to bypass the painful and inconclusive discussions about the choice of sectors where these banks should operate.

This essay is not the result of reading books and papers – even though some writings are helpful to better conceptualize the issues.³ The author has been an officer of both banks, as well as a close observer from the outside. This brings to the narrative a first-hand perspective and an effort to make sense out of a personal experience as an insider. There has been an earnest attempt to prevent personal interests and perspectives from contaminating his views. However, to claim neutrality in such matters is naïve, at best.

How Development Banks Work

The logic behind a multilateral development bank needs to be understood clearly. They are neither commercial banks, nor are they agencies funded and under administrative control of the rich countries (even though these countries wield considerable power in major decisions).

Their goal is to promote the economic and social development. After World War II it helped countries ravaged by wars. After the 1950s it focused their lending in developing countries. Perhaps at some moment in their history, economists thought they knew how to promote development. But history proved they were wrong. These days, all certainties about development recipes are gone. Therefore, such doubts compound the quest to find out whether they have been successful in their endeavors.

As should become clear in the text, no extreme views are warranted. Banks are neither a disaster nor an immaculate success; neither evil nor saints. They fail and they succeed. The gist of the presentation is to indicate some common denominators that have been observed.

Economic Rationale: Low Interest Borrowing

Let's start with a simple question. What is the financial magic performed by a development bank? In other words, in purely financial terms, what has justified their existence?

Several decades ago, a number of countries got together and decided to create a bank of their own so that some of them could borrow at lower interest rates. But even more important than that, borrow for long periods of time, such as 15–30 years. Hence, from day one they were banks owned by governments. Naïve comments about banks not being “democratic institutions” completely miss the target. They are democratic in the sense that their governance is exerted by a Board chosen by the member countries. Perhaps some countries have more power than others in this governance, but that is another matter.

Technically, they are not banks. They are more like credit cooperatives – where only members can borrow. Or, more precisely, credit cooperatives of participating countries.

How do they work? If the United States decides to borrow money, it issues bonds that pay the lowest interest rate in the market. Why? Because the country is rated “triple A” in the financial markets, due to the very low risk of default. Less developed countries have a much lower financial rating. Therefore, if they decide to float bonds, they will have to pay a rate of interest much higher than that paid by the United States, because borrowers are afraid the country will default on its obligations.

If the average Latin American country tried to borrow money today, it would pay interest that would include a considerable spread, to cover the risk of default. When the World Bank or the IDB float bonds in financial markets, they can do so at the lowest interest rate of the market. Hence, the whole idea of a “development bank” is little more than a market trick to allow poor countries to borrow money at rates that can be as low as half of what they could obtain on their own and with much shorter time to pay back. But in order to break even, the development banks have to add another percentage point in order to pay the salaries of the staff. And there is lots of staff, because this is a very complicated business. But since multilateral banks do not make profits, this in itself further lowers the interest rate.⁴

Therefore, the trick is to create a bank that includes the poorer countries that want to borrow and also the rich countries that lend their reputation and reliability. The credit worthiness of the big countries – the United States, Germany, Japan, the UK, and so on – permit the bank to have a “triple A” rating. This rating allows the bank to borrow at the lowest possible interest rate found anywhere in the world.

In contrast to what some people think, Banks do not lend their own money. They lend the funds they borrow. In fact, development banks do not lend rich countries' money. They lend the money they borrow from financial markets. Therefore neither the United States nor any other country is subsidizing the World Bank loans. The same goes with the IDB, or any other development bank. The United States, like others, contributed a modest amount of money in the beginning, to build initial capital reserves. Bankers know that just a little bit of capital leverages significant borrowing in financial markets.

Hence, in this respect, development banks are just like commercial operations; there are no subsidies involved. They borrow money by issuing bonds, and then they lend this money at interest rates that allow them to break even.

The downside of this operation is that banks have very little funds to make grants. In fact, it is easier for them to lend \$200 million than to give \$20,000 as a grant. Why? Because banks have as the only source of money what they borrow from the market. And if they borrow, they have to pay back. To be more accurate, they receive a modest amount of grant money from rich countries (lately, Japan has been the most generous donor) to selectively support a few projects. But the grand total of grant money is a very small proportion of what they lend.

The good news is that the banks have a lot of money. They can make a difference in many countries. They can add to the funds that would be available in public budgets an amount of money that a country would not otherwise have. In the absence of a loan, such funds would have to be subtracted from the salaries of civil servants or the provision of basic services.

Countries Have to Repay Their Loans, No Matter What

It is instructive to find that most professionals in the banks don't know much about the banking business. Ask anybody at the IDB or the World Bank about interest rates. Chances are they do not know. And there are good reasons for that.

Banks don't worry about repayment of the loans either. This is because if the country doesn't pay, it is put on the IMF's "black list." And being in this list is one of the most uncomfortable situations a country could be. It means that the country will not be able to borrow from any bank, multilateral or private. Perhaps even more important, the countries preserve their ability to have both the IMF and the WB as bankers of last resource, i.e., if worse comes to worst, they still have access to the funds from these two agencies.

This stiff penalty allows the banks to completely dedicate themselves to the lending end – or development objectives – of the operation. Bank officers worry about developing and implementing projects. In simple terms, there are no credit risks to worry about. Therefore, they do not behave like banks in the true sense of the word. They don't need to know about interest rates, repayments, or the like.

In many ways, project officers are neither the bleeding hearts who give money away nor the bankers who think only about interest payments and how to make money off someone else. Bank officers deal with development projects. They were recruited because their professional profiles suit them for those tasks.

Loan Preparation Takes a Long Time

Before development banks lend, they have to ensure that the money will go to projects that are fully spelled out, both in conception and in plans for implementation. There are good reasons for that.

Improvisation is avoided and the ideal conditions for implementation are planned, including all the precautions against corruption. The first step before a loan is a careful diagnosis of the sector where the funds will be spent.

The downside of this has to do with the fears of bureaucrats and their attempts to protect themselves against accusations of laxity and lack of control. In too many cases, the bureaucratic requirements go much beyond what seems like reasonable precautions.

Whatever the reasons, it takes at least 1 year to negotiate a loan and prepare the requisite contracts and documents. If there are disagreements between the Washington staff that is preparing the loan and the representatives of the recipient countries, it may take much longer. In the case of problematic loans or countries with ineffective governments, it may take several years to get it approved.

Strict Contracts Protect Loans from Political Vagaries

The good side of all the bureaucratic formalities is the stability and continuity that it brings to the programs funded by such loans. A minister can announce a program to be initiated the next day – to give milk to the children or to build schools. In 3 months' time, he may have been replaced by another minister announcing another program. Guess where the money comes from? Of course, from the program that was created 5 or 6 months earlier by the previous minister.

But change is not so easy with projects funded by a development bank. The country is committed. Contracts are signed. In other words, if both sides go through all the troubles to prepare and sign a project document, a significant amount of work is needed to get the project canceled. This is not a good idea. In addition to losing face, the loan funds cannot be used for alternative uses, because it is locked in this operation.

For decades, for every dollar included in the loan, the country Treasury had to put another (the exact proportion depended on the level of income of the borrowing country. These are the counterpart funds. One clear implication is that not only the loan contract was binding for the funds to be disbursed, but it also froze another chunk of money of the same magnitude.

Compared to the average government program, this inertia gives a much greater stability and coherence to the bank loans. They are more robust and have far fewer chances of being killed at the political whim of a new minister or a new administration. As a result, continuity, structure, discipline and technical support have a greater probability of presenting themselves.

Loan design reflects ample experience with similar loans in other countries. It represents the best practices known in the world, given the broad perspective and knowledge basis of technical staff.

Another advantage is that loans set aside an amount of money that allows a country to hire the very best minds in the world, which are expensive. Usually it is politically difficult for a country to hire such expensive consultants, particularly when local salaries are so low. But well-chosen experts can make a difference.

However, there is also a downside of this inertia. A bad project is difficult to change. Evolving conditions and circumstance would suggest new strategies that are not easy to implement. For good and for evil, loans have a great amount of inertia.

Why Development Banks are Accused of the Worst Sins?

Gone are the glorious days when the World Bank was merrily prescribing policies and lending, rather than stirring controversies. Today, some accuse it of being the satanic tool of “neoliberalism” while others complain that it is plainly ineffective. Bank officers wonder how they can be both at the same time. These days being a multilateral bank implies that you are criticized, no matter what you do or don’t do. “Fifty years is enough,” said the critics at the fiftieth anniversary of the World Bank.

The United Nation specialized agencies have been paralyzed by fear of displeasing member countries. In contrast, the World Bank always came forward with strong views and outright preaching on just about everything, from structural adjustment to contraceptives. As much as this was a relief from the wishy-washy positions of the United Nations, the collisions with governments and independent critics were inevitable.

Could this ideological rejection come as a surprise? Well, development banks are indeed strange animals. As a former employee of these institutions, we did not know whether we were gods, devils, preachers, bankers, arrogant civil servants with Ph.D.’s, or just hopeless and pathetic bureaucrats. Actually, we may very well be a mixture of all these.

Values and Beliefs

The accusations against the World Bank – and to a lesser extent to the IDB – have been persistent and, if anything, receive ever more press coverage. The days when they proudly announced their goals of wiping out poverty and backwardness are gone. In many ways, they now pay for their past arrogance, their hubris, and the obvious fact that they promised more than they could deliver. But that is not to say that the critics got it right.

The banks are often accused of being “neoliberal” – the worst insult in the lexicon of the left. Of course, it would be naïve to imagine that it is possible to have an institution operating in such central and delicate areas without an ideology. Neutrality and agnosticism are not options. To have any meaning, policies have to accept, deny, or qualify all-encompassing concepts such as free markets, private property, and public intervention. Therefore, implicitly or explicitly, banks do have their own ideology. The question is how acceptable this ideology is to the borrowing governments and to its critics.

The World Bank and the IDB still believe in some mild version of the Washington Consensus. But it is worth noting that this consensus is an ever-shifting notion. In addition, there is a huge difference in the strengths of such beliefs in either bank. The true believers have been in the World Bank, the IDB being far less religious and more pragmatic. However, stripped of all that has been added to this concept – by friends and foes – principles such as balanced budgets, paying your bills, and controlling inflation are goals that most countries accept these days. Notice that the original Washington consensus of John Williamson was not much more than that (Kuczinski & Williamson, Chapter 10).

Below is a list of the principles current in the World Bank that, in a way or another, influence education lending (in a toned down version, they are the same in the IDB).

- Evidence-driven policies (controlled evidence is the reality check)
- Cost accounting (one must know how much it costs)
- Quantification (the more one can quantify, the better)
- Efficiency (getting more done with less resources is a permanent goal)
- Meritocracy (the best are to be chosen and rewarded)
- Competition (belief in the “invisible hand”)
- Market incentives (rewards and penalties are the most powerful incentives)
- No subsidies (prices must reflect true costs)
- Privatization (private ownership improves efficiency)

Complying with some version of these principles was mandatory on most project documents, in order for the loan document to have smooth sailing inside the World Bank. At the same time, while the IDB was always driven by such principles, their defense was substantially less vehement.

Nevertheless, this is only the beginning of the story. Thinking in either bank is far from being monolithic and compliance with the ideological impositions is more formal than real. Many loan officers added to their proposals all the mantras of the moment, knowing full well that they were not enforceable. Why fight for ideas that will never get out of the paper? It was more expedient to get the project approved quickly and then proceed to implementation, where realism prevails.

The idea that bank professionals form a disciplined army, thinking alike and implementing official policies is naïve. This could not happen in an institution that hires the top graduates of the world’s best universities – with analytical skills honed in debates and controversies. In fact, attending technical meetings in the WB one cannot escape the conclusion that professionals enjoy showing off and fencing with one another about theories and policies, more than anything else. There is a wide range of opinions and policy orientation among professionals and a lively debate goes on all the time. But in matters considered as serious, there is far more than intellectual legerdemain. In fact, as reported by Heyneman and witnessed personally by this author, during the first half of the 1990s, the doctrinaire clashes between education professionals, division chiefs and the management of the bank were nothing short of formidable (Heyneman, 2003).

Decision Making: How the World Influences the Banks?

To understand the logic of multilateral banks, it is useful to have a brief discussion of how decisions are made. Bank policies are generated in the interplay of three main actors: (i) management and staff, (ii) the Board, and (iii) the outside political forces that have a say in these matters.

Notice that banks are well-staffed at all levels. It has been said again and again that no other agency in the world has such an intellectually powerful and experienced staff in matters of development. In fact, no other contender stands up at the same league. The mindset of the banks is a natural consequence of the academic origins of its staff.

It comes predominantly from the very best universities, with a strong participation of graduates of leading Anglo-Saxon institutions. Therefore, ideas spontaneously reflect mainstream economic traditions. Not surprisingly, intellectual arrogance and hubris often comes in the same package. Ideological and theoretical beliefs derive directly from these academic origins. Bank practices acquire a style of their own but they rarely collide with the tenets of classical economics.

Banks operate in a political world and cannot ignore it. The WB members include just about all countries in the world. The IDB includes Latin American countries plus most rich and large countries – as mentioned, their presence ensures low risks and low interests for the funds it must borrow to make available to in the form of loans to member countries.

In practical terms, the United States (via the Treasury Department) has a disproportionate power. Being the largest shareholder, by the constitution of the Bank, it has more voting power. Presidencies or vice-presidencies are tacitly allocated to Americans. In the past, there have been the tugs of war between the United States and other countries. Today, in the majority of the cases, American positions do not go against the grain of most other member countries. But there are exceptions. For instance, indirectly, the United States has been able to prevent the entry of Cuba, both in the WB and the IDB. Yet, it failed in its attempts to save the presidency of Paul Wolfowitz, when accusations of nepotism surfaced.

North European countries take a strong stand for the environment, minorities, Indians, and the very poor. At times, it clashes with borrowing countries that may want to remain reckless in these matters. In other situations, borrowing countries find that they are too poor to impose strict Scandinavian standards. And they may be right.

NGOs' themes are similar to those of the Scandinavians but tend to be more strident and radical. At first, their whistle-blowing played a useful role. But they seem to have gone too far, after banks got their act together in those matters. In addition, there is an increasing perception that some horror stories were not true. Particularly in the case of the WB, NGOs have put much pressure to have a greater say on the lending operations. In fact, some of them are clearly antagonistic to the very existence of the banks. The "Fifty years is enough" campaign was very troubling to the WB, to the point that the commemorations for its half century anniversary were severely curtailed. Washington is a sounding board for NGOs and they are able to create much noise. This is a very contentious situation, as the noise created by hundreds such institutions bring a bad press for the banks.

Finally, borrowing countries are entitled to have a voice. Why not? At first, the rationale was much in the line of the "white men's burden." Poor countries were thought to be disorganized, have ineffective and corrupt governments and lack good judgment on what is good for them. But progressively it has become politically inappropriate to pursue this line. In addition, many countries have a clear and sound idea about their needs and preferences. In more recent years they do have a louder saying in deciding on their loans. It took some time to realize that when borrowers take ownership of the project, the chances of success are much higher.

These political constituencies have had an oscillating role in influencing the policy orientations of the banks. For instance, specific projects to deal with one aspect of development or broad, all-encompassing development policies?

Resulting from the interplay of all these constituencies, the banks developed their policies and styles.

Leftwing Educators Battle “Neoliberal” Values

The supra-national agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank ... [are] like a kind of economical and political ministries of transitional capital. ... They are the lords of the world or the *de facto* power in the world. (Frigotto, 1995, p. 82)

... all this [education development] is being orchestrated by the World Bank with its concept of education systems linked to vocationalization, aiming at preparing individuals to meet the requirement of productive activities and market circulation. ... (Ianni, 1996)

There is a growing participation of outside economic agents – the World Bank and the Interamerican Development Bank – as well as local entrepreneurs. (Monteiro, 2000, p. 48)

Sector Analysis documents of the World Bank, in general, display a lack of understanding and inadequate knowledge of education and accumulated research in the field. ... The dismantling of Education Ministries is, to a large extent, the direct and indirect result of the World Bank and IMF packages ... The World Bank ... package presents serious shortcomings ... and instead of contributing to change in the proposed direction ... reinforces inefficiency, poor quality and inequality in school systems. (Torres)

The above quotes illustrate the kind of opposition met by multilateral banks. Most of them have one feature in common. They reflect little knowledge of institutions and result from very cavalier research.

Let us look at a very instructive example. A book by a well-known researcher in Brazil bitterly denounced the World Bank for having master-minded the reform of technical education, by means of a loan to the Ministry of Education. She went on to describe how this foreign institution was interfering in domestic educational policies (Kuenzer, 2000). As it turns out, she did not take the time to verify that the loan was from the IDB not the World Bank! In fact, the World Bank never lent for technical education in Brazil. Furthermore, it was denouncing policy changes originally proposed by the author of this essay while he lived in Brazil, 10 years before he joined the World Bank and the IDB. Subsequently, when the loan to Brazil was being designed, this idea was introduced in the loan by this author who was part of the project team. Therefore, the supposed interference by a foreign power was merely an old Brazilian idea proposed by a Brazilian staff.

NGOs’ Fight for Influence in Decision-Making

From the 1990s on, NGOs claimed increasingly greater power to influence and to veto loans to developing countries. This has been particularly true in loans where environment issues were at stake.

It is a documented fact that some dams proposed by the World Bank were environmental disasters. And it is to the credit of watchdog NGOs that such reckless projects were denounced. In part due to such criticism but also as a result of a greater overall awareness towards environmental issues, the Boards reacted by imposing a severe environmental screening, since the early 1990s.

Notwithstanding, the NGOs toned up their criticism. The whole issue became somewhat muddled, as the NGOs kept repeating the criticism levied against old projects, since there was little to criticize in the more recent crop. This led to bitter confrontations after bank projects became very careful along the lines of protecting the environment. In fact, some loans imposed unreasonable increases in expenditures on the projects, in order to avoid some minor problems (for instance, to protect a small monkey from a road development in Brazil). Ultimately, in deciding the fate of a large loan, angry activists can wield more power than some major countries.

The whole issue seems to have gone overboard. One ridiculous example was a small project by this author to conduct student-achievement tests in ten Latin American countries. The preparation of the project was delayed by requests of one participant in the environmental clearance board. This person wanted further assurances that applying tests to a few thousand students committed no sins against nature.

How Development Banks Design and Negotiate Loans

In order to understand the operation and the logic of development banks, it is useful to examine how loans are prepared and negotiated.

What Governments Want, What Countries Need and What the Banks Want to Sell

When the bank sends a project officer to negotiate a loan, this action mobilizes several actors and lead to the discussion of a complex and sometimes contradictory set of goals. It is useful to try to understand the typical scenarios.

Bank officers have development goals in their minds. Typically, they honestly try to analyze the situation and derive the policies that would be most helpful to the country. Critics may deny such lofty goals. Hypocrisy? Fake idealism?

My own experience of 10 years inside both banks leads me to believe that my colleagues meant well and did know their line of business. They try to design projects that respond to what they perceive as the legitimate needs of the countries. Of course, they can be dead wrong, but that is not the issue. In some cases, they may be indulging in what is called “cookie-cutter projects” that repeat solutions tried elsewhere. But that is not the predominant situation.

In fact, professionals tend to be moved by an earnest sense of duty in the search for the best policies. In principle, they propose what they see as the ideal solutions to the problems faced by the country. Their most egregious sin is to ignore institutional barriers to implementation, such as the presence of politically strong opposition to some dimensions of the project. In this sense, the project may be unrealistic, because it proposes to do more than is politically possible. But staff means well.

Program officers do not have “the country” as counterpart. Instead, they deal with ministers and those representing them. The Minister may be easily persuaded that what is proposed by the Bank is what his country needs. Low and behold, Ministers are politicians who have as their number one priority, survival in the position. As mentioned by the French Minister Luc Ferry, many appointed ministers believe that they have been given a horse, in order to go somewhere. But it takes little time to realize that they are in a different sport. They are in a rodeo and the goal is not to fall from the bucking horse.

Therefore, what is good for the country may be politically impossible, may cost his job, or erode his political capital. What most impressed this author in many missions to discuss direction and content of loans was this ludicrous situation in which a foreign representing a bank defends the real interests of the country while the Minister is concerned with the arithmetic of power. But there is nothing evil in the Minister’s behavior. It is just the game of politics.

If there is a frank dialogue, the Minister may be candid about his predicament. In common accord, political means to make the project more palatable to its adversaries may be sought. Very often, it is agreed that the blame for including this or that item will be put on the Bank, the Minister playing the role of a passive victim.

Economic Rationality or Political Feasibility?

Practical economists and bank officers very often face a severe trade-off between what is the best economic solution and what is politically feasible in a given situation. In order to understand that, one needs to follow the ups and downs of how decisions were taken by banks, along their history.

The World Bank was born as an institution to fund the reconstruction of an Europe ravaged by World War II. It was a brick and mortar bank and it did not need be more than that. All that Europe required was to rebuild its physical infrastructure.

After having done that, the WB moved on to lend to less developed countries, all around the world. Sooner or later it became clear that these countries needed more than buildings and roads. Their institutions were in severe state of disrepair.

In the 1970s, the World Bank added institutional reform components to its loans. The idea was perfectly sound. But its implementation turned out to be far more ridden with problems than imagined. The results were not very good. The relations with clients became very confrontational and, in many cases, little reform was achieved.

At the same time, the IDB went on with simple loans to construct and equip. Little was asked in the line of reforming institutions. These loans were far more successful. They were easier to implement, even though the serious problems – mostly in dysfunctional institutional settings – remained untouched.

In the 1990s, the IDB modernized and became more concerned with reforms. At the same time, the World Bank softened its demands for institutional changes – after having seen so many projects stalled. Progressively, the two banks became more similar in the way they operate. In a few extreme cases, the IDB became more reform-oriented

than the World Bank. But overall, they are still different banks. Let us examine a picture that is far too exaggerated.

The World Bank approaches the countries with elegant solutions to their problems. It does its homework and produces sophisticated papers analyzing the issues and proposing creative and well spelled-out schemes. When the time to negotiate comes, it tends to be prescriptive and to insist on its own elegant views. Quite often, the project officers do not know well the country, its politics, its bureaucracy, and power structures.

Countries that are less able to defend their ideas succumb to the pressures of the World Bank and accept the loans as proposed. Several outcomes are possible. In one scenario, the loans are not implemented. In others, little in terms of reform takes place, despite great consumption of energy on both sides.

Another scenario is when the Bank staff meets well-prepared and assertive government staff on the other side. Sharp disagreements may ensue. Such countries are forthcoming in what they want and they stand behind their ideas. But once agreement is reached, after much give and take, there is a much better chance of successful implementation.

IDB style tends to be different. It goes to the country and asks the Minister what he wants. Its officers know better the country and its institutions. And they always speak the language. Several outcomes are possible. In one scenario, a very simple loan is proposed, foregoing the potential to achieve something else in reforming institutions. In more favorable scenarios, politically viable reforms are negotiated with the Minister.

The above is a simplistic and exaggerated description of either bank. But for this reason, it helps one to understand the tone of the negotiations and the differences between the two banks.

But in addition to all those considerations, purely personal elements and circumstances – on both sides – play a role that is far greater than anyone wants to admit. Project officers end up having much leeway in negotiations. They are relatively free to fine-tune the projects or to make blunders.

A skillful officer has a refined perception that allows him to go as far as possible, but not farther, in insisting that this or that feature be included. He knows whom to trust and he knows where the real power is.

A clumsy or arrogant officer may clash with his counterparts and insist on what is not politically possible. Bad choices can be made.

By the same token, local staff makes an enormous difference. Here is one example. The IDB and the WB prepared two similar education loans to Ecuador. The IDB went to the rural sector and the WB to urban marginal schools. The WB was a great success. The IDB project never really functioned properly. The reason had to do with the excellent local manager of one loan and the unfortunate succession of mediocre managers of the other project.

Conditionalities: Powerful, Potentially Useful But Dangerous

Let us now examine what is the most delicate part of development banking. This is something called conditionalities. It reminds us of Teddy Roosevelt, when he proposed to speak softly and carry a big stick.

Loans may have strings attached. Conditionality thus means that the country must fulfill a certain number of requirements in order to get the loan. For instance, reforming teacher statutes, reducing deficits, charging full costs of utilities, preserving the environment, or whatever is fashionable at the time. In the majority of the cases, conditionalities will have two key features: (i) They are good for the country – at least in the long run (ii) and they carry political costs to incumbents that must implement the reforms.

Ideally, a conditionality uses the clout of the Bank and the massive volume of funds it has to offer to push through reforms which, most informed citizens agree, are welcome but politically costly. Therefore, they probably would not be undertaken if not backed up by bank pressure.

This puts a frightfully dangerous weapon in the hands of the banks, but it is a most formidable weapon for pushing reform. It allows a Ministry to overcome political opposition or inertia. Conditionalities give the banks the power to be a catalyst for reform.

However, past experiences with conditionalities have taught very humbling lessons. First, things can go wrong. Second, to be quite frank, the banks cannot impose reform. This was the painful lesson the World Bank learned in the 1980s, when as much as one third of its portfolio was underperforming.

Why? Because the Bank tried to impose loans and reforms by brute force. We need to be very clear about this: Banks cannot reform. They are pitifully weak in this regard. The picturesque expression “herding cats” has been used to describe those failed efforts.

However, banks can be catalysts for reforms that are close to happening. In order to achieve that, they should have good antennas to find where reforms are brewing. Along these lines, the best they can do is to find the good guys at the right moment and support them in their efforts to make reform happen. The education reform of the State of Minas Gerais (Brazil), in the 1980s, illustrates this successful strategy. A strong leader with considerable experience in education became State Secretary of Education and pushed for reform. A WB loan made implementation much easier.

Conditionalities in Action (or Inaction?)

Since conditionalities are the most critical and contentious element of a loan, it is worth offering some concrete examples. Cases were chosen due to the author’s proximity to them and to illustrate the variety of possible outcomes.

Let us start with one of the worst scenarios. The political price of reform may be excessive and the advice ill-conceived. Bolivia accepted a reform that imposed tests for teachers and eliminated the tax that funded their unions. When the government tried to implement these policies, this created such a political turmoil that the country went into state of siege. This conditionality was a bad idea.

Paraguay contracted a very elaborate loan with the IDB, in order to reform and support vocational training. The loan had two parts. One went to an executing agency that set up a competitive fund to train employees of small firms. The firms received training vouchers for their staff that could be used in any of the approved private schools. This segment of the loan was a great success. The other part of the loan, much larger, was directed to the national training authority. But it was contingent on several structural reforms in an institution that was undergoing a severe crisis. Years elapsed and the second part could never be implemented.

Morocco took a WB loan to construct technical schools and to undertake some structural reforms in their system. The technical schools were built and became an instant success. But the loan also prescribed that part of the budget of the Office de la Formation Professionelle was to be redirected to a fund, in order to invite competitive bids from private training institutions. Years went by and, in every visit, the officer of the WB would meet the Minister and ask about the creation of the fund. The answer would be predictably evasive. Of course, it goes against the grain of civil servants to take away from their own budget to fund private schools. The condition imposed was unrealistic to start with.

Brazil wanted a loan to fund technical schools. But the predicament of these schools was that they offered an academic education of the highest quality, parallel to the occupational training. As a result, upper class students would bid out the more modest students in the competition to enroll in the technical school. But all the selected students were interested in was, once graduated, to get approved in the most competitive examinations for higher education. The other students who could have an interest in the occupations taught would be left out. For all practical purposes, the expensive occupational training was a complete waste. The IDB imposed as a condition for the loan that the technical schools were to be split into two separate programs: the academic secondary school and the occupational training. Therefore, upper class students would not be interested in enrolling in the vocational track. They had all the good reasons to choose only the academic program, leaving vacancies in the occupational track to students who really wanted this type of courses. The Minister welcomed this condition. For him, this was the right thing to do and he had the power to face the political opposition. However, when an IDB executive tried to propose that the secondary track be closed, this was a non-starter. The Minister simply said no. Here is an example of a condition that was agreeable to the Minister and was met. The other condition was unacceptable and was discarded during negotiations.

Are Loans Effective?

The ultimate criterion in judging the role of multilateral banks is to check the result of the loans. This is the end, everything else is the means.

Who Benefits?

By looking at the performance of loans, one should be able to derive some generalizations about the profile of those countries that benefit the most and those who get little out of them.

It is curious to notice that despite an incredible volume of papers and documents produced by banks, relatively little was done to gauge the effectiveness of loans and their ultimate impact on development. Matters have improved considerably in the last 5 years. But it does not seem that the present situation is entirely satisfactory.

Loan procedures follow very predictable and spelled-out procedures, both to prepare and to manage during execution. Nothing is left to chance. And to wit, on both stages, this is a very complex and demanding work, putting a very heavy burden on public

bureaucracies. In fact, first-hand experience shows how painfully slow and inadequate is their delivery of services. Given the shortcomings of most public bureaucracies, we know full well how painful is the burden created by these requirements. Therefore, it is not a surprise that the weaker the civil service, the more excruciatingly slow is their operation. It follows that the execution of the loan will be harmed.

It must be noted that even in the same country, some ministries are alert and efficient while others are ponderous and unable to deliver. Hence, bank officers must evaluate each bureaucracy and gauge its ability to handle the loan.

What Can Go Wrong with Loans?

Projects in the social area can go wrong in many possible ways. Unless they are mere physical infrastructure operations, social projects are complicated and depend on the adequate performance of a multitude of agents who cannot be directly controlled. But from the point of view of this paper, let us examine the following typical problems.

Disbursement delays are the most conspicuous difficulty and the easiest to understand and measure. The cash flows, automatically monitored by bank accounting, capture many of the difficulties and shortcomings that may suffer a project. In other words, anything that goes wrong usually delays disbursements. It could be waiting approval in a slow-moving Congress. Until some years ago, delays in counterpart funds were a most recurrent problem (more recent loans dispense with them). Or, the executing group is not efficient. These are problems that tend to be purely administrative and reappear frequently in projects that have very little in common.

All such snags converge to a single result: money is not disbursed and the timetables are not met. And the more complex the loan, the more difficult it is to implement. While this author does not know any systematic research on this subject, first-hand observation suggests that countries known for their weak bureaucracies tend to have loans that do not perform or are delayed.

The same applies to different ministries. Loans that perform well in one ministry tend to be followed by other successful loans in the same ministry.

Of course, there are accidents, such as the loss of critical officers managing the loan, on either side. Contrariwise, problem-loans can be fixed and fine-tuned to perform splendidly. An extreme case is an education loan to the northeast of Brazil that took 10 years to really get it working well.

Reform-intensive projects are the most vulnerable loans. Even in poor countries banks often do well in building infrastructure. They overcome the bureaucratic weaknesses by hiring international firms that know the business of building bridges and railroads. School or hospital construction is usually subcontracted to the private sector. But problems appear when banks try to tackle more complex development problems, such as reforms that change the way people and public institutions work.

When banks try to go beyond heavy infrastructure and help the poor in poor countries, this may turn out to be impossible. Such projects require a level of bureaucratic robustness on the receiving end that is rarely – if ever – found. Programs to help the poor must break down the resources in very small parcels that will go to a multitude

of small institutions. Controlling this complex web of transactions is a nightmare. This is the case with rural schools, health posts, distribution of milk, or whatever requires capillarity to reach the bottom of society.

Sometimes, bank staff cannot even prepare loans because the bureaucracy on the other end is administratively weak and cannot present background data and statistics. When the loans are made under such conditions they often end up being failures or bad projects.

To sum it up, banks can help the very poor in middle-income countries. But they have too often failed in trying to help the poorest of the poor in poor countries. This is an unfortunate contingency.

In recent years, both banks have become less arrogant and more humble, learning to be more careful in adjusting the projects to prevailing conditions within countries.

The World Bank has tried to sell reform time and again, particularly in the 1980s. More often than not, it has not worked. It used to be that designing a modern reform project was a challenge for bank staff. Now, staff in both banks knows how to prepare such projects. The real challenge is to understand the country and to know how far it can go in reforming its institutions.

In conclusion, development banks do have something to offer, even to poorer countries. But it has to be tailor-made for each case. The good news is that they are learning their lessons.

However, banks cannot escape from a serious predicament. The better off the countries, the more effective and reform-oriented can be the loans. And the poorer the countries the more they need reform and the more difficult it is to help them. Let us consider, for instance, that some of the recipient countries have fewer phones than the offices of the WB. Or, countries in which horse-drawn plows represent a technological innovation (Mallaby, 2004: 342). In other words, those who need the most are the ones who can benefit the less from the multilateral banks – at least, the way they are organized nowadays. Worse, even at the design stage, no better solutions have been found for funding development in these poorer countries.

Ultimately, too much depends on the internal dynamics of the country. Banks are unable to alter it significantly. If the country cannot get its act together, loans are likely to perform poorly and have little impact on development.

Managing Loans: A Nightmare of Paperwork

Banks are not as evil and incompetent as their nemesis denounce. That, however, is not the critical issue. In fact, most accusations miss the target. They focus on policies and policy controversies and usually fail to notice the most critical weakness of multilateral banks: the implementation stage.

Outside authors, both right and left, focus their comments on policies, policy debates, and the intrinsic merits of what the banks are proposing to do. Yet, to my understanding, this is not where the real problems are. How useful is it to discuss endlessly the ideological soundness of a proposal to reform teacher regulations if all the countries can implement is the construction of schools?

Past experience has taught the banks very humbling lessons. First, everything can go wrong – and things do go wrong. Banks do not advertise much their failings at the implementation stage. Some projects die at the preparation level, due to the inability of the country teams to respond to the requests for information or due to basic disagreements about what the project should look like. A few are approved but never disburse, due to legal snags or bureaucratic inertia. Most loans actually disburse but slower than predicted. In fact, very few loans come to completion within the originally scheduled program. A significant proportion gets stuck somewhere along the line, due to many different reasons, the major one used to be delays in counterpart funding. A cycle of 15 years is not uncommon.

The fact of the matter is that loans have very complex disbursement mechanisms and accounting, since banks and the local government share costs and responsibilities. Bureaucratic controls to avoid corruption and embezzlements slow down everything.

Evaluation has Unclear Impact on Design and Procedures

In all fairness, banks have departments that have as their main task to evaluate past performance of their loans. Some of the papers produced are well prepared and candid in their appraisals. However, banks are not too eager to disseminate statistics showing which projects fall victim of each of the problems already mentioned.

The fact of the matter is that all the internal incentives to find out and denounce projects that did not do very well are quite dim. All parties concerned stand to lose. Perhaps this is the weakest link in the entire system.

Ultimately, one would want to know whether the loans achieved their purpose. This, of course, is a thorny issue, not very popular among bank administrators. Not only that, but agreeing on what is the purpose of the loan is just as delicate. There are several measures of achievement. The one favored by current bank procedures is disbursement. Lack of disbursement is the only real embarrassment for bank staff.

The failure rate, measured as not disbursing all the money in the loan is relatively low. It used to be 10% in the IDB. But even though the vast majority of the projects eventually disburse all the funds and come to an end, the delays are recurrent and serious. It is not uncommon for a project to take more than twice the planned time to be executed.

Once the money is disbursed, there is a sigh of relief and few want to probe further. The next step, also formalized in the banks' rituals, is whether the money purchased what it was supposed to purchase. In other words, was the prescribed number of schools built? Were all the targeted teachers trained and the books purchased? This is part of the contract and is duly verified by accountants and auditors. But this is tantamount to measuring results by measuring inputs.

The issue is not whether teachers have taken courses. But have they learned anything? Are the students benefiting from their increased skills? We often know that the purchased books were distributed. Perhaps we can find out whether they are being used. But are students learning more as a consequence?

Loan officers and the bank bureaucracy rarely, if ever, ask these questions. But ultimately, they are the truly relevant questions. Otherwise, why have loans if students do not benefit from them?

To be fair, special studies by evaluation offices of the banks do ask such questions. And they are becoming better and increasingly frequent.

Low and behold, the results, while not tragic, tend not to be very flattering. The bureaucrats pay attention to the papers and attend seminars organized by evaluation offices. They politely acknowledge the results, agree on their importance and do nothing about it. Given the existing rules, there are no rewards for doing much along these lines. Nobody gains by admitting that loans have less spectacular impacts than assumed by the standard rules of measuring results. And finding culprits of unknown sins is not good form among peers.

Probing a bit deeper into the realities of implementation, there is one recurring result that is often mentioned by observers – mostly inside the banks. The less physically concrete the line of activities, the greater the chance of not being implemented. Typically, all schools are built, most teachers are trained and computers are purchased. Also typical, the reform component is not implemented.

Are Banks Learning Organizations?

After so many years of doing projects, it is fair to ask whether banks are learning from their experience and from their mistakes. In other words, are they learning organizations?

This author and an associate (from the IDB) have conducted an analysis of the entire IDB portfolio of education projects, asking exactly this question. The paper was never published, which is understandable, considering the sensitive nature of the material. What is worrisome, but not surprising, is that it never received much attention from the management of the Bank (even though it was widely requested and read by staff) (Castro & Verdisco, 2000).

The results are surprising in more ways than one. Firstly, they are clear-cut, which is not common in such analysis. Secondly, they show a sharp dichotomy in the answers that were found to the basic question asked.

When asked whether a new project reflects what was learned in the previous loans along the same line, the answer was clearly positive. Each project tends to incorporate learning and lessons from the previous. The IDB tends to repeat success stories and tries to fix problems found in previous projects that are similar. Hence, in this sense, the IDB is a learning organization.

However, when we looked at implementation, the answer is just the opposite. The tools of implementation are cumbersome and do not seem to improve. What did not work before in managing and controlling projects reappears again in the next one. The same mistakes are repeated again and again. The projects get stuck exactly in the same hurdles (lack of counterpart funds, poor management, lack of leadership, bureaucratic snags, and many other recurrent causes).

Offering management-training programs is naively taken as administrative reform or improvement. Local control procedures are too complicated. Fear of corruption traumatizes small bureaucrats who would rather slow down a project to a halt, rather than run the risks of petty irregularities. Supervision is purely from an accounting point of view, failing to notice obvious errors of judgment along the way.

What is worrisome is that these weaknesses do not generate any counterforces to fix the system. There is great inertia in the system. The banks are not learning organizations in what concerns implementation. They are stuck with dysfunctional procedures, fail to detect problems, fail to fix them, and fail to create any meaningful motivation to learn and use this learning to improve design.

Ideas or Funds?

Late in the 1990s, the WB management floated the theory that it should go into the business of helping countries with ideas, papers, and policy suggestions, instead of lending money. In addition to loans, it would become a huge consulting firm. After all, the technical competence of the WB is peerless.

This proposal seems a good launching pad to discuss the reform components of loans. Are there the good ideas that the banks could provide to countries? Would countries pay for them?

We cannot go beyond conjectures and subjective perceptions. But for what they are worth, it seems to this author that these ideas will never fly. Ministries do not seem particularly motivated to contract expensive consultants to propose reforms that are politically painful. And most reforms are painful.

Let us not forget that other international agencies, such as UNESCO, are prodigal in advice to member countries. And it is quite clear that countries do not pay much attention to what they propose, even though the ideas come free of charge.

Experience seems to suggest that one big and real motivation to engage in reforms is the large sums of money that come with the loans. Therefore, what sets banks apart from other international agencies is exactly the fact that the funds provided by the loans, somehow, force the Ministries to pay attention to the policy suggestions. In fact, the conditionalities – mentioned before – are just the mechanism to obtain the implementation of the policies proposed.

Small countries – or those that are very anxious to get a loan, in order to have more slack in their budgets – are the ones that tend to take the advice more seriously, particularly when they come as conditions for the loans.

More affluent countries are in a better position to resist conditionalities that have a heavier political price tag. Take the case of Brazil, where the national development bank lends three times as much as does the WB to the entire world. In fact, WB loans in Brazil will not buy a reform that is needed but politically uncomfortable. If the country undertakes a reform, it is because the moment is ripe, not because of the loan contracted with one of the banks.

Having said that, it is also necessary to recognize that banks are powerful and creative proponents of new and valuable ideas and policies. Hundreds of professionals and an even greater number of distinguished academics are engaged to do serious research on most areas in which the Bank lends. The close links with the academic world give a strong credibility to the ideas disseminated by the WB – and to a lesser extent, by the IDB.

In fact, many ideas that acquired currency and legitimacy were originally proposed by them. This is the case of testing students and using the results to evaluate progress in education. The same can be said of the emphasis on high-quality textbooks and teaching materials, as well as computers. Ideas on health and social security reform

originated in the WB. They were at first rejected but eventually, were successfully implemented.

In this respect, it is interesting to notice that new ideas take long to mature. The first paper on health reform came out more than 10 years before the first country adopted it – to wit, Colombia.

Another wild card in this game is that ideas change. Cynics may claim that they are subjected to the same vagaries that determine feminine fashion. The World Bank and the IDB pushed higher education vigorously. Then, they decided that there was over investment in universities and the crisis area was basic education. No more lending to higher education for over one decade and a barrage of papers denouncing the mistake of putting money in universities – even though, often the money came from the banks. Now higher education is back in fashion.

The question that comes to mind is the inevitable doubt about the impact of new ideas versus the impact of the loans in the long run. One could argue that good ideas eventually become acceptable and implemented, while loans tend to merely build schools or equip them. As much as this is a critical issue, it does not seem that we have good evidence to clarify matters.

There has been much discussion on matters of ideas versus money, particularly in the WB. In part, they have been prompted by outside critics that tend to exaggerate the power of multilateral banks. Yet, some observers have a much more sobering or even pessimistic view. For instance:

World Bank funding exerts little influence on social policy. ... High concentrations of World Bank funding have virtually no impact on the share of educational resources devoted to primary education. ... Although the World Bank has the financial resources and the technocratic allies to buttress the transmission of its ideas, bureaucratic and political forces often get in the way. ... In the final analysis, the World Bank can pressure but cannot force the Brazilian government to adopt its recommendations. ... Domestic political forces prevail over international technocratical linkages when it comes to redistributive social policy making. (Hunter & Browne, 2000)

Be that as it may, in the long run, ideas and a better understanding of problems may very well be the most important contribution of development banks. But they take long to mature.

Lessons?

There has been mounting criticism levied against the Banks (as always, the WB is the main target). Much of it is heavily ideological. Some is just the visible manifestation of interest groups, in their efforts to influence the bank lending and policies.

Our central contention is that most criticism is misdirected. The egregious shortcoming of the banks is the fact that great ideas succumb in the process of implementation. Countries just cannot implement the projects funded by the loan. But the banks are just as guilty, because they misjudged the implementability of the loan.

At first, life was easy, countries badly needed the loans and were not ready to take an adversarial stand. But more and more, strident critics from the left began to criticize the

banks, both in the advanced and in the less developed countries. Banks were accused of being an arm of imperialism and to impose their ideology on borrowing countries. These indictments often have a grain of truth but are largely unwarranted as attempts to disqualify almost everything the banks do. The argument here is not that banks are entirely innocent. They are not, but the critics tend to miss the target.

The ideology that stands behind bank loans reflects what Western mainstream economists believe. Surely, there are dilemmas. For instance, more growth with larger deficits and inflation? Or a more conservative financial management? More reform or more bricks and mortar?

Be that as it may, only a few of the bank loans are contentious. It seems that minimally rational critics could find little to complain about the average loan. Who can be against roads or hospitals in the case they are truly needed?

As someone who has had significant contact with those designing and implementing loans, the impression one gets is that most officers are eminently competent, have ample experience in what they are doing and mean well. Perhaps idealism is too strong a word, but very few officers are cynical or jaded about their work. They try to get to know the aspect of the country they are dealing with and produce competent analysis, leading to the policy lines they think would be most appropriate. Of course, they have made many mistakes along the way. But they are doing their best and nobody really knows how to promote the development of a country. It was an easy bet to rebuild factories or roads in Germany. But what should they do in Chad or Haiti?

A most relevant aspect of their work has to do with new ideas for reforming policies and institutions. No other agency in the world has generated so many innovations in these matters, most of the time, backed by solid empirical research. In fact, no other agency has several thousands well-trained professionals in their staff, with ample experience in the field.

Long gone are the days when UNESCO had a leading role in spearheading new ideas in education. The WB has taken up this role in earnest. It is instructive to remember that the Jomtiem meeting of Education for All had the strong leadership of the WB. UNESCO had no choice but to participate, without having a strong voice in the ideas and organization.

In education alone, the banks have championed the use of student's evaluations, carefully prepared textbooks, accountability of programs and agencies, merit pay for teachers, competitive bids for training contracts, new schemes for vocational schools, student loans, vouchers, and many other policies.

It is instructive to notice that some of these ideas were initially rejected with vehemence but, after so many years, became acceptable practices. A case in point is students' evaluation that is increasingly considered as the best tool to monitor education.

The main problem is that the speed of acceptance of new ideas often does not coincide with the life cycle of a loan. It may take much longer for an idea to be accepted. Loans are bureaucratic procedures with timetables and budgets. Ideas have a life of their own, float around, and may find strong rejection for a much longer time than the loan lasts.

Policy and ideological issues have become the object of live discussion and sometimes bitter arguments by outside critics. Yet, it is the contention of this paper that most of these invectives miss the point.

The Achilles' heel of the entire lending process is not ideology or imperialism. The real issue is whether the loans deliver what they are supposed to deliver, ultimately, development. As suggested before, implementation is a big problem. Banks staff and rules are a lot less enlightened in delivery than in conception. Bank procedures to execute a loan are ponderous and inflexible.

Worse, there are no powerful forces to seriously repair projects that do not seem to be performing well. There are no prizes for whistle-blowing. In fact, along the chain of design and execution, everybody may be guilty of some error if the project does not perform. For that reason alone, there is a strong reluctance to denounce poor performance and to redress procedures. For almost all concerned, hiding weaknesses may be a more expedite line of action. This is also true for the Ministry that receives the loan. It is highly probable that its performance has been less than stellar in managing it. The last thing it wants to do is to recognize those failures and do something about them.

Loans get delayed, disbursement stalls for bureaucratic snags, and abrupt changes in staff create havoc with execution. And above all, those reform components that happen to carry a greater political price fall behind and may never be implemented.

That is not to say that all or most of the loans are ultimately ineffective. This is not the case. However, despite the effort of evaluation offices, we know little about their impact on development.

The New Scenarios

The world is changing, perhaps faster than one would expect or like. The situation of multilateral banks is presently quite different from what it was 10 years ago.

Many of the implementation problems presented in this essay reflect recurring issues facing the banks. However, while most of these problems have not been solved, new ones emerge.

Banks have no problems to raise capital. All they need is to float titles in the world's financial markets. However, potential borrowers are increasingly less interested in taking loans.

In the 1990s, many countries were having difficulties in continuing to take loans from development banks. Several were indebted beyond the agreed limits of the IMF. They just could not borrow more.

In more recent years, surfaced another equally serious problem for the banks. It has to do with the better creditworthiness of some countries (in Latin America, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico are classical cases) and the huge amount of private capital migrating to "emerging markets." The implications are clear. Countries now can borrow from the private banking system at favorable interest rates. And with private banks, the hassle of preparing a loan and executing the project is drastically reduced. Private banks do not ask many questions on how the funds will be spent. Once satisfied that the client will pay back, the rest is not their problem. Therefore, some of the operations that previously were going through multilateral banks are diverted to private banks.

This has been a major setback for the multilateral banks and matters may become worse in the future. In Latin America, the largest countries, borrowing the bulk of the

available funds, have slowed down and reduced their business with the WB and the IDB. In smaller countries, even when they are permitted to borrow, the total of their operations amounts to a small proportion of the funds set aside for lending. In addition, the fixed costs of preparing a loan hardly justify the amount borrowed.

In the last several years, both the WB and the IDB have initiated programs to lend to the private sector of their client countries. These operations are growing and this is an area in which considerable expansion may be possible.

However, it does not seem reasonable to think that they can expand to the point where they make up for the loss of business resulting from the limitations imposed on countries to borrow more. After all, the same abundance of private credit makes the multilateral banks less competitive, given their ponderous and time-consuming bureaucratic procedures.

Perhaps the most promising responses by the bank, in order to face these new and difficult predicaments, lie in the development of new financial products. While both banks always had a variety of modes of lending, the conventional loans to fund a well spelled-out set of projects always predominated.

The new trend is to expand loans under which the country agrees on a broad set of objectives and receives a lump sum of money to pursue them. These are outcome-based loans. Since countries freely choose the project, they thereby acquire greater "ownership."

But there are also variations on the conventional loans. An interesting alternative is to negotiate a step by step loan. Instead of making a loan and repeating the entire bureaucratic rites for the next one, along the same lines, there is an agreement that once the first is successfully completed, it can lead almost automatically to the next.

All things considered, multilateral banks are not in a comfortable position. Living in a buyers' market is far more difficult. For a long time, countries could not change fast enough to satisfy their goals of reform. Now the world seems to be changing too fast for them to catch up.

Notes

1. The author is presently the President of the Advisory Board of the Pitágoras System, but he has been a regular staff member of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. My gratitude to Ricardo Santiago, also a former IDB officer who read the manuscript and made useful suggestions. However, he does not necessarily endorse all ideas presented here.
2. While other multilateral banks are similar, the author is not familiar with them.
3. Some of the sources come from internal memoranda and other papers that were not meant to be published.
4. To simplify the discussion, this chapter ignores what are called IDA operations, geared to the poorest countries in the regions. These loans use money directly provided by donor countries. In these loans, the countries providing the capital have a much stronger voice.

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TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN PANOPTICON: EU DISCOURSES AND POLICIES IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING 1992–2007

George Pasiás and Yannis Roussakis

Introduction

The 1990s were marked by various challenges, changes and transformations at the economic, geopolitical, social and technological levels (Held & McGrew, 2000; Adam, Beck & van Loon 2000; Reich, 1991) which, in several instances, affected the ongoing transformation processes of the European Union (EU). These challenges were often related to factors such as the globalisation of the economy, the growth of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), the rapid development of ‘techno-science’ and the immigration influx to Europe. At the economic level in particular, changes were dominated by the widespread effects of the new technologies in the industries and the enterprises, and by international agreements for the liberalisation of markets and trade (e.g. the World Trade Organisation General Agreement on Trade in Services – WTO/GATS), which changed both the relative significance of the production factors and the international division of labour (Aglietta, 1998). The perceived challenges of this new economic order were underlined in the new ‘human and social capital’ theory (Baron et al., 2000), which argued for a new, knowledge-based distribution of labour, flexible production forms and relationships, high specialisation, performativity and mobility of the workforce (Lyotard, 1984; Burton-Jones, 1999; Hargreaves, 2003). In the early 1990s, the structural and social consequences of these economic and technological changes were acknowledged at the EU level, with special reference to the ‘technological/competition gap’, the ‘regional inequalities’ between the member states, the ‘demographic problem’ and ‘unemployment’ and ‘social exclusion’ in the European societies (Maravegias & Tsinisizelis, 1995). These transformations accelerated the decisions concerning the institutional, political and economic status-quo of the European Union, and they led to changes in the economic dimension (e.g. the establishment of the EMU and the Euro zone, 2001), in the geopolitical dimension (e.g. the enlargement with the Eastern and Central European countries in 2004), in the political dimension (e.g. the process for establishing a EU Constitutional Treaty between 2004 and 2006) and in the social dimension (e.g. accounts of demographic ageing, modernisation of pension systems and employment).

All these developments gave new meaning to significant concepts like European Union, European citizen, economic and social cohesion, European governance, and

introduced new discourses on competitiveness, quality, employability, performativity, convergence, which permeated the EU politics and policies (Bonal 2003; Marglhaes & Soter, 2003; Pasias, 2006b: 63–70). They also constructed a new operational context for education, which gradually became a high-priority area in the Community's politics and policies. Education and training were directly linked with the central EU policy choices in the fields of the economy, social cohesion, scientific research and innovation, which, in the words of the Lisbon Strategy, aimed at 'Europe to become the most competitive knowledge economy in the world' (European Council, 2000a). At the same time, education became a part of political actions aiming at the enhancement of the symbolic and 'imagined' content of European integration (e.g. European governance, European citizenship, European identity), and the transition to the 'knowledge societies and economies' and the constitution of a European polity.

In the Sorbonne Declaration (1999), the document which had set the ground for the 'Bologna process' in European higher education, the Ministers of Education of France, Germany, Italy and the UK, four of the core members of the European Union, stated that:

The European process has very recently moved some extremely important steps ahead. Relevant as they are, they should not make one forget that Europe is not only that of the Euro, of the banks and the economy: it must be a Europe of knowledge as well. We must strengthen and build upon the intellectual, cultural, social and technical dimensions of our continent. (Sorbonne Declaration, 1999: 1)

The concept 'Europe of Knowledge' in its current EU meaning emerged in the 1990s to describe the radical changes that took place in the field of 'knowledge' and to categorise contemporary societies and post-industrial economies which are considered to be knowledge-based and informational, open, innovative and communicative (Stehr, 1994; Delanty, 2001; Stone, 2000; Castells, 1998). As an approach to education, 'Europe of Knowledge' is sometimes considered as a signifier of a certain socio-economic, political, cultural and educational 'paradigm', identified with a certain construction of the European educational reality. In this sense, the way 'Europe of Knowledge' is presented by the EU actually serves as a 'roadmap' or a 'diagram' of 'power-knowledge' relations in the European Union, exemplifying the close nexus of discourses and practices that aim at the formation of a European Area of Education.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine critically the educational discourses and policies of the European Union since its institutionalisation with the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, and their constructed concept of a 'Europe of Knowledge'. It will be argued that the educational policies of the EU are strongly related to its political and economic goals, and that they are often enjoined to serve these goals in a passive and uncritical manner. It will be argued that the educational discourses and practices of the Union are often used as, what M. Foucault would call, 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1980: 133). They indicate acceptable systems of knowledge, which are in turn used for knowledge politics control and the legitimisation of educational reforms, at both the national and the European levels. It will also be argued that the educational politics and policies of the EU are dominated by the interrelated discourses of marketisation, regulation, competitiveness and performativity, which draw from and are influenced by the ideology of 'technocracy', and by the ideas and

practices put forward by certain economically oriented international organisations such as the OECD, the World Bank and the IMF. Finally, it will be argued that the rhetoric of ‘quality’, ‘sustainability’, ‘employability’, ‘competitiveness’, ‘accountability’, ‘economic and social cohesion’, used by the EU in its Europe of Knowledge educational discourses and practices, is actually a form of ‘governmentality’. As such, it could be argued that the EU is dictating, in a covert or overt manner, politics of ‘surveillance’ and ‘control’ of national education policies and planning, literally establishing a contemporary ‘Panopticon’ of the European Education Area.

Education in the EU after Maastricht

Education and training were institutionalised as ‘competences’ of the European Community for the first time in the Treaty of Maastricht (Treaty of the European Union/TEU, European Council 1993). The relevant articles were based on the principle of subsidiarity, which delegated the division of power over education and training to the member states and the European Union. The phrasing of the text indicated that there was a clear differentiation of the scope and the aims of Community action between education, where the Community ‘contributes to the development of quality education’ (Article 126), and training, where the Community ‘implements a vocational training policy’ (Article 127). The two policy areas were further differentiated with respect to the decision-making processes which prevailed for each one of them. For education, decision-making usually followed the procedures of Article 189B (the co-decision procedure), while training issues were decided following mostly the procedures of Article 189C (the cooperation procedure). The institutionalisation of education in the TEU also entailed the upgrading of the administrative structures responsible for education and training in the European Commission, leading to the establishment of a General Directorate in 1995.

In examining the involvement of the EU in education and training since 1992, we can distinguish three different periods, which are marked by different perceptions of the role of education and training in the Union and the predominance of different discourses and policy practices. These periods are: 1993 to 1996, 1997 to 1999 and 2000 to date.

The Policy Consolidation Period, 1993–1996

The first period, which is characterised by the Commission’s attempt to consolidate education in the Community apparatus, extends from 1993 to 1996. This period was characterised by intensive debate and activity which resulted in important changes in the ways education, as discourses and practices, was perceived in the EU context. It also resulted in the expansion of the indirect and implied competences of the Community towards education. Concurrently, a wider legalisation procedure was launched which aimed at strengthening the complementarity of education and training to other policy areas of the Community (especially to in the social, the technological and the cultural domains).

Education was perceived to be an important element of a wider strategy, which aimed at the consolidation of the EU as a political and economic entity and a world player, but also as an ‘imagined community’, in Benedict Anderson’s meaning (Anderson, 1983).

This second task seemed urgent at the time, considering the difficulties encountered during the ratification process of the Maastricht Treaty. The reactions of the European electorate emphatically showed that the European integration project needed ideological and symbolic depth within the national civil societies. In order to respond to those voices which argued that the EU perspective was irrelevant or hostile to the European societies, the European Commission circulated several policy documents that referred to issues with a visible impact on concerned Europeans. Such issues included 'social solidarity' (EC, 23-12-1992), 'social policy' (EC, 17-11-1993), 'citizenship' (EC, 21-12-1993), 'democratic deficit' (EC, 5-5-1993) and 'transparency' (EC, 2-6-1993) of the EU governance. All these documents and the policies which they initiated, served, in one way or another, the attempt to enhance the symbolic, imagined and ideological meaning of European integration and to coin expressions such as 'European home', 'Europe of citizens', 'European governance' and 'diminution of democratic deficit'.

In order to take advantage of education as a 'Europeanisation' factor and to pinpoint the huge European intellectual and human potential as a 'competitive advantage' in its struggle against international rivals (such as the USA and Japan), the EU had to consolidate education and training in the Community edifice as soon as it would be able to do so. So, in a very short time, it attempted to construct a discourse that would bring about a significant change in the perception of the role of education in Europe. The institutional framework of education in the Maastricht Treaty made this attempt easier than ever before in the history of the Community. In the 1980s, particularly during the 1986–1992 period, the European Commission used the political and economic goals of the Community (e.g. European unification, the common market and the emergence of European citizenship), to justify its involvement in education through action programmes, and to legitimise the educational initiatives put forth at the European level (Pollack, 2000: 520). After Maastricht, the educational objectives were used in order to support and enhance the political, economic and social goals of the EU (e.g. convergence, adaptation, interaction and cohesion). By the late 1990s, a radically different perception of the role of education, at the discourse level, had taken shape, mainly in the context of the European Strategy for the Employment and Social Cohesion. Education, which was formerly perceived by many European governments to be part of the crisis of the welfare systems, had gradually been transformed to perhaps the most significant institutional factor which would help Europeans to resolve this crisis (Pasias, 2006a: 373–374).

In the 'Guidelines for education in the '90s' (European Commission, 1993c), a document which summed up the Commission's initiatives, we see clearly that the European Commission had developed its educational discourse through commonly agreed significant documents (mainly Green and White Papers). These documents were powerful instruments of political intervention both at the European level – through the support provided to cooperation networks among educational organisations, the labour market and social partners – and at the national level by affecting national educational planning and reforms. The discourse which emerged from these documents linked education and training policies with the EU policies for competitiveness, employment and social cohesion.

In the White Paper 'Growth, Competitiveness, Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century' (1993), which described and analysed the

perceived challenges for the European Union in a changing international environment, it was argued that:

The Community should set firmly and clearly the essential requirements and the long-term objectives for measures and policies [in education and training] in order to make it easier to develop a new model for growth, competitiveness and employment in which education and training play a key role and to ensure essential equality of opportunity and the coherent development of the three dimensions of the European system of education and training (education, training and culture). (European Commission, 1993a: 122)

It was also proposed that this should be done by ‘developing, generalising and systematising lifelong learning and continuing training’. According to this White Paper, this meant that ‘education and training systems must be reworked in order to take account of the need which is already growing and is set to grow even more in the future’ (European Commission, 1993a: 120).

The same principles were further elaborated in the Commission’s White Paper ‘Teaching and Learning - Towards the Learning Society’ (1995). This Paper attempted to identify the role of education in an emerging European Knowledge Society and Knowledge Economy in the light of three presumed ‘factors of upheaval’, namely ‘globalisation’, ‘information society’ and ‘techno-science’. It also attempted to mark out a strategy for the development of human resources in view of the EU’s transformation of the European ‘Knowledge Society’. Right from the start it argued that ‘investment in knowledge plays an essential role in employment, competitiveness and social cohesion’, and that ‘the individual’s place in relation to their fellow citizens will increasingly be determined by their capacity to learn and master fundamental knowledge’ (European Commission, 1995b: 1–2).

In both these texts the Commission actually constructs a ‘market orientated discourse’ for education. It has been argued that this discourse draws from, and aligns with, the neoliberal perceptions of international economic organisations such as the OECD, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, as they foreshadow the future development of education and training systems in the post-industrial societies (Kazamias, 1995; Field, 1998; Spring, 1998). In order to identify the labour market relationships and the employment conditions of the future ‘knowledge societies and economies’, the aforementioned White Paper coined a number of key-concepts such as: ‘competitiveness’, ‘adaptability’, ‘elasticity’, ‘flexibility’, ‘quality’, ‘certification’ and ‘evaluation’. It also advocated policies which primarily aimed at the development of flexible skills and competences, at the expansion of access to continuous training, at the certification of formal and informal qualifications and at the closer relationship between educational institutions and business enterprises (European Commission, 1995b: 44–47). On another widely debated issue, that of the financing of education, the White Paper questioned the view that education is a public good and advocated the reduction of public spending and the promotion of co-financing or self-financing processes by education and training recipients (European Commission, 1995b: 48). The influence of the market discourse on the White Paper is further underlined in its

proposals to establish an outcomes-oriented system of evaluation of education based on measurable criteria (e.g. quality, productivity, performativity and effectiveness) and to finance education and training systems based on results (European Commission, 1995b: 46–49). In this sense the educational project presented in these White Papers, leads to a circumscribed perception of the ‘Europe of knowledge’ dominated by the neoliberal views about the world economy.

In an attempt to counterbalance this ‘economistic’ view of education, the Commission, in both documents discussed above, but also in the Green Paper on the ‘European dimension in education’, included some references to the cultural tradition of the European education systems. In the Green Paper, the Commission pointed out the need for the adaptation of the educational process to the new economic, social and cultural context of a unified Europe, which aimed, among other things, at the construction of a European identity, the improvement of the quality of education, the preparation of young people for better social and professional integration, and the further promotion of cooperation among educational institutions in the member states (European Commission, 1993a: 9–13).

The EU educational discourse during this period was further elaborated in three consultation documents: the Green Papers on ‘Innovation’, ‘Life and Work in the Information Society’ and ‘Obstacles of Mobility’. In these texts the Commission: (a) pointed out that one of the obstacles to innovation was ‘the insufficient adaptation of education and training systems to the reality of a changing world as well as the great lack of flexibility of structures and their rules of development’ (European Commission, 1995a: 36–37), and (b) proposed a radical restructuring of education and professional training systems which would incorporate the ICTs for their future development since ‘the basic need for Europe is to develop a new architecture via lifelong learning and professional training’ (European Commission, 1996a: 26). Mobility was then considered to be an answer both ‘to the economic challenges via the internal market formation processes and to the social implications, particularly to employment matters’ (European Commission, 1996b: 1).

Education in the Shadow of the Structural and Employment Policies, 1997–1999

The second period of the EU’s involvement in education extends from 1997 to 1999. During this period, education was directly linked to the Community’s structural and employment policies which aimed at supporting the readjustment of the relevant policies of the member states and the modernisation of the education, training and employment systems. The new Structural Funds Regulation (1999) as well as the European Strategy for Employment (1997–1999) were built, according to the Luxemburg European Council Conclusions on four distinctive policy pillars, namely ‘employability’, ‘entrepreneurship’, ‘adaptability’ and ‘equal opportunities’ (European Council, 1997).

The new cartography of the EU education policy also included the construction of two specific educational ‘policy networks’:

- (a) An 'official'/'formal' network, which drew upon and was supported by Articles 126 and 127 of the TEU and was framed by the EU Council Decisions and Directives. This network included the Community action programmes (SOCRATES, LEONARDO and TEMPUS) as well as the mechanisms for the mutual recognition of qualifications (ECTS, Europass and EQF). It was financed by the new DG 22 of the Commission and it operated according to the Community method. Its central goals were cooperation, mobility, exchanges and recognition of qualifications, aiming at integrating initial and further education systems.
- (b) An 'informal' educational network, which drew upon other competences of the EU (such as employment, mobility and social cohesion) and was linked to other policy areas (e.g. structural, employment, social, research and culture). It was framed by the Decisions of the European Council, which regulated the EU structural policies, the European Strategy for Employment and the Lisbon Strategy, and was intended to control national educational planning. It was implemented via both the Community method (through the Structural Funds Regulations) and an early form of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). This method aimed at economic convergence and social cohesion in the member states, which was also reflected in the pursuit of 'commonly agreed' educational objectives. The national action plans for employment and education, which were subsidised by Community resources made available to the member states through the Community Support Frameworks (also known as Delors I, Delors II and Santer packages) are a genuine example of this approach (Addison & Siebert, 1994; Christodoulakis & Kalyvitis, 2004).

In the late 1990s, the major EU educational policies were characterised as follows:

- (a) By the predominance of an economic-technocratic-instrumentalist perception which was connected with and controlled by the emergence of new 'discourses', the imposition of new 'regimes of truth' and a new mode of setting and implementing 'regulatory processes' such as globalisation, marketisation, risk society, ICT society, governmentality and performativity (Pasiás, 2006a; Kazamias & Roussakis, 2007).
- (b) By the prioritisation of the development of a 'new competence framework', consisting of professional and social competences, which was based on a 'new human and social capital theory'. The new competences aimed at the adaptation of the European workforce to the requirements of the job market and the new knowledge based distribution of labour, and at the reduction of the obstacles of intra-EU mobility (European Commission, 2005b, d)
- (c) By their emphasis on a 'high-quality general education', on the enhancement of innovative lifelong learning structures and on the development of horizontal competences, such as 'learning to learn', 'cultural awareness', 'foreign languages' and 'entrepreneurship', which were then considered as inevitable requirements for the incorporation and the growth of enterprises (European Commission, 2001, 2005d).

These features clearly marked a shift in the EU discourse on education, which was now seen as an instrument to achieve the political goals of the Union. This shift to the 'politics of knowledge' was discussed for the first time in Agenda 2000 (European Commission, 1997a). In this text the Commission argued that the globalisation of the economy and the information and communication technologies favoured the emergence, the growth, the dissemination and the utilisation of new 'immaterial goods', which affected the EU economic enlargement, competitiveness and employment. To the extent that 'technological research, education and training constitute essential immaterial investments, the "politics of knowledge" (innovation, research, education and training) have decisive consequences for the future of Europe' (European Commission, 1997a:12–13).

The 'politics of knowledge' were further elaborated in 'Towards a Europe of Knowledge' (European Commission, 1997b). Here the European Commission presented in a comprehensive way the Union perspective for education, namely the functional framework, the perceived significant factors, the dimensions that should be developed and the objectives that should be pursued. The Commission argued that the Community politics for education 'are inspired by a fundamental orientation: the progressive creation of an open and dynamic European educational space, in which the principles of lifelong learning education and training will be implemented'. The Commission also underlined that the challenges for the formation of the European educational space presupposed 'the unification of sectors of education and training' and required the rationalisation of the educational policies of the member states through 'the economy of the intentional objectives', the 'restriction of measures and the dissemination of actions', and the establishment of a 'framework of common purviews between the Community, the member states and the other involved agents' (European Commission, 1997b: 5–7).

The wider perspective of the Europe of knowledge, which encompassed most of the Community discourses and practices for the economy and employment, is schematically presented in Table 1. The politics of knowledge in this document have been fundamental to the central policy talk and policy practices which have dominated the post-1997 period. It can be argued that they constitute the matrix of the objectives, the practices and the technologies occupied by the Lisbon Strategy, which was adopted in 2000 and is discussed in the next section.

From the texts discussed above, it appears that the educational policy of the EU was constructed on the basis of the key-conceptual axes of 'convergence', 'cooperation', 'cohesion' and 'prospect'. By the late as the 1990s, both the Commission and the member states had accepted the view that the possibilities of a wider educational cooperation that aimed at convergence/cohesion in education and training were limited, while strictly following the 'action program-approach'.

The Commission was heavily criticised for 'ineffective administration' of the action programmes and for 'disproportionate bureaucracy' (Ertl, 2006:14). It was also obvious at the EU level, that owing to the institutional barriers imposed by the principle of subsidiarity it would be impossible for the Commission to advocate or promote interventionist policies in the educational reforms of the member states that aimed at the convergence and the European modernisation/Europeanisation of the national educational systems. There were strong views (see for example, Berggreen-Merkel, 1999: 3–4) that the medium-term and long-term perspectives of educational cooperation

Table 1. Europe of knowledge and the educational *Panopticon*

European Educational Space	<i>The 3 basic dimensions</i> Knowledge Citizen Employment
Knowledge	<i>The 4 basic areas</i> Innovation Research Education Training
European Knowledge Society	<i>The 5 main axes/objectives</i> (a) To develop lifelong learning and continuous training (b) To maintain the social model in the European Union (c) To preserve European identity (d) To decrease the social gap (e) To increase employability
European Knowledge-Based Economy	<i>Keywords used to describe the education – employment Relationship</i> Innovation Competitiveness Compliance Employability Flexibility Adaptability Quality Evaluation Certification Performativity Effectiveness Expendability
The politics of Knowledge	Instrumental rationality technocratic discourse Legalised reframing scientific legitimisation Voluntary participation cooperation cohesiveness
The Lisbon Strategy for Education	<i>The concrete future objectives</i> Quality Accessibility Openness (via lifelong learning processes)
The educational Panopticon	<i>The technologies of knowledge</i> Participation, representation, consultation, theasis, mutual learning, governing, management, monitoring, evaluation, accountability, control, performativity, surveillance <i>The continuous evaluation and surveillance</i> OMC, benchmarking, custody rules, standards, indicators, criteria, strict timetables, monitoring, mutual learning, exchange of best practices, peer review

clearly demanded new working procedures in agenda setting and in the operation of the EU, e.g. the EU Education Council. In this context, the initiative for the Council resolution on the ‘Rolling Agenda’ (1999) was received as a clear step towards ensuring a greater continuity and enabling a more effective exchange of information, experience and good practices between the member states (Hingel, 2001:9).

Discourses and Policies of Education for the New Millennium, 2000 Until Now

In the light of the challenges of economic globalisation and the geopolitical transformations at the international level after September 11, 2001, the European integration process acquired particular interest at the pragmatic level (e.g. the economic and social) and at the symbolic/imagined levels, pertaining to the role and the status of the European Union in the new world order. The establishment of the European Monetary

Union (EMU), the enlargement towards Eastern and Central European countries and the ambitious project towards the establishment of a Constitutional Treaty, all contributed to a further conceptualisation of the EU as a single, *sui generis* comprehensive geopolitical totality with members sharing common goals and views for the future. As a consequence, with the new millennium, both the context and the content of the EU politics and policies became more complex and were radically reconstructed.

In the early 2000s, both the member states and the Commission decided that further steps towards a cohesive European educational policy were needed, which, still under the principle of subsidiarity would promote convergence of educational systems and the making of a European education area of lifelong learning. This perspective was deeply influenced, among others, by (a) the effects of the European Monetary Union (EMU) and the introduction of a common currency in the Euro zone, (b) the commonly agreed European strategy for employment, (c) the perceived competences needed for the knowledge society, and (d) the developments towards a more open and transparent European governance that gave meaning to the European citizenship. In this renewed process of the ‘unionisation’/Europeanisation of education and training, the main goals put forward by the Commission since the late 1990s, summarised in the views that the EU expressed towards knowledge, competitiveness and employment have been directly linked to distinctive EU policies, processes and strategies.

In the years after 2000, the division between the Commission’s official/formal action programmes and the informal national action plans, as well as the Commission’s educational politics and policies have been acute. The initiatives of the member states, through an extensive agenda of intergovernmental activities and agreements, have been decisive for the planning of future educational policies. Such activities and agreements have included the Lisbon process that aimed mostly at general education, the Copenhagen process that dealt with vocational education and training and the Bologna process, which aimed at the construction of a European Area of Higher Education. The first two drew immediately from the Lisbon Summit Conclusions (European Council 2000a), while the Bologna Process began as an independent intergovernmental initiative in which the Commission although sceptical at first, chose to take an active part. All these processes deployed some form of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), which, as we elaborate below, has been a major breakthrough in the way education and training are steered by the Union. The most distinctive initiatives affecting education and training, which derived from these processes, included the following:

- (a) The contribution of education and training to the formation of the “European labour market, open to all, with access to all” (European Commission, 2001) and to the European strategy for employment and the growth of the knowledge economy (European Commission, 1997b). The EU supported this development through life long learning, education and training policies, such as the Action Plan for skills and mobility 2002–2004 and the “Lifelong Learning Programme” (2007–2013).
- (b) The modernisation and the quality improvement of all levels of education and training, in consonance with policies aiming at innovation and competitiveness in the information society. This initiative involved the promotion of

convergence and a more centralised control of national educational planning, as advocated by the Programme “Education and Training 2010” (Council of the EC, 2002, 2003).

- (c) The construction of the European Higher Educational Area, which would facilitate, on the one hand, the mobility of students, researchers, academics and education services, and on the other, the mutual recognition of qualifications and periods of study.
- (d) The formation of the European vocational education and training area promoted by the “European Competences Passport” (Europass), the European certification of qualifications (EQF) and the European recognition of periods of study.
- (e) The strengthening of a European identity, of European citizenship and of social cohesion, in tandem with the objectives of accessibility, openness and equality of opportunities that aimed at the maintenance of a distinctive European social model (European Council, 2002).

Since the late 1990s, it has been obvious that lifelong learning gradually has become the central concept and the strategic objective of education and training policies towards the knowledge based societies (European Council, 2000a, 2000: 1). The Commission emphasised that ‘the enormous economic and social changes that happen in Europe require a completely different approach of education and training, ... which must be faced off by a framework of lifelong learning, ... which will be directly linked to youth, employment, social inclusion and active participation in society’ (European Commission, 2001: 3).

Although the Commission recognised the limitations of the ‘action programme approach’, it renewed the implementation of SOCRATES, LEONARDO and TEMPUS, and initiatives such as ‘e-learning’ and ‘skills and mobility’. The Commission reframed this approach by introducing the new integrated Lifelong Learning Programme (2007–2013). At the same time, it emphasised ‘education and training 2010’, which stemmed directly from the Lisbon strategy. Moreover, the role and the status of the Commission continued to grow stronger in two areas: (a) in the discourse/policy talk formation (e.g. ‘Europe of knowledge’, ‘European governance’, and ‘active citizen’), and (b) in the policy practices implemented through the European strategy for employment and the distributive policies of the Structural Funds (Pasias, 2006b: 91–94).

The Lisbon Process for Education and the Open Method of Coordination

The Lisbon Process for education, the Copenhagen Process for vocational education and training and the Bologna Process for higher education, are the constituent elements of the discourse that constructs, deconstructs and reconstructs the European educational landscape. Placed conveniently within the rhetoric of lifelong learning, European Knowledge Society and Knowledge Economy, these processes initiate and demand innovative and radical challenges, at both the EU and the member states levels, of decision-making processes and policy choices for education and training. They challenge the long established ‘Community approach’, which operates through the

implementation of the Community initiatives, programmes and action plans, in favour of a 'common interest/common goals' approach. This 'common goals' approach is essentially a 'steering by results' approach to education and training which requires and leads to wider changes both at the discursive and the political/administrative levels.

The 'Europe of knowledge' as perceived through this new educational 'canon', corresponds with a specific construction of European reality which is directly linked to 'technocratic' claims in education. These claims are articulated in such key-concepts such as 'new knowledge', 'new skills' and 'new competences', which describe the requirements of knowledge-based economies and societies (OECD, 2000; European Commission, 2005b, d). In this sense, the formation of a European educational area is closely connected with the emergence and dominance of a new political-technocratic elite of educational 'eurocrats', which is comprised of groups of 'experts' (technocrats-bureaucrats-administrators) both at the national and the EU levels. This elite acts and makes decisions that are based more on technocratic criteria than on democratic ones (Radaelli, 1999).

In the Lisbon Summit, the first European Council summit of the new millennium, the European leaders attempted to respond to the challenges posed for the Union by the contemporary global discourse. Specifically, these challenges included: (a) the external challenges, such as globalisation and marketisation, (b) the future steps in the process of 'unionisation/Europeanisation' (enlargement, convergence, integration and unification), and (c) the major concerns of the member states towards needed reforms.

As we have already mentioned, the strategic overarching goal for the European Union as was articulated in the text of the Lisbon Summit Conclusions, was 'to become ... the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world'. Towards this end, the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) was adopted as a process of policy choice and implementation and as a 'means of spreading best practices and achieving greater convergence towards the main EU goals'. Among other things, the OMC allows the Commission:

- (a) To coordinate intergovernmental bodies in the process of setting European guidelines and translating them into national and regional policies
- (b) To set specific measurable targets towards the commonly agreed objectives
- (c) To adopt measures and timetables of implementation, using indicators and benchmarks for the comparison of its performance with non-European global competitors
- (d) To evaluate the progress through periodic monitoring and peer review

The Lisbon Process for education initiated a number of changes in the educational policy of the EU. These included the following:

- (a) A shift from the European Commission's 'action programme approach', to the Council's 'competence-based model'. This new approach prioritised short and mid-term commonly agreed objectives, and entailed the continuous assessment of the educational initiatives of the EU with the use of indicators and benchmarks
- (b) Downplay of the 'Community method' of co-decision and, concomitantly, of the subsidiarity principle for Community involvement in education, in favour of the open-ended and voluntary open method of coordination

- (c) The gradual abandonment of the dogma of ‘non-harmonisation’ of the education systems member states, in favour of a more ‘Europeanised’ control of the national education planning and policy choice

These changes in the views of the EU towards education can be seen as a result of a wider shift of the policy process in the EU. After 2000 the EU gradually moved from the neutral/defensive intergovernmentalism of the 1990s, which prioritised the subsidiarity control of the scope of the EU activities, to two radically different directions. It adopted an emphatic/aggressive intergovernmentalism, which entailed the voluntary commitment of the member states, and a resurrected notion of ‘neofunctionalism’, which advocated the spillover effect from education to the economy and employment.

The changes mentioned above can be clearly read in the mandate of the Lisbon European Council to the Education Council of the EU, ‘to undertake a general reflection on concrete future objectives of education systems, focusing on common concerns and priorities while respecting national diversity’. One year after the Lisbon Council, the Education Council identified three strategic objectives identified for the European education and training systems:

- ‘Increasing quality and effectiveness of education and training systems in the European Union’
- ‘Facilitating the access of all to the education and training systems’
- ‘Opening up education and training systems to the wider world’ (Council of the EU, 2001: 7)

These three strategic objectives became the basis for the establishment in 2002 of the ‘Education and Training 2010 Programme’ as the single comprehensive framework for cooperation in the field of education and training. The Programme transcribed the three objectives into specific policy areas that would be closely monitored and reviewed by specialised working groups which would use a defined set of indicators and benchmarks (European Commission, 2003a).

Six years after the launching of the Lisbon strategy, the findings of research as well as the official progress reports indicate that the effects of the Lisbon process for education appeared to be ‘more rhetoric than real’ (Ertl, 2006: 22). It was found that there were serious inequalities in the achievement of the commonly agreed objectives among the older European core member states, e.g. England, France and Germany, the southern European region (Greece, Spain and Portugal) and the new EU members states of central and eastern Europe (Ertl & Phillips, 2006; European Commission, 2005a). In their reports, the Commission and the Council attributed these drawbacks to the vagueness of the Lisbon objectives, arguing that they covered vast policy areas which were poorly coordinated and without clearly stated priorities (European Commission, 2003b,c). They recognised that the Open Method of Coordination did not bring about the expected results, since it depended too much on the willingness or the ability of the member states to compromise the objectives for European convergence with their national particularities. Scholars of education policy, on the other hand, have argued that the main reason for the observed disparities and the non-achievement of the Lisbon objectives is the diversity in the historical national contexts of education. Community directives, initiatives and action plans, concerning the implementation of

both the Lisbon and the Copenhagen Processes, are interpreted and implemented in different and often divergent ways by the various member states (Ertl & Phillips, 2006: 86; European Commission, 2005c).

Even though there are clearly identifiable drawbacks in the Lisbon Process, the fact remains that, through the Lisbon strategy, the Community policy discourses and practices have operated as mechanisms of control of educational policies of the member states. The aim of this process was to achieve convergence of education and training systems via a mechanism of continuous monitoring, measurement and surveillance (Hodson & Maher, 2001; Hostens, 2003; Pasias, 2005). As several scholars have argued, this approach coincides with the discourse on control, evaluation and performativity of education and training systems, emanating from international organisations such as the World Bank, the OECD and the International Monetary Fund (Spring, 1998; Borg & Mayo, 2005; Ball, 2003; Ilon, 2002). This discourse uses terms such as competitiveness, productivity, adaptability, flexibility, employability, trainability, effectiveness and accessibility to describe the basic main characteristics that modern educational systems must possess in order to adapt to the globalised, competitive and changing economic environment (OECD/CERI, 1994). It also advocates processes such as control, monitoring, accountability, total quality control, standards, indicators and benchmarks, to describe the basic instruments which education systems must use, to adapt to the demands of the knowledge-based economies (OECD, 2002). This approach significantly changes the nature of knowledge pursued by education and training systems. It emphasises and prioritises outcomes, learning products and qualifications. Acceptable knowledge is the useful, measurable knowledge. In the context of a technocratic knowledge-based economy, knowledge is a commercial commodity-product which can become 'consumable' and constantly renewable. The whole argument of lifelong learning is based on the assumption that knowledge is 'consumable'. In the context of lifelong learning, however, it is not only knowledge itself that is 'consumable', but also the object of knowledge as well as the subject of knowledge, both individual and collective.

In this context, OMC, a process directly drawn from the evaluation procedures of multinational companies for education (Arrowsmith et al., 2004), creates the need to produce 'technologies of surveillance' as tools for the measurement of progress towards certain defined objectives, e.g. (a) to invent 'technologies of performance' as tools for the exchange of best practices; (b) to introduce 'technologies of *theasis*' (gazing) as tools for imprinting and depicting outcomes such as indicators, tables, graphics and statistics; and (c) to utilise 'technologies of governance' as tools of mutual learning which may provoke political dialogue (Haahr, 2004; Nóvoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003; Pasias, 2005). Since the member states decide in common the criteria, the indicators and the benchmarks and formulate the evaluative processes, they accept external controls in policy planning. In doing so they incorporate mechanisms of surveillance and conformity in sensitive and critical sectors of social and educational policy (Hostens, 2003; Badham, 2003).

The setting-up of the Lisbon agenda constitutes a critical situation of the EU's symbolic, discursive and political/administrative control in the arena of education and in society. It draws its legitimation from the common interest approach of the member states and is closely connected with the neoliberal technocracy-based

paradigm, which is rapidly transferred from the economy to education and training through benchmarking practices and OMC technologies. Thus the European educational landscape is gradually dominated by ‘regimes of truth’ and ‘systems of knowledge’, which introduce, reproduce and legitimise the technocratic rationale in order to establish a modern European *Panopticon* based on technologies of governmentality, surveillance and control.

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION: INDUSTRIALISATION, KNOWLEDGE SOCIETIES AND EDUCATION

Robert Cowen

What is the relationship between the world of work and education? An answer from a Dane might be that he had worked hard to merit his place in the shield wall; an answer from a *samurai* that, because of the understandings he had acquired from his new *sensei*, his opponents now came easily onto his sword.

Irritation at such apparently flippant answers to such a sensible question is a mark of how modern our ‘comparative education’ is.

We assume that comparative education must be studying the world of work but our sense of history and of social structures in comparative education is so limited that (apart from noting that agricultural economies still exist) we think of the question – about the relationship of the world of work and education – as meaningful in terms of two systems of, and symbols of, modernity: the educational system and ‘the’ industrial system. By the world of work we do not mean the world of the workers, soldiers and peasants – but just the workers.

Thus our answer to the question, what is the relationship between the world of work and education, rapidly shortens historical time; quickly takes us into mobility studies – as if all societies at all times were ideologically organised around an ethical imperative of upward social mobility; and soon brings us to the question of how ‘relevant’ educational systems are for the world of work.

Thus the major ‘research’ questions and answers rapidly fasten on (i) social stratification and blocked or open social mobilities; and (ii) on the ‘goodness of fit’ of educational systems for the social and epistemic basis of a certain kind of production system. Rapidly the crucial strategic questions – once the assumptions of the starting point are accepted – become

- (a) Can education contribute to the economic development of societies?
- (b) Does the acquisition of certain kinds of educational qualification increase, over a life-span, the earnings of an individual? and
- (c) What kind of educational system does the economic system demand?

The first question has produced a major literature, which ranges over the conventional literature on ‘development’ and the demonstration that investment in education will lead to economic growth. The question becomes interesting comparatively when the

answers address such places as Japan after 1868 or suggest that the reasons China was so slow in 'developing' was because of Confucius.

The second question can only be answered after schooling systems have been in place, as social inventions, for some time, and it has mainly been asked for 'capitalist' societies. Thereafter, it takes quite technical answers, which do not easily lend themselves to a comparative understanding using historical and political and sociological interpretations of a range of societies. Answering the question has been very much the territory of economists. The literature is large but it is not complex as a comparative literature because it does not try particularly hard to understand the ways in which the numbers that answer the question are culturally embedded.

The third question represents an astonishing rearrangement of how the world is seen and what education is for. 'What kind of educational system does the economic system demand?' is not, of course, a universally applicable question – the Taliban were not asking it, Iran for some time has mainly concerned itself with other questions, and the cultural traditions of Norway and Denmark (though they are different) have not normally prioritised this question since recovery from the relative poverty of the late nineteenth century. Some societies – the former USSR and much of the eastern socialist bloc – are recovering from one version of an answer to the question, whilst taking up, rather rapidly, alternative answers to the same question. But certainly professionals in some societies (e.g. England) are living out the question and its local answer (compulsive extreme neo-liberalism) in increasing astonishment and irritation at its effects on the health, social services and educational systems.

There is a variant on this question which is what kind of educational system does the economic system produce? If for the moment we slide by the determinist assumption embedded in the question, then there are four answers.

One answer is, 'nothing very much' – as in Cambodia of the Pol Pot, or Sparta, or Athens, where the concept of 'the educational system' needs a major exegesis and where those forms of education which were offered were based on first-principles other than the economy.

A second answer is a vocationally oriented one in an industrial age – as in those countries which embraced at the policy level, and also implemented, versions of poly-technical education in, for example Albania, Bulgaria, China, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Vietnam.

A third answer is one which reflects in its relatively simple stratification of educational institutions some of the simplicities of the stratification of economic institutions – such as the schooling systems of Western Europe from, say, 1929 to 1970, or most of Latin America from, say, 1890 to 1990.

The fourth kind of answer is an overdetermined one: a schooling system whose structural opportunities, curriculum contents, pedagogic and evaluative modes, are deduced from one first principle currently called 'the knowledge economy'. This is an economic first-principle, in which the correct – sociologically correct, historically necessary, culturally promising – forms of education are being construed through a deductive rationality (Cowen, 2005). The university and its governance become crucial – and new roles for the State must be defined.

Max Weber (Gerth & Mills, 1967), in a classic interpretative and comparative note on the Chinese *literati*, showed the relationship between 'rationalisation', economic systems, educational patterns and educated identity (especially elite identity) in the

distinctions he drew between the education of the cultivated and the education of 'the expert'. The proposition that comparative education should, following C. Wright Mills, aim at forms of understanding which capture the intersection and interpretation of social structures, historical forces and individual identity is brilliantly met here.

Thus we now have a new challenge: what is the relationship between economic systems, education systems and educated identity? The question is not a relatively complex question about the relationships of some inputs and some outputs from the educational system to and from the economy, but a really complex question which asks about the political economy of identity; the relation of the state and the university and the economy; the forms of governance which relate the three; and the space arenas within which this happens (including notions of the regional state and its governance modes).

The question about the world of work and education includes questions about how the world of work is ideologically presented as a challenge to education – the notion of a knowledge society – and the international discourse which has been generated around it (on transnational, regional and national levels). The complex questions include the relative determinism of deducing the shape of educational systems and their teaching contents and pedagogic modes and evaluation styles from a first principle – the knowledge economy – and asking if these processes can be escaped, or resisted, and thus asking, what are the educational alternatives?

Of course it is possible to say that the prime responsibility of comparative educationists as a special type of policy advisers is to assist in the formation of skill systems by the collection of international evidence about which skill formation system is the best and so on; but this is not a question or a questioning. It is merely a positioning of comparative education as an applied science at the service of funders.

The question remains as it did for Durkheim, Marx and Weber: what are the historical trajectories of the relationships between economic systems and educational processes and identities (including educated identities and selection and socialisation processes) and what are the implications of this for the human imagination, notions of community, authority and legitimation, as well as the sense of the sacred?

The question is sharp at the present moment because we seem to be faced with a very clear deductive rationality (i.e. a totalising principle): that ALL educational systems and most of their details must be deduced from a particular definition of an economic future.

Clearly – like all deductive rationalities – this version of how to define an educational system by 'reading' an economic system is clear, enthusiastically endorsed and unwise. Some of the processes of the ideological construction of notions of the economy and education, the university, regions and their significant relationships, and the emerging consequences are explored in the chapters in this section.

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INDUSTRIALIZATION AND PUBLIC EDUCATION: SOCIAL COHESION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Jim Carl

The expansion of public education and industrialization went hand in hand. After all, had not the pioneering philosopher of free-market capitalism, Adam Smith, foreseen good reasons at the outset of the industrial revolution for nations to educate their populations? “The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition,” he argued. “An instructed and intelligent people, besides, are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one” (Kandel, 1933: 51). Before the industrial age, provision of formal schooling virtually everywhere was scarce – dependent on tuition and fees, voluntarist, and usually limited to males. Education belonged to the church in feudal Europe, and with seven out of every ten workers engaged in agriculture, the slender surplus enabled only small percentages of people to earn their bread through the written word (Bloch, 1963; Cipolla, 1993). Although some states, especially in Protestant regions, required villages and towns to keep schools, such edicts were subject to the wants and resources of the localities, and often had little material effect. With the growth of industry, support for public education grew, and the result was a transformation of schooling from limited provision into widespread and hierarchical educational systems (Katz, 1987).

Precise relationships between industrialization and the rise of public education are difficult to pin down, however. If we take as our unit of analysis the long nineteenth century that stretches from the dawn of the industrial revolution to the eve of World War I, then we discern a general correspondence between the spread of industry and the rise of mass schooling. The industrial revolution sparked prolonged, rising rates of productivity, first in the British economy and then in continental Europe, the northern United States, and Upper Canada (Madrick, 2002). As educational access widened, the education of women increased, the study of the classical curriculum declined, and, by the twentieth century, the importance of schooling for both national economic development and individual mobility took on the status of an “education gospel” (Grubb & Lazerson, 2004: 1–2). Gains in income and wealth during the industrial age made possible larger public expenditures for the welfare of the general population, and all governments considered schooling in their expanded social calculus.

But it was a political and cultural question as to what purposes taxes would be applied: Internal improvements? Poor relief? Old-age pensions? Popular education? While the industrial revolution generated the surpluses that contributed to the demand for educational expansion in the trans-Atlantic world, it was other factors – social,

cultural, and political – that dictated the pace (Muller *et al.*, 1987). Adam Smith, for example, did not herald education for its direct economic utility, but, rather for its potential to stabilize society. In the rise of the new educational systems, social cohesion was central to the schooling directed to every child, whereas schooling's selective upper reaches ensured that educational distinctions grew in importance as markers of social stratification.

Thus, when we view the growth of public education with either the nation-state or the region as the unit of analysis, the role of industrialization as a causal factor becomes less apparent. As is well known, there has been a long-standing mismatch in the industrial age between what is learned in school and the skills required on the job (Easton & Klees, 1992). Moreover, in the long nineteenth century rates of industrial and educational growth do not necessarily correspond. Britain was the first society to industrialize, but Parliament did not put England and Wales on a path toward universal primary education until the last third of the nineteenth century. Conversely Prussia, a largely agrarian society, led the world with its extensive system of primary schools for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, despite its industrial backwardness compared to England (Rury, 2005; Boli *et al.*, 2000). In the United States it was the rural areas of the Northeast and Midwest (but not the South) where schooling reached the highest percentages of children in the first half of the nineteenth century (Reese, 2005). And in many of the oldest secondary schools, colleges, and universities in the Atlantic world, there were reactions in the nineteenth century that strengthened the classical curriculum and rejected science. Philippe Aries (1962) reminds us that a template of schools had already extended their importance with the advent of new constructions of family life in early modern Europe. Industrialization breathed life into patterns of schooling that had already been set in the emerging market societies, and only in limited instances – the founding of engineering schools, say, or the existence of short-lived factory schools – did schooling mirror industrialization exactly.

Due to the chronological mismatch and because of the dearth of industrial educational forms, comparative historical studies of the origins of public education do not posit industrialization as the direct causal factor. National citizenship and social control within a changing economic order – this is the continuum that receives the most emphasis (Nóvoa, 2000). Comparative works in recent years draw from four perspectives to explain public education's rise: state formation, the rise of the western cultural frame, status attainment, and democratization (Carl, 2000). The state formation perspective in education looks to the evolving industrial state in its efforts to forge national identities and legitimize the changing economic order through its leadership in education reform. This perspective is utilized by many writers, among them Martin Carnoy (1992), Bruce Curtis (1992), Ting-Hong Wong (2002), and Andy Green (1990, 1997). Green connects uneven educational development to the efforts of dominant class-fractions to use the state to maintain hegemony and argues that educational development follows “the different modes of state formation in different countries” (Green, 1990: x).

The rise of the western cultural frame perspective emphasizes social, political, and intellectual developments of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment in the creation of a new form of social organization. This perspective is featured in the

work of John Boli, Francisco Ramirez, and John Meyer (Boli *et al.*, 2000). Two of these authors suggest that public education developed to promote “national unity” and “national success,” through the cultivation of a western cultural frame that emphasized rational individuals, humanized religiosity, egalitarianism, and universal citizenship (Ramirez & Boli, 1987: 3; Boli & Ramirez, 1992). More recently, Stephen Provasnik (2001: 23) also posits schooling as a “constitutive factor in the making of western society.”

If the first two perspectives are indebted to Antonio Gramsci and Emile Durkheim, respectively, explanations that center on status attainment and credentials markets arise from Max Weber. Margaret Archer (1979) suggests that bourgeois groups in Europe competed with religious organizations that sought to protect their role as educators. Sometimes the new “educationally dominant and assertive groups” forced the state to restrict the reach of church schools, sometimes they substituted schools of their own, and sometimes they cooperated with church authorities if the schools were reformed to meet the needs of the assertive groups (Archer, 1979: 143). Randall Collins (2000) argues that credentials markets drive educational expansion and decline: an oversupply of university credentials led to their decline in medieval and renaissance Europe, for example, and competition for scarce credentials has driven secondary and then university expansion over the last two centuries. With a similar focus on secondary and higher education, Fritz Ringer and others bring in Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of social reproduction to emphasize school hierarchies in the reproduction of social distinctions (Muller *et al.*, 1987).

Democratization has been featured recently by economist Peter Lindert (2004) to explain uneven educational development. He considers education as a form of social spending, and his larger project explores the relationship of social spending and economic growth. He argues that the rise of mass schooling corresponds especially to expansions of male suffrage and, in its initial phase of growth, to local control. In the northern United States popular education developed rapidly and early because of well-established voting rights and local flexibility. Lindert applies this perspective to the seemingly undemocratic German states as well, by suggesting that decentralized educational control enabled Germany to behave “like a set of local democracies when it came to primary education” (Lindert, 2004: 122).

This chapter utilizes these comparative histories as well as single-nation studies to examine the influence of industrialization on public education in Europe and North America. This new system of production generated many changes for workers and their families, but for our purposes the most salient one was that it simultaneously created work sites characterized by new routines and forms of control for the many, but also creativity and “highly sophisticated” skills for the few (Berg, 1979: 25). This new industrial order and the social dislocations and political turbulence that it generated gave rise to education systems, ostensibly open to all, that were marked by widening access and increasing standards that gave cohesiveness to national populations, on the one hand, but provided segmented educational experiences that helped to fix young people’s places in an increasingly complex and stratified labor market, on the other. I begin with a discussion of how industrial work processes influenced educational development in England. Roughly following the historic gradient of regional industrial development (Pollard, 1988), I also consider educational transformation in France and then Germany, before proceeding to the United States.

England

The incubator of industrialization was the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the causes of which have long been open to debate, and concern us only to the point that social and organizational changes such as the creation of wage labor and the production of commodities are more important than technological inventions or widespread literacy as prerequisites for industrial development, especially before 1870 (Aston & Philpin, 1990; Madrick, 2002). English textile production in the late eighteenth century was the cradle of the industrial revolution, and here not only were schools besides the point, but industrialization had an initial negative impact on literacy and school attendance (Stephens, 1998). Whether the domestic production of the “putting-out” system or the factory system that arose beside it, owners and parents required the labor of children, and in neither sector was literacy a prerequisite for the work. Indeed, the only education necessary for child workers was brief training on site in the repetitive work processes themselves (Berg, 1986; Wardle, 1976).

Schooling was also largely irrelevant for the skills of the entrepreneurs, capitalists, and managers of the early factories and proto-industrial operations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Skills acquired through apprenticeships and technologies honed through trial and error – together with the social capital necessary to unite capitalist with entrepreneur – were the requirements, not skills and credentials acquired in school. “Even some of the leaders of the Industrial Revolution . . . though skilled craftsmen, were virtually uneducated,” according to W. B. Stephens (1998: 57). For most of the British inventors and innovators, the dissemination of ideas took place in public lectures and via membership in scientific societies rather than in technical schools and universities (Mokyr, 2002). Agitation for the extension of formal schooling was prevalent among many capitalists and workers active in England’s manufacturing region, but the demand for child labor and the fact that the north of England industrialized with a population that was largely unschooled provided powerful counterarguments even in this, the most economically advanced part of the world at the turn of the nineteenth century.

If the technological developments of the first industrial revolution were modest, the social changes wrought by the new system of production were immense, especially for the laboring poor. Here the reliance on wages, the monotony of the work, and explosive urban growth uprooted them from “pre-industrial experience, tradition, wisdom, and morality,” states Eric Hobsbawm (1990: 87). The poverty and disarray faced by the children of this new proletariat was not lost on contemporary observers, many of whom looked to education for solutions (Simon, 1960). Middle-class reformers sought to establish a network of popular education, and in the first years of industrialization some of them went as far as to argue for universal education of the same variety for all classes of people. However, “industrialization led to a deeper and much more explicit class separation . . . than had even been the case in pre-industrial England,” according to Harold Silver. “The conception and provision of education were, like all aspects of society, influenced by the different angles of vision” (Silver 1975: 23). Once the state extended voting rights to men with property in the 1830s, class divisions widened on proposed education reform, with workers arguing most forcefully for primary schools

and adult education that they could control, and the middle-class reformers concentrating their efforts on extending secondary schools and universities for their own children and on advocating elementary schools that they deemed appropriate for the masses. Such reformers often merged their support for popular schooling with their admiration of the factory. In the early nineteenth century, for example, reformers looked to a monitorial system to educate large numbers of poor children cheaply. Proponent Joseph Lancaster and others claimed to have perfected a method by which hundreds of children of all ages and abilities could be taught in a single room via “the division of labor applied to intellectual processes” (Kaestle, 1973: 12).

Yet, the middle-class admiration for the factory and the promise of efficient schools at low cost were not enough to bring primary education to the English masses. Laissez-faire political outlooks remained popular among national elites. Most, but not all, historians agree that voluntarism – religious or otherwise – was not enough to generate mass schooling (Green, 1991; West, 1975). Within the voluntary system that prevailed until 1870, however, the working class strove to educate itself and enrollments increased in a variety of schools across England (Lacqueur, 1976). The state extended its reach only gradually into primary education, initially with the series of Factory Acts in the first half of the nineteenth century to encourage the schooling of children who toiled in the mills, then with the 1870 Education Act that created public school boards and authorized them to establish elementary schools where there were none, and finally with compulsory education in 1880 and the abolition of fees in 1891 (Simon, 1965). These developments roughly paralleled extensions of the franchise for men in the 1860s and 1880s (Lindert, 2004).

In the literature on industrialization and schooling in England, delays in educational development often figure prominently in explanations of England’s relative economic decline *vis-à-vis* the rest of the industrialized world. In fact, several scientists and industrialists of the nineteenth century, some of whom were products of the better-developed Scottish educational system, lamented the dearth of technical education compared to the rest of Europe. England relied for most of the century on an apprenticeship system in manufacturing augmented by part-time technical schools (Green, 1997). As England entered what Fritz Ringer (2000: 47) calls the “high industrial phase of modern European education,” extending from the 1860s to the 1920s, older schools across Europe “found themselves confronted by a group of younger rivals, whose curricular emphases were relatively ‘modern’ or ‘practical.’” In response to the brisk economic growth of Germany especially, the English state abandoned its laissez-faire approach and began to establish technical schools in earnest by century’s end. Along with higher education, the tripartite system of secondary education that included exclusive “public” schools, endowed grammar schools, and expanding higher grade elementary schools began slowly to link students to technical jobs in manufacturing, but it was the commercial, governmental, and professional sectors that welcomed the bulk of the graduates, some of whom were women (Lowe, 1987). Even the aristocratic public schools extended their enrollments to sons of professionals and industrialists, and there is little evidence to suggest that the gentlemanly public school ethos dissuaded students from following their fathers into similar careers (Rubenstein, 1993; Honey, 1987). Working- and middle-class demands for schooling in accord with

an economic system that was rapidly industrializing and bureaucratizing made inroads into secondary and higher education, but within a system in which the public schools, endowed grammar schools, and ancient universities retained their exclusiveness and their classical curriculum (Kazamias, 1966).

France

In France at the end of the old regime, it was not at all evident that England had overtaken it in manufacturing power. To the north and west of Paris, in a region extending into Belgium and Germany, a similar transformation to proto-manufacturing and the factory system in textiles proceeded, augmented by adequate deposits of coal and iron ore (Pollard, 1988). Moreover France's population, while not as literate overall in the eighteenth century as England's, was as interlaced with church schools and educated subjects in its northern region as one could find anywhere in the world. Except for the smallest and most isolated communities of the French interior, villages provided at least a modicum of funding for a teacher, and in the larger towns this was fleshed out by private and charity schools (Maynes, 1985). As to schooling beyond the elementary level, the monarchy had established a series of military, mining, and civil engineering schools that were truly pathbreaking, and the secondary schools and universities, while disrupted by the expulsion of the Jesuits in the 1760s, provided similar provisions to those of other Western European societies for the education of elites (Artz, 1966; Barnard, 1969).

The revolution and resulting warfare to 1815 did much to postpone France's industrial development (Schama, 1989), whereas in education this period was punctuated with false starts in popular education and institution building for the schooling of elites. The educational legacy of this era was the principle of the secular state over the church, which interrupted the extension of schooling for all even as it accelerated the development of technical education and a unified system of secondary and higher schools. Assemblies in Paris generated two well-known plans, attributed to Talleyrand and Condorcet, that called for primary schooling to be made available to everyone, male and female, but deepening crises of authority prevented their enactment (Bailey, 1988). The anticlerical thrust at the end of the eighteenth century disrupted the supply of teachers and curtailed church revenue, thereby reducing the numbers of primary schools, something that Napoleon did little to remedy in spite of the lingering revolutionary spirit of equality and his rapprochement with the church. Technical education, on the other hand, expanded with the founding in 1794 of the *École Polytechnique* and then other schools. Napoleon's imperial state bolstered secondary education with its network of *lycées* in 1802 and its codification of a hierarchical educational system, the *Université*, that placed all schools, secular and religious, under centralized state supervision (Green, 1990).

The French state mandated provisions for mass schooling in the 1830s, 1860s, and again in the 1880s, with the latter decrees by education minister Jules Ferry making primary education compulsory and tuition-free. In this expansion, several trends related to industrial development. In departments with relatively high commercial and industrial activity, state and church provided more schools and enrolled more pupils

than in the departments most isolated from emerging markets. In the industrial districts themselves, however, school attendance was often lower relative to nearby commercial towns and villages due to children working in the mills. Although France's only factory school law, passed in 1841, mandated part-time instruction, it was not widely enforced and owners could limit instruction to one hour daily. The distinction in school provision among departments across France diminished in the second half of the nineteenth century as state requirements penetrated the rural areas (Grew & Harrigan, 1991; Anderson, 1975). Economic development laid the monetary foundation for educational expansion; state mandates came in the middle of periods of educational growth. The highest rate of growth in the establishment of schools occurred during periods of Restoration and July Monarchy early in the century, but the Guizot Law of 1833, which mandated a school in every commune, increased state and local tax support for education still further (Grew & Harrigan, 1991; Lindert, 2004).

Primary schooling by the end of the nineteenth century became the norm, with enrollments and funding approaching the levels of Germany and the northern United States. In rural France increasing percentages of parents recognized the utility of sending their children to school, especially in terms of access to government jobs and independence from intermediaries when making simple transactions and correspondences (Weber, 1976). The purposes of primary school expansion began to shift at mid-century, so that industrial justifications took their places beside the purposes of citizenship, morality, religiosity, and deference. Reformers began to educate the "sons of workers" for the lowest rungs of the technical occupations, as the middle class tended "to abandon industry for the liberal professions" (Anderson, 1975). For boys and increasingly girls not bound for the *lycées* and beyond, the *écoles primaire supérieure*, common in larger towns after 1833, made room for commercial study, and later, the *écoles pratiques de commerce et l'industrie*, also extending from the primary schools, provided vocational training for skilled work and commercial duties (Green, 1997).

Sharp class distinctions between primary and secondary schooling remained for younger pupils, however; nothing like common schools for French children in the early grades appeared until the 1920s. Secondary and higher education for the rest of the century continued on elite paths that emphasized the liberal arts at the base and technical and commercial expertise at the apex. The *lycées* maintained their positions of high status even as the *Université* increased the study of the natural sciences, so that a third of the students prepared in a scientific curriculum by the 1880s. However, French, Latin, mathematics, and philosophy maintained their privileged positions. Distinctive to France, the *grandes écoles* in the nineteenth century expanded over the nearly moribund universities – the *grandes écoles* were highly selective institutions that essentially enrolled sons of professionals, industrialists, and bureaucrats, and they did so with unique mixtures of the liberal and the technical. For admission, academic preparation and entrance examinations relentlessly focused on the liberal arts, but once admitted, most *grandes écoles* stressed engineering, applied science, and business and public administration (Ringer, 1979; Bourdieu, 1996). Although most of the captains of the French economy and polity, by the early twentieth century, received schooling in commercial and technical subjects, selection for such study remained wedded to bourgeois membership and traditional academic disciplines rather than to the practical needs of industry.

Germany

As in England and France, there was turbulence in the late-eighteenth-century German countryside in the shift to a market economy, even though the development of water- and steam-powered factories lagged behind England by a generation or two. A few regions experienced proto-industrialization in textiles, with some schools combining reading and religion for part of the day and wool and flax spinning for the remainder. Meanwhile, estates in the east consolidated to harvest grains more efficiently for export. Significantly, such changes in the division of labor occurred within states, especially in Prussia, where the leadership already encouraged elementary education for peasants and workers. Whereas in England, elite positions that opposed state schooling for the masses had the upper hand throughout the first phase of industrialization (Kaestle, 1976), Prussia and other German states favored compulsory schooling of “the lower orders,” so long as it “inculcate[d] obedience and diligence” rather than a desire to leave the agricultural or proto-industrial workforce (Melton, 1988: 114). Military defeat in the Napoleonic Wars propelled schooling further, with the expansion of the *Volksschule* system and the creation of a Prussian educational bureaucracy that aided nation-building efforts (Green, 1990).

Moreover, the German states advocated elementary schools that inherited a pietist tradition, one that may have differed from the outlooks of the rulers and their high clergies but was in accordance with the bulk of the common people. Schools, and the teachers and students within them, remained organized along confessional lines through World War I (Melton, 2001; Lamberti, 1989; Kennedy, 2005). Combined with a greater degree of local control, relative church-and-state unity may explain why workers and peasants acquiesced to funding and sending their children to state-sponsored elementary schools to a greater extent than their counterparts in England, and why, in the early nineteenth century, the German states had the most extensive system of primary education in the world.

Sharp industrial expansion did not occur until the 1850s to the 1870s, however, when the regions of the Ruhr, Saxony, and Silesia led the way. This roughly coincided with the rise of imperial Germany. It is therefore easy to overestimate the development elementary education prior to mid-century: Frederick II of Prussia may have announced his famous compulsory school edict for rural children back in 1763, but lack of efficient transportation networks and necessary revenues for social spending meant that schooling was not universally available (Melton, 1988). The ability of local authorities to raise taxes through their own school boards rather than depending on the imperial state to do so for them translated into some regions (especially in the urbanizing and industrializing west) with extensive networks of elementary schools, while elementary education in the eastern agricultural regions with large estates generally lagged in funding and enrollments, a reflection of local elite’s reluctance to have schools interrupt labor supplies, in spite of Prussia’s desire to Germanize children in the Polish areas (Lindert, 2004). In the west the state aided school attendance at mid-century by restricting child labor in factories and requiring young workers to attend school part-time (Lamberti, 1989).

German secondary education also benefited from state support that strove to tie the schools more closely to the social structure. Von Humboldt made the nine-year *Gymnasium* a state institution, for example, with an examination that certified students for university study and state bureaucracies. Subsequent curricular reforms made greater room for the study of the natural sciences in these classical institutions than did the English public schools (Green, 1990). The *Gymnasium* mainly enrolled sons of members of the learned professions and highly placed civil servants, but new forms of secondary schooling emerged at mid-century, especially the *Realschule*, which drew a fine line between emulating the high-toned academic culture of the *Gymnasium* and preparing their more commercially and industrially minded clientele with curricula that had a greater scientific focus. For boys who left school early and for those who remained to graduate and even attend university, this emerging system of academic secondary schools had close links to labor markets, not in terms of what was studied, but rather in terms of educational credentials that corresponded to occupational ranks pioneered in the civil service and then extended to commercial and industrial bureaucracies (Muller, 1987).

Other school forms and reforms beyond the elementary level had closer industrial applications, in that what was studied had as much importance to technical, commercial, and managerial work as the educational credentials. In part-time continuation schools for the male graduates of the *Volksschule*, for example, much of the curriculum centered on “vocational training for future workers in agriculture, industry, and commerce” (Albisetti, 1996). Spurred on by the 1897 Handicraft Protection Law, the German state established a system of vocational education and certification centered on both the school and the firm (Hansen, 1997). This well-articulated network of vocational education for blue-collar occupations emerged parallel to the academic secondary schools. At the tertiary level, imperial Germany founded a network of *Technische Hochschulen* (essentially polytechnical universities), and within the older universities, scientific study with industrial applications burgeoned: industrialists underwrote *Göttingen’s* Association for the Advancement of Applied Physics and Mathematics, for example. But the demand for engineering and scientific expertise could not be met by higher education alone; a host of proprietary technical schools and industry-supported business colleges emerged in the 1880s and 1890s to tighten the connections between managerial and technical skills learned in school and the leading-edge chemical and electrical industries (Albisetti, 1996; Mokyr, 2002; Gispén, 1989).

United States

In the United States, where industrial and educational development after the Civil War proceeded at rates that eclipsed European growth, the education system maintained a degree of autonomy from the logic of capitalist development, but to a lesser extent than the educational systems developing on the European continent. United States educational provisions at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels equaled or surpassed the most educationally advanced countries in Europe, including Germany, which American education reformers sought to emulate beginning in the 1830s, so that

by World War I even secondary education was becoming a rite of passage for a majority of adolescents, male and female (Jeismann, 1995; Reese, 2005; Lindert, 2004).

Leaving aside, for a moment, the large regional variations that such generalizations about the United States mask, what accounted for such sharp educational growth? As is well known, the United States differed from many European nation-states in several respects after the Revolution: no hereditary aristocracy or monarchy, a Protestant identity but no established church, the absence of an insulated and identifiable bureaucratic class, a heavily decentralized governmental system, relatively high levels of male suffrage, a heavy reliance on immigration, and expanding frontiers, all of which checked the opposition to mass schooling (Green, 1990). Moreover, the market revolution permeated the new nation almost from the beginning, and this reinforced an ideology of individual self-improvement that was popular across a wide cross-section of the public. Not only did this generate further demand for schools, it helped to cement a widespread belief that schooling should be closely linked to the world of work (Sellers, 1991; Cohen, 1999; Finkelstein, 1991). These characteristics helped to shape a widely diffused system of popular education that drew, at once, more elite and mass appeal than its English counterpart, and one in which access was determined more by culture than by class. In other words, as a growing nation that encompassed several linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups from Europe, Africa, Asia, and North America, educational reformers sought “civic cohesion” in the midst of “contentious democracy,” even as they shaped systems marked by racial and cultural hierarchies (Tyack, 2003: 3).

Although it is difficult to make an airtight case for correspondence between industrialization and educational development in American primary education, there are nevertheless strong links between the two. In the northern United States before the industrial revolution, where small landholdings of pietistic Protestants of various denominations predominated, rudimentary schooling was already widespread (Axtell, 1974; Cremin, 1970). The three decades before the Civil War witnessed the birth of a factory system in cotton textiles, the concentration and systematizing of the manufacture of other commodities in larger workplaces, the reliance in the growing cities on immigrant labor, and, with the canal and railroad boom, the growing lure of the market for northern farmers. At the same time the district schools, supported locally through a combination of property taxes and tuition, became a target of educational reformers, as did the urban schools, which featured greater class, cultural, and gender distinctions than their rural counterparts. Influential social leaders who sought to standardize and centralize the primary schools during these years, such as Horace Mann of Massachusetts, generally had the support of factory owners and merchants, even though urban school enrollment rates tended to lag behind those of the rural district schools (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Kaestle & Vinovskis, 1980).

Conversely, in the southern states, the industrial revolution concentrated agriculture onto a single, slave-grown crop for export; southern legislators viewed mass schooling as a northern institution inimical to the social stability of a southern agricultural economy whose most dynamic sector rested on un-free labor. Although the “freed people’s educational movement” of the 1860s put the southern states on the road to mass schooling (Williams, 2005, p. 6), the response of southern elites to demands for education within a diversified commercial system of “wage labor and market production”

resulted in schooling on a racially segregated and highly unequal basis (Leloudis, 1996, p. xii). Although the footprint was smaller in the common schools of the northern states, here too racial segregation accompanied industrialization (Douglas, 2005).

Common school reformers in the Northeast and Midwest succeeded in transforming rural and urban schools into coherent educational systems with a modicum of centralized control. Although this “common school revival” did not bring with it a spike in attendance rates or school construction, state centralization was necessary to push the increases beyond what could have been accomplished through local, voluntary efforts alone. Moreover the common school movement that swept northern states standardized primary schooling through the reformers’ advocacy of graded classrooms, careful record-keeping, and the beginnings of formalized teacher education (Kaestle, 1983; Katz, 1987). For white Protestant children living in the northern United States, common schooling became nearly universal by mid-century. Although the consolidation of this system corresponded temporally to capitalist development, educators packaged their delivery of the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic in a wrapping of discipline, religious piety, and respect for the nation rather than preparation for mill and market.

In the early nineteenth century, secondary and higher education consisted of a smattering of Latin grammar schools, a vibrant network of often-coeducational academies, and a well-diffused collection of men’s colleges organized along denominational lines. Institutionally, the most striking changes of the next hundred years were the rise of the public high school and the birth of the modern research university. Unique among the educational systems discussed, secondary education in the United States evolved upwards from the common schools instead of outwards as responses to schools monopolized by the aristocratic and professional classes (Golden & Katz, 1999). Instruction in Latin had already waned in secondary schools in the decades straddling the Revolution; most families that could forgo their children’s labor sought a curriculum that was both practical and academic, and this meant that English and science took their places beside classical study (Reese, 1995; Nash, 2005). The academies generally drew their students from a cross-section of the middling classes (Beadie & Tolley, 2002), but advocates of the common schools painted them as elitist in their efforts to absorb them and build high schools as “people’s colleges” – the capstones of the public system (Reese, 1995: 57).

Many bourgeois families accommodated the common school reformers’ agenda for secondary education. Partly, this support was attributable to the dearth of academies with large endowments (steady tax support ensured institutional stability for a secondary sector that had been dominated by the more entrepreneurial academies), partly it was attributable to the persuasiveness of the high school boosters’ meritocratic rhetoric (selective admissions based on academic achievement played well in the Jacksonian democracy at the same time it preordained that middle-class sons and daughters would have a leg up on the academic competition), and partly this was due to a limited tradition of church-supported secondary schools at mid-century (Reese, 1995; Terzian & Beadie, 2002). By the time of the second industrial revolution around 1900, the groundwork for the comprehensive high school already had been laid. The decline of paid labor for adolescents contributed to burgeoning high school enrollments in the first two decades of the twentieth century. School leaders responded with

a differentiated curriculum of vocational, domestic, commercial, and college preparatory courses within a single institution, and this along with widespread suffrage and acrimonious relations between management and labor usually blunted efforts to build separate, tax-supported academic and vocational schools for US adolescents.

In the mid-nineteenth century, high schools competed with academies, normal schools, and colleges for students, but colleges and universities began to supplant high schools at the top of the pyramid by century's end. Since economic developments caused many business owners and farmers to view their economic positions as precarious, parents looked to protect their offspring through educational credentials, first at the secondary level as an entree into salaried positions in the growing manufacturing and commercial sectors, and later, in the early twentieth century – when working-class sons and daughters enrolled more frequently in the high schools – at the tertiary level, which gave middling families the added benefit of a secure route to the professions (Labaree, 1997; Brown, 1995). Industrial growth provided the necessary foundation for the colleges to meet the growing demand. The concentration of wealth provided colleges with vast new endowments and the creation of educational foundations expanded curricular offerings and brought order to the new system. The federal government boosted support for applied research in agriculture, engineering, and mining with a series of land grants that began in the Civil War but greatly expanded in the 1890s. The leading colleges themselves brought professional schools within their orbits and, via their interest in admissions from the high schools, became important players in secondary education reform. Offerings in technical education, while not yet at the same level, perhaps, as the leading schools of continental Europe, contributed to the exchange of expertise between the new American universities and the largest corporations (Thelin, 2004).

Conclusion

Industrial growth made the development of mass schooling possible in European and North American states; the economic surplus enabled states to make good on their earlier Enlightenment goal of forging national identities for the populations contained within their borders. The challenge of concentrating on the role of industrialization in the growth of public education, however, is to avoid the pitfalls of economic functionalism. Although schooling expanded its importance for both individual socioeconomic rewards and regional and national industrial development over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there are no ironclad relationships between what is learned in school and economic growth, or between what is learned in school and what workers do on the job (Bills, 2004). Neither growth in the complexity of the division of labor nor increased economic productivity triggers qualitative and quantitative changes to the education system in any immediate way.

There are two buffers between educational and economic systems that make their relationships complex and diffuse. First, school systems are creatures of the state, whether in the ecclesiastical state of medieval and early-modern Europe or the civil state in ascendancy since the eighteenth century. The give-and-take of elite and popular

demands enlarged the scope and reach of the state in the industrial age, endowing its authority and power with the legitimacy of a mediator. Struggles in the relations of production became, increasingly, buffered through the state's bureaucratic mechanisms, including its shaping of knowledge through the institution of the school (Apple, 1996; Carnoy, 1984). Second, educational systems have their own autonomy and logic. Autonomy, in that schools are an ancient institutional form – capitalist development did not bring them into existence. Logic, in that academic tradition inherited from the past serves as a powerful counterweight to the vocational demands of students and the requirements of employers. Even within the technical, professional, and vocational turns that have marked secondary and higher education over the last century, the liberal arts continue to assert themselves in the curriculum (Labaree, 2006).

It is these two buffers – state formation and institutional autonomy – that make it important for comparative educators to pay close attention to history, for it is in the historical-comparative studies of the growth of educational systems in a variety of regions and nation-states that variations and differences can be uncovered. Pursuit of a single causal factor, such as industrialization, can only illuminate general, long-term trends. For a finer-grained analysis, tempering such singleness of purpose with careful historical study of the entire milieu – cultural and political as well as economic – yields richer understandings. For example, the thesis of an emerging western cultural frame as the elemental force of educational expansion since the Renaissance, developed by sociologist John W. Meyer and others at Stanford University, is valuable for understanding global trends in education. However, such an emphasis on schooling as the crest of a new western social organization tends to mask important regional and national variations. Some of the variations are hinted at here, such as Anglo-Germanic distinctions in vocational education or Franco-American differences in the relationships of professional schools to universities. To reiterate, comparative works that address state formation and enduring educational forms inherited prior to the transition from feudalism to capitalism hold the most promise for explaining the similarities and the differences in the comparative history of public education.

Social stratification and social cohesion endured as twin features of the systems of public education that developed in the industrial age. Access to the highest reaches of educational systems, where professional and technical preparation occurred most systematically, filtered through courses of study in elementary and secondary schools that remained relentlessly academic, especially in the knowledge that received the highest status. Yet the leaders of educational systems also sought to socialize every child to the new economic, social, and political patterns that reorganized the nation-states of the Atlantic world. In the long nineteenth century, then, the result was systems of public education that contributed to the cohesiveness of nation-states even as they emerged to determine and legitimate new forms of social stratification in societies undergoing rapid industrial change.

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INDUSTRIALISATION, KNOWLEDGE ECONOMIES AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: A NOTE ON ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL

Márcia Cristina Passos Ferreira

This chapter will discuss, by describing aspects of Brazil and Argentina in the period 1950–1990, some of the ways in which economic ideas, ideologies and systems are related to educational systems.

The theme of the chapter, at its broadest, is a puzzle about whether the patterns of educational systems in Brazil and Argentina are directly deducible from two discourses – one about the nature of the ‘industrial society’ and the other about the nature of the ‘knowledge economy’. Both these discourses had their roots in international debates, but, it will be suggested, they were both made local, and contextualised, and became different. In other words they were both ‘domesticated’ in different ways in Brazil and Argentina.

Clearly the terms ‘industrial society’ and ‘knowledge economy’ have ordinary – that is, academic – meanings. They are not merely political slogans, or the labels for policies. So there is some point – before moving on – in stabilising the routine academic meaning for both terms. They can be located in mainstream (and well-known) academic literature.

The concept of ‘industrial society’ was well sketched in a classic text of the 1960s:

Modern industrial societies are distinguished in their structure and development from others of comparable complexity, principally by the institutionalization of innovation – that is to say, by the public and private organization, on an increasingly large scale, of scientific research in the service of economic and military growth. (Halsey *et al.*, 1961: 2)

In other words, the academic concept, here as used by sociologists, reflects a shift in an industrial economy from manual to technical and scientific skills, a change which has serious implications for the kind of qualifications required by students entering the job market. Traditional forms of education, in which bodies of skilled craftsmen, aided by labourers or apprentices, work under the supervision of foremen, yield to a more complex structure and are turned to the new objectives of the modern economy.

Thus, from this academic and sociological perspective, educational systems might become similar because of industrialisation. There is an implicit ‘convergence’

and even a determinist ‘convergence’ thesis here which ought – by extension – to apply to Argentina and Brazil. Historically, both have undergone similar processes of economic change from an economy based on agriculture to increasing industrialisation.

And of course within such a theory, ‘education’ is also relocated sociologically in a specific way: education itself is given unprecedented economic importance as a source of technological innovation, and the educational system is increasingly geared to providing a labour force and acting as an apparatus of occupational recruitment and training.

Similarly – about 20 years later – another definition of economies was constructed. It has been argued, academically, that during the 1980s, a new economic world order emerged as a result of globalisation. This new economic world gained a new classificatory term: the knowledge economy.

The ‘Knowledge Economy’

The ‘knowledge economy’ as defined by Giddens is one in which much of the workforce is involved not in the physical production or distribution of material goods, but in their design, development, technology, marketing, sales and servicing. An economy in which ideas, information, knowledge underpin innovation and economic growth (Giddens, 2001: 378).

In analytical terms, the implication of this is that modern economies are powered by the work of ‘symbol analysts’ in areas like designing, marketing or servicing which require intellectual rather than physical skills. Symbol analysis requires knowledge of information technology and computer skills – but more importantly the ability to think abstractly, to analyse and to conceptualise.

Similarly a ‘convergence’ proposition is under construction here: because of the nature of such economies, education is judged to be even more important – and must be of a certain kind. Thus we have two historical moments, in which a definition of an economy is offered (e.g. ‘industrial society’). It is defined academically; and as a discourse it becomes a shaper of educational systems. Did this happen to Brazil and Argentina?

‘Industrial Society’ and Education

Thus the analysis of this chapter tries to indicate how a fairly clear academic idea (industrial society, knowledge economy) becomes an international idea, a discourse which affects countries – and which as it affects countries is absorbed differently in terms of politics and institutionalisation and thus produces ‘different results’.

The chapter, in other words, analyses these processes of ‘domestication’: the absorption and shaping of a common discourse for reform in these two countries – in different ways – at a particular historical period. Following this, the patterns of the educational reforms are defined, including the reforms of vocational-technical education.

The Economy and Industrial Development in Brazil

Industrialisation on a significant scale began in Brazil during the First World War (1914–1918) and its objective was to serve as a ‘substitute for imports’ – there was a

great expansion in heavy industries in this period (Baran, 1957: 8). After the 1950s, the rapid industrial expansion and growth of big multinational corporations disrupted the local socio-economic structures. Economic development, however, depended on foreign investment and large companies were set up in Brazil, which made new demands on public services (Barnett *et al.*, 1975: 35–37).

However, the changes were not merely economic. As Barnett *et al.* (1975: 35) point out, industrialisation led to the emergence of new social alliances, demands on the state and political movements, such as populism. This was one of the effects of the growing power of the urban middle and working classes.

In general terms, the educational policies were designed to restructure the educational systems so that they were suited to the economic and social changes brought about by the ‘industrial society’ (and modernity).

The expected link between education and economic development was implicitly expressed in the resolutions drafted in Regional Conferences of UNESCO’s in the early 1960s. For example, the Santiago Conference on Education and Economic Development, in 1962, recommended adopting the numbers of enrolments in secondary schools as the criterion for measuring social and economic progress in each country in Latin America (Gimeno, 1983). Brazil was in the first and worst group, with an enrolment figure of less than 13% of pupils of attendance age at secondary schools. Argentina was in third group with enrolments higher than 25% (Gimeno, 1983: 31).

The figures in Brazil implied the need to reform education, and the reforms in secondary schools stressed training-for-work as a means of responding to the requirements of economic development in the region (Gimeno, 1983). Ianni (1975) showed how in the 1950s and 1960s Brazil faced a great challenge to create an industrial economy, which led to *desenvolvimentismo*, a political ideal of that time that supported a strong industrial, national economy, until its ‘domestication’ was interrupted by the 1964 military coup.

The Brazilian Political Scene After the Military Coup of 1964: Domestication

After the military coup of 1964, there was a new economic model supported by the industrial elite, military authorities and middle classes backed by international or state-owned companies (Cardoso, 1975). During this period, increasing authoritarianism restricted access to the decision-making process, and only powerful economic interests were able to influence the technocrats when they came to define economic policy. Cardoso (1975: 196) argues that, after 1964, the Brazilian state was reorganised as a hybrid system of oligarchical interests (multinational corporations), powerful state-owned corporations and an authoritarian government.

This alliance shaped educational reform and involved vocational education which was strongly influenced by this model of economic industrialisation. Moreover, social policies and reforms were viewed as a means of compensating the social groups which had not directly benefited from economic development. The purpose of these policies,

in the view of specialists (Cardoso, 1975: 127), was to create stable conditions which would not impede economic efficiency.

The regime set about a full-scale ideological campaign, with efficiency as the main criterion for all its policies (Fiechter, 1975). Through Education Law 5692/71, which introduced vocational education, the authorities sought to demonstrate their concern to address social demands, in a period of political stagnation and repression (Black, 1977), but in the context of an annual increase of GNP of up to 10%. The rapid growth or 'economic miracle' resulted from an expansion of consumerism and exports, as well as the freezing of workers' wages (Saviani, 1987: 23). It was characterised by authoritarianism and a strong belief in economic development with the aid of international capital. The government also sought to create legitimacy through social measures to incorporate the lower strata of society.

It was in this context that the discourse of 'industrialisation' and its relation to vocational education was 'domesticated' in Brazil. In counterpoint, how did the international discourse move into the context of Argentina, and what happened?

The Economy and Industrial Development in Argentina

The Argentinian industrial sectors depended on the interrelationship between the discourse of the 'industrial society', educational growth, the need for industrial skills, and politics. The country had experienced rapid economic decline since the 1920s, accompanied by a high rate of recent immigration, and was in search of a new national identity. The politics of Peronism explains how the discourse of 'industrialisation' was domesticated in Argentina and applied to educational reform. This general motif is repeated later in the nationalistic military dictatorships of the 1960s and 1970s.

During the Peronist period (1945–1955), the purpose of increasing technical and vocational education was to encourage industrial development and make Argentina 'economically independent'.

Rein (1998: 16) describes the Peronist doctrine of *Justicialismo* [social justice], as consisting of a threefold aspiration to social justice, economic independence and political sovereignty. This doctrine aimed to transform Argentina's economic infrastructure by abandoning an exclusive reliance on agricultural exports in favour of industrial development (Di Tella, 1999: 255). In the view of Rein (1998: 17) industrial development combined with continued agricultural exports would ensure economic growth.

There followed the *Plan Quinquenal* [five-year plan] designed to boost local industry and agricultural exports whose market price was high, in the 1940s, and thus finance modern technological imports. Technological advances, an improved energy supply and modern means of transport would lead to greater industrial growth. The plan also included protectionist policies to favour the growth of local industry (Romero, 1994: 143). Di Tella (1999: 268) shows how, as a result, local industry grew and the volume of industrial production rose in the 1940s from 61% in 1939 to 76% in 1945 and 100% in 1948. However, industrial growth in the Peronist period followed the pattern of the early 1940s, caused by the country's isolation during the Second World War (Di Tella, 1999: 264). The value of exports from USA had fallen from 109 million dollars in 1941 to 31 million dollars in 1943 (Rosa, 1992: 307).

This historical context shaped the development of Argentine industry, and as Romero (1994: 143) points out, most industries were improvised workshops. Despite the inefficiency caused by the lack of raw materials and technical equipment (Rosa, 1992: 307), industry expanded rapidly, partly assisted by protectionist policies which hindered foreign competition.

However, the relative growth of the industrial sector was largely due to the expansion of small businesses, such as the textile sector (200 small businesses with 62,000 workers). The textile industry, which remained the leading industrial sector, employed 50% more workers in 1946 than in the late 1930s – mostly unskilled females and young men (Rosa, 1992: 167). However, industrial growth was uneven since some sectors (like steel and paper) did not just rely on unskilled labour and there was a failure to improve the country's power supply and transport system (Luna, 1984: 78–80).

Thus industrial growth in the period relied mainly on labour rather than on technology. According to Rein (1998: 20), the economy had deteriorated by the end of the 1940s and it was realised that the industrialisation and modernisation programmes had never really materialised; the country's foreign-currency reserves were depleted and inflation was rising.

Perhaps surprisingly, the agricultural sector did not benefit much from reform either. By 1946 the effects of Castillo's 1942 measure to freeze rural rents (Luna, 1984: 175) meant that many small farms needed government support or credit to expand (Lumerman, 1994: 188).

Lack of investment and modern technology resulted in a gradual decline in agricultural productivity. There was no increase to meet the significant post-war demand for agricultural products. As a result, by the end of the 1940s, Argentina found it hard to meet home demand and increase exports at the same time, let alone finance industrial modernisation.

Argentine industrial growth did not experience technological advances in the Peronist period either. As Luna (1993: 56) shows, this period witnessed an increasing demand for labour and a 30% increase in wages leading to an expansion of light, labour-intensive industry (Romero, 1994: 147). The sluggish industrial growth meant that there was no significant demand for educated labour (Donghi, 1994: 123).

However, limited demand for skilled labour does not account for the intense educational progress that occurred in this period. The aims of the educational reforms were political and reflected one of the aspirations of *Justicialismo* which was the integration of the poorer sectors of society. Rein (1998: 16–20) states that the First Five-Year Plan, echoing Perón's desire for a 'socially just nation', attempted to implement a 'new social policy which would make men more equal and would offer them equal opportunities'.

The *Derechos del Trabajador* [workers' rights] (1949) sanctioned the reforms the state introduced in 1947 to protect workers' rights. The social project included wage increases, improved working conditions and food subsidies (Rein, 1998: 24). Thus, through *Justicialismo*, Perón attempted to win the support of the working class and also to make schools accessible to all Argentinians regardless of their economic status.

Overall, then, during the 1950s and early 1960s in Brazil, and 1945–1955 in Argentina, there was a debate about creating an 'industrial society' and hence becoming

modern. The logic of accepting this vision, and the discourse, led to a desire to change the educational systems and to adapt them to the needs of economic development. This was accompanied by foreign financial assistance for educational reform in both countries, following the rationale that education would help industrial expansion.

However, the notion of the discourse of the 'industrial society', which is contextualised in this section, has shown that the crisis in education mirrored the crisis of the whole social system and educational reform was a means of overcoming this crisis.

Finally, after adopting these policies and under increasing pressure for reform, by 1970, Brazil and Argentina were beginning to face the world of the 'knowledge economy'. What happened?

The 'Knowledge Economy' and Education

In very broad terms, the processes were similar: the 'new idea' began to affect the way education was regarded, and – when framed as a discourse – the range of 'educational reforms' possible. In principle, the new discourse should have led to the same pattern of educational reforms, in both countries including vocational-technical education. How and why it did not is the concern of the next part of this chapter, together with the economic systems of both countries in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

De Moura Castro (1998: 9–10) argues that Brazil and Argentina found themselves in a new 'world situation' in which knowledge had become the main factor of production and the principal means that nations could obtain a competitive advantage over their rivals. Filmus (1994) attributes this change to the high speed of scientific-technological progress, the internationalisation of the economy, and the emergence of a new ideology about production and labour organisation.

This, it was argued, had implications for education, since a lack of qualifications among the people would exacerbate existing inequalities. In Brazil, Pastore (1995: 31–38) predicted that there would be a growth in demand for personnel with a post-secondary education, and a decline for those with less formal education. Research into the modernisation of technology in five Latin American countries revealed that the gap between the newly qualified and 'unqualified' was growing significantly wider (Ascelrad, 1995: 50–62).

The globalisation of the world economy and the new international division of labour seriously harmed the economy of certain regions and productive sectors in Brazil (Rattner, 1995: 19–22), while others were introducing technological and organisational innovations (Gallart, 1997: 15). This, it was argued, would result in greater social polarisation, where a minority would earn a high income and have an affluent lifestyle, while the majority would not be able to satisfy their basic needs (Rattner, 1995: 25–28). A reason for this was that the 'big companies' were producing high-tech goods or offering sophisticated services that required very skilled labour.

In rational terms 'knowledge' can be seen as the main factor of production and education as of fundamental importance for economic competitiveness and employability. For example, the problem of unemployment is regarded as being a problem of lack of qualifications. Hopkins (1987: 15) raises the prospect of an 'uncertain future' in which

in the view of Delors (1998: 48) the only thing that could be predicted was a ‘rapidly changing world’. As a result of this discourse, lifelong learning and education for work are advocated as remedies that do not involve ‘practical’ education but rather a general education based on the transmission of ‘competencies’.

In this discourse, the need for change in education is largely expressed in economic terms and particularly with regard to the preparation of a workforce and competition with other countries as shown in the following extract from an OECD text:

Only a well-trained and highly adaptable labour force can provide the capacity to adjust to structural change and seize new employment opportunities created by technological progress. Achieving this will in many cases entail a re-examination, perhaps radical, of the economic treatment of human resources and education. (OECD, 1993: 9)

This discourse about the ‘knowledge economy’ regards schools as a part of the national economy rather than simply belonging to the ‘welfare society’, with the role of creating ‘human capital’ that can be invested in production and turned into profit. In the case of Brazil and Argentina, this discourse has prescribed a set of parameters for educational thought and action to limit ideas and practices; moreover they have been domesticated and became part of social struggles and political strategies.

The Domestic and the International

This domestic debate was apprehensive about the future and strongly influenced by the international ‘debate’. The World Bank was very clear about what a ‘knowledge economy’ is:

A knowledge-based economy relies primarily on the use of ideas rather than physical abilities and on the application of technology rather than the transformation of raw materials or the exploitation of cheap labour. It is an economy in which knowledge is created, acquired, transmitted, and used more effectively by individuals, enterprises, organizations, and communities to promote economic and social development. (World Bank, 1998d: 1)

The OECD was also aware of what was happening (and by extension, what should be happening):

The knowledge economy is transforming the demands of the labour market in economies throughout the world. In industrial countries, where knowledge-based industries are expanding rapidly, labour market demands are changing accordingly. Where new technologies have been introduced, demand for high-skilled workers, particularly high-skilled information and communication technology (ICT) workers, has increased. At the same time, demand for lower-skilled workers has declined. (OECD, 2001: 1)

This sent clear messages for economic competition and, hence, for the reform of education. Moreover, to compete effectively in this constantly changing environment, workers must be able to upgrade their skills on a continuous basis.

In contrast, in Brazil and Argentina, the domestic debate emphasised social problems and intellectual resistance. In Brazil, during the 1990s, the new methods of production were regarded as the cause of unemployment. Yet, although the problem was largely seen as a lack of qualifications in the workforce, some like Ascelrad, thought that the discourse of competitiveness in Brazil was used to justify 'a productive rationalisation based on the intensification of work' (Ascelrad, 1995: 61). 'Labour' was portrayed as an obstacle to efficiency, and concern about the social progress of workers was seen as obstructing competitiveness. The failure to train workers was used to justify the massive redundancies in companies and workers could be blamed for firms losing their competitive advantage (Ascelrad, 1995: 50–53).

In Argentina, for example, Gore (1996: 108–110) argues that during the 1990s, there were very many 'badly trained' people whilst there was a need for qualified workers. Thus, there was a huge number of unemployed on the streets, while companies were unable to fill their vacant posts because they could not find the 'kind of people they needed' (Gore, 1996: 108). In fact, as Gallart (1997: 3) and Filmus (1994: 9) noted, only a few people were involved in the new technological processes. As a result, a high proportion of the public was destined either to become destitute or to be forced to work in the 'black' economy (Gallart, 1997: 4).

Yet the job losses in Argentina, particularly where low qualifications were required, set in motion processes that could create other jobs (Filmus, 1994: 9–10). Thus there was a need for higher educational standards and better qualifications.

Etcheverry (2001: 36) stressed the importance of the time spent in formal education, and a person's income. A study by the Inter-American Development Bank in Buenos Aires and its suburbs showed that in the 1990s, the incomes of those who had completed six years of education were 35% higher than those with no formal education. Moreover, someone who had completed 12 years of studies earned 80% more than someone without formal education. Finally those with 17 years of education (including university) earn 160% more than someone without any formal education (Etcheverry, 2001: 35–37).

In Brazil the link between less education and lower incomes was 'widespread' (Birdsall *et al.*, 1996: 11). Barros and Ramos (1996: 193) stated that education could explain up to 50% of the inequalities of earnings in the country. Birdsall *et al.* (1996: 35) noted that the unequal distribution of income was perpetuated by the 'quality gap' between the education provided to poor and wealthy children. As a result, it was believed that a high standard of basic education could result in a more productive labour force, faster economic growth and less inequality (Birdsall *et al.*, 1996: 35).

The issue of educational reform can only be understood in the light of the socio-economic and educational inequalities of the two societies.

The Implications of the 'Knowledge Economy' for Education

There was some doubt about the capacity of society to generate employment in the industrial sector both in Argentina and Brazil during the 1990s. Despite the increase of

productivity in manufacturing industries, there was a decline in the number of people employed in this sector (Gallart, 1997:3). Since industries that require intensive, low-cost labour were not deemed to be viable, low-cost labour was ceasing to provide a competitive advantage for a nation (De Moura Castro, 1998: 10).

Thus, by the late 1990s, the literature in Brazil and Argentina advocated a model of development based on knowledge, scientific-technological advances and a new system of education. In other words, a new discourse began to emerge. Filmus (1994: 5) stressed the overriding importance of skills in providing a competitive advantage. Thrurow and Reich cited by Filmus (1994: 5) argued that the crucial productive resources of the twenty-first century – capital and new technology – would spread rapidly around the globe. Of course, people would relocate themselves, but at a slower rate than other ‘factors of production’. The location of the essential industries of the new century (microelectronics, biotechnology, telecommunications and informatics) would depend on existing human resources (Filmus, 1994: 5).

The enhancement of ‘human resources’ was seen as essential for Brazil and Argentina to participate competitively in the increasingly knowledge-based global economy. Failure to improve people’s skills could result in these countries being separated from the networks of the international economy. Filmus (1994: 11–12) noted that, in Argentina, knowledge had become the main requirement for sustained development. He suggested that ‘being at the margin of this knowledge means that one is excluded from all possibilities of participating actively of this growth’ (Filmus, 1994: 15). In Brazil, De Moura Castro (1998: 13) cited President Cardoso as saying that educational systems in Latin America must either ‘invest heavily in R&D and endure the “information economy” metamorphosis, or they become unimportant and unexplainable’.

It was not only that people needed more education, but also a different kind of education. For example, it was said that the concept of literacy had changed in the new discourse. During the period of the ‘industrial society’, someone who could read and write basic texts was considered to be literate. On the other hand, in the new ‘knowledge economy’, people can only be regarded as literate if they are capable of interpreting a manual (Pastore, 1995: 38).

It was in this context that the literature in Brazil and Argentina witnessed a major shift in the definition of ‘education’, especially the notion of competencies. These were defined as being halfway between knowledge and action and a set of constantly changing properties that were tested when concrete problems arose in work situations involving uncertainty and technical complexity (Gallart, 1997: 10). These competencies were not easily transmissible because they were a synthesis of theoretical knowledge and concrete experience of the real world. Hence, the definition and transmission of these competencies requires the collaboration of both education and sections of the labour force (Gallart, 1997: 10).

From the perspective of the new discourse, the new labour force required a solid general training, a capacity for abstract thinking and a global understanding of the production process. In addition, workers had to be multifunctional, flexible and adaptable so that they could adjust to different working situations and to companies that were becoming increasingly more flexible (Filmus, 1994: 13–14). It was also noted that there was a tendency towards decentralisation in decision-making, which meant

that workers had to be autonomous so that they could think strategically and respond creatively to shifting demands. At the same time, they should have the capacity to make decisions when faced with unexpected situations and put ideas into practice. In terms of attitudes, what was needed was to be self-disciplined and capable of working in teams. Finally, since students would have to face considerable technological innovations throughout their working lives, they had to have a positive attitude towards continuous learning (Filmus, 1994: 15).

Filmus (1994: 15) recommended that, in Argentina, the whole population should have access to high-quality education. Although more sophisticated employment could not be guaranteed to everybody, it was necessary for everyone to be 'employable' (Filmus, 1994: 14). Gallart (1997: 10) refers to the importance of reducing the disparities between the competencies that are acquired in elite education and those acquired in the public sectors. Llach *et al.* (2000: 188) outlined a plan to construct a society that was more adapted to the challenges of the knowledge society, but over all, a 'more equitable nation'. The literature revealed a consensus in Argentine society about the need for the competencies described above to be taught in the educational system.

In Brazil, transmitting the 'necessary' competencies to everybody was regarded as both a question of equity and an issue of national interest: for the economic benefits of the country, educated workers needed other educated workers with whom they could interact (Llach *et al.*, 2000: 189). Thus it was not beneficial to have a small number of highly educated workers and a low average level of education. It would be more productive to have 'a large pool of moderately educated workers that could communicate effectively with one another' (Llach *et al.*, 2000: 372).

Thus, in Brazil, changes in the production processes and the labour force were seen as liberating workers from hierarchical relations and automated work. In addition, the problem of unemployment was described as being rooted in the 'under-qualification' of workers.

It was assumed that the problem could be addressed by 'adapting' the educational system, so that it transmitted the competencies that were required for work in the 'knowledge economy'. Amongst these competencies, autonomy, problem-solving, flexibility and adaptability were identified as the most important since it was believed a number of technological revolutions could be 'predicted' in the near future. These included an increase in the international competitiveness of Argentina and Brazil and an alleviation of the problem of unemployment and inequality.

The Reforms of Education: Domestication and Social Struggle

However, the idea that one particular reform proposal could cater for the interests of all social groups was perhaps simplistic and based on the assumption that all 'social needs' can be identified. In addition, the similarity in the proposals contained within Argentine and Brazilian academic discourses suggested that social changes brought about by the 'knowledge economy' imply similar 'social needs' in both countries. Embedded in this discourse was the assumption that just as the 'needs' of 'industrial

society' could be defined, the 'knowledge needs' could be identified too and these were applicable, with some adaptations, to every society.

Judged from the perspective of the 'knowledge economy', Argentina and Brazil were in a state of social, economic and educational crisis – and a great deal was expected from education. Thus, introducing 'the right changes' into Argentine and Brazilian education to 'adapt' the workforce to the 'knowledge economy' was of crucial importance, since spreading 'quality' education was essential to make these nations internationally competitive, as well as for training responsible citizens, and the employability of the individual.

Hence, the principles within the discourse of the 'knowledge economy' have been treated by the Brazilian and Argentine literature as natural, self-evident facts. Elements of the discourse of the 'knowledge economy' were being used as social strategies – they had been turned into legitimising principles operating within the educational field – and in both countries the curriculum pedagogy and the organisation of the educational system were changed.

The 'Educational Domestication' of the 'Knowledge Economy' Debate

The literature in Brazil and Argentina made a number of criticisms and recommendations aimed at adapting education to the 'knowledge economy' discourse. These ideas were centred in two main themes. The first largely concerned the curriculum and pedagogy, and the second the organisation of the educational system and the institutions themselves.

In Argentina, the first proposal made in terms of the curriculum and pedagogy (especially for secondary education) addressed the dichotomy between general and professional education. Braslavsky (1995: 4) suggested abandoning the traditional view of secondary education, which believed the purpose of education was to give students access to a lot of information, a verbal command of the contents of books and training in the exercise of memory. She thought that 'vocational' tendencies should be rejected too. The discourse required changing occupational profiles so that they encouraged a capacity for abstraction rather than practical skills (Braslavsky, 1995: 4–5).

Braslavsky (1995: 6) believes professional education should be separate from secondary education, in Argentina. The lower secondary school ought to concentrate on transmitting basic competencies that ensure autonomous and effective processes of learning, and the chance to understand and establish abstract models. At the same time, professional education should be less bureaucratic and more flexible, adopt a modular structure and employ competent workers to teach specific practical abilities (Braslavsky, 1995: 7).

Similarly, in Brazil, secondary education was criticised for lacking identity and being detached from the requirements of the modern world. The encyclopaedic curriculum of secondary schools and its pedagogy were censured for only preparing students for entrance to university (Bastos, 1998: 305). Teaching students to learn, and preparing them to acquire new technologies to produce goods, services and knowledge were mentioned amongst other new roles that secondary education should undertake.

In Brazil, there was also a sense that educational improvement was always lagging behind changes in the labour market and that the acquisition of higher educational standards had not resulted in more labour opportunities for the young. This situation (which can be seen in the whole of Latin America) can be attributed to the expansion of education in ways unrelated to changes in the labour market (Jacinto & Suarez, 1995: 152).

Within the Brazilian academic discourse, there was a definition of an ideal kind of person or 'economic man' designed to address the ideological implications of the 'knowledge economy'. This definition required a curriculum that embraced certain basic competencies and skills that schools should encourage, including critical thinking and creativity amongst its students (Viciani Gonçalves, 1995: 134). Rather than simply transmitting knowledge that was then applied in the workplace, the school should be an innovative environment, a laboratory that constructs new knowledge through the relationship between student and teacher and a place where theory can be combined with practice (Bastos, 1998: 305). It was even recommended that vocational education should apply pedagogical methods based on the creative use of practice to teach the fundamental theoretical paradigms required for the 'knowledge economy'.

Within the Brazilian academic discourse, knowledge was given greatest priority. Thus, great importance was attached to 'learning to learn' and lifelong learning. The stress on content should be reduced by giving more space to a kind of pedagogy that laid emphasis on the learning process and encouraged the student to learn more (Pieroni & Achcar, 1995: 120–130). This was explained on the grounds that there was a need to prepare professionals to be able to handle technological changes in their everyday practice and throughout their careers (which implied having the ability to absorb new information and be trained to keep abreast with changing trends in education) (Rachid & Githay, 1995: 64–70). As a result, people's timetables would be divided into working time, leisure time and learning time. Thus, it was considered essential that students should 'learn how to learn in school' (Pastore, 1995: 37).

In the literature, it was believed that Brazil could only adapt to the 'knowledge economy' if this education encouraged flexibility, adaptability and autonomy. According to Bastos (1998: 306–310), schools should realise that they did not have a monopoly of knowledge and must form a relationship of mutual learning with the productive sector. He agreed with Ferretti in suggesting that the radical changes and greater flexibility in the productive sector should be reflected in the educational system at all levels (Bastos, 1998: 311–320). Rachid and Githay (1995: 70–84) noted that entry into an unpredictable world required people to have a global understanding of the process so that they could apply their knowledge in future situations. At the same time, Jacinto and Suarez (1995: 153–155) recommended that students should acquire greater autonomy, as well as being capable of being organised and working in teams.

In Argentina, both Braslavsky and Gallart agreed with Tedesco (2001: 2) on the need for secondary education – and the whole educational system – to abandon its endogamy, put an end to the institutional isolation of the school and strengthen its links with social communities and the world of production and work (Gallart, 1997: 12–17). However, Etcheverry warned against an 'utilitarian' idea of knowledge, since 'contemporary pragmatism' left us trapped in the dichotomy between 'useful' and 'useless'

knowledge. Everything that was deemed as not useful for making money was discredited by parents and children (Etcheverry, 2001: 88). The school became an institution that prioritises the acquisition of 'tools'. However, the author suggested that the apparently practical advantage of aligning public education with the labour market is an illusion. By concentrating on technology – on computers for example – one would simply produce obsolete graduates (Etcheverry, 2001: 89).

In Argentina, there was an educational dilemma between 'theoretical' and 'practical' knowledge which, in the opinion of Gallart, derived from a false conception of knowledge. If knowledge were understood as something directly related to action, where 'to know' meant to be able to handle the necessary languages so as to be able to act competently in determined domains, the distinction between intellectual and manual capacities would be blurred (Gallart, 1997: 9–10).

In this context, Gallart outlined the following requirements for secondary schools in Argentina: a capacity to understand the relationship between the abstract and the concrete, an intellectual ability to handle abstraction and symbolic operations, a capacity to make quick decisions, an ability to organise other people and the use of materials, machinery and financial resources (Gallart, 1997: 8).

However, both Gallart (1997: 9) and Etcheverry (2001: 49) noted that the abilities that the school needed to foster, such as problem-solving and learning to learn, could not be acquired in a vacuum of 'content' (Etcheverry, 2001: 50). There had to be a balance between factual knowledge and the capacity to make 'socio-historical interpretations' (Gallart, 1997: 8). Reverting to the example of computers, Etcheverry (2001: 50) observes that any literate person with a reasonable capacity of abstraction and logical thinking could learn how to operate a computer program at any age.

Yet, Gallart (1994: 17) warned against compiling a 'curriculum by aggregation' in Argentina, since incorporating new subjects, like technology or ecology, could easily lead to a strengthening of 'encyclopaedism'. She suggested that new content should be included in the curriculum in a creative and imaginative way, across the basic competencies. Gallart (1994: 18) also observes that the basic cognitive competencies that were required for the future had not changed substantially since the curricular reforms of the 1970s. Like Etcheverry (2001: 49), she argued that reading, writing, mathematics and basic general knowledge were amongst the weakest areas of secondary education in Argentina.

Thus, in both Argentina and Brazil, it was considered essential for education to relate to its context, and the world of labour and production and the traditional 'encyclopaedic' curriculum was condemned. There was evidently a need for a curriculum more closely linked to the question of students' employability. However, this did not imply having a practical curriculum, but rather one based on competencies like learning how to learn, and including values such as creativity, flexibility, autonomy and a capacity to work in teams.

Another aspect of the 'knowledge economy' is the advocacy of a new style of management and organisation within the educational system and its institutions. Decentralisation and school autonomy were seen as the guiding principles of this new approach.

Tedesco (2001: 2) stresses the radical nature of the expected educational changes in Argentina. Instead of reforming pedagogical methods and revising the content, it

was necessary to work out the right pedagogical and institutional formulae to improve content, methods and institutional design. Furthermore, he questioned the value of dividing the educational system into primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The needs of society and the requirements of scientific and technological progress established a need for lifelong learning, and this refuted the idea that knowledge could be acquired progressively through a lineal sequence.

In this context, it was suggested that the system should be decentralised, with enhanced central agencies and a significant growth in the autonomy of the schools (Ministério da Educação Brasil, 1999: 18). The strengthening of the institutional autonomy of schools was justified on two grounds. First autonomous schools could make better use of ‘increasingly scarce resources’ (Gallart, 1994: 16–17). By this was meant that schools should have more freedom to draw up their institutional projects and decide how to devote their time, as well as how to employ teachers and organise their work (Gallart, 1994: 16–17). A further point was that institutional autonomy would make it easier for communities to be involved in school decisions (Braslavsky, 1995: 4).

Preti (1999: 21) pointed out that a ‘neoliberal educational policy’ has been implemented. In a society which values knowledge as a form of merchandise and which also attaches great importance to social and labour relations, the ‘neoliberal project’ has persuaded society that education was the only means of tackling the economic crisis (Preti, 1999: 22). Preti said that, from the perspective of the neo-liberal logic, schools were ineffective in a society where those with the ‘greatest knowledge’ were the winners, as a result of a management crisis. Thus schools had to carry out administrative reforms to become competitive, and enter the job market.

In the case of Argentina, a wide range of problems have arisen from the decentralised organisation of the educational system, with a number of different strategies being suggested to overcome them. These notions of decentralisation were not only perceived and recognised as legitimate, but were also internalised as natural phenomena and thus used as a social strategy.

Preti (1999: 21) argues that the ‘neoliberal discourse’ imposed a hegemonic ideology and questions if education has had much influence on employability and economic competitiveness and decentralisation policies. He also referred to the indispensable need for continuous ‘retraining’, as well as the new qualifications required for work, like learning to learn and a good general training (Preti, 1999: 21). Thus, although Preti struggled to escape from the ‘knowledge economy’ discourse, his work finally came to terms with it.

Although some authors made different recommendations, each author incorporated the debate about – and even the discourse of – the ‘knowledge economy’ into his or her work. As a result of the varied but intense interest in the ‘knowledge economy’, it became an ideal the Argentinian and Brazilian academic world absorbed, and indeed helped domestically to construct.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced an idea in motion, mainly by sketching four themes: identifying the idea of both ‘industrial society’ and the ‘knowledge economy’ as academic concepts, noting how they became a ‘discourse’ at international level, and indicating how

these two discourses were domesticated in two places, Argentina and Brazil, in particular time periods.

As the discourse was domesticated and absorbed by local politics, it changed and it certainly led to different educational policies, including vocational technical education policies in the two places. In other words, important academic concepts changed into powerful political discourses at international level, and in both countries, but their domestication – their political acceptance and reformulation – led to new and different patterns in the two educational systems.

During the 1960s, Latin American countries sought to meet the requirements of an ‘industrial society’ by setting out (especially Brazil and Argentina) their ‘modern’ and ‘progressive’ economic goals. The result of this restructuring was that their educational policies were adjusted to cater for the needs of national development and the discourse of the ‘industrial society’.

Brazil

In Brazil, it was easy for the post-1964 military authorities to introduce their policies because there was no significant opposition from bodies such as democratic trade unions or student movements – this represented a very particular political form of ‘domestication’. During the 1960s, in Latin American countries, there was a new impetus to meet the requirements of economic development and enter the international market. Brazil, in particular, strengthened its economic policies and undertook a process of financial and administrative restructuring, the purpose of which was to link education policies to the interdepartmental goals of the national development plans. As a result, vocational education programmes were introduced to prepare workers through non-academic courses. Stress was laid on preparing the pupils for the labour market, on the assumption that there was an increasing need for qualified personnel. However, the educational planners had failed to anticipate that there would be a resulting mismatch between the economic model and the training programmes for jobs.

One aspect of ‘domestication’ is clear: by means of vocational education, the government of Brazil assumed it would be possible to expand secondary education, as well as tackle social problems such as unemployment. The introduction of vocational education policies occurred when Brazil was undergoing a phase of industrial expansion. However, the ‘economy’ was not able to cope with the uncontrolled expansion of school enrolments. Vocational education which had formerly been seen as a remedy, took on a more sophisticated form: in fact, there were several reforms to give all secondary schools a vocational character with a view to preparing young people for work.

The other aspect of ‘domestication’ was that the vocational education programmes and the school system were based on foreign models, and introduced by policymakers as a means to fulfil economic and social needs. These needs arose from the nature of the new companies being set up, industry was dependent on investment from overseas (e.g. the World Bank), and the ideological assumptions of the ‘industrial society’. The policymakers played a key role in the process of introducing vocational education and borrowing a model of educational innovation from the United States. The reforms of the educational systems were part of a package of loans and assistance programmes for economic development.

Perhaps there are two international discourses here – one about ‘industrial society’ and another about vocational-technical education. The obvious research question is whether the two discourses gradually took on an ideological status – served as an ideological tool – in so far as they helped governments to disguise increasing socio-economic inequalities.

Argentina

In Argentina, too, the idea of an ‘industrial society’ was ‘domesticated’, but in startlingly different ways from Brazil. In contrast to Brazil, the rapid expansion of education experienced in the Peronist period (1945–1955) was not closely tied to demands for skilled labour to meet the demands for industrial growth. In fact, neither the large educational expansion nor the development of technical education was clearly linked to the requirements for skilled labour – despite the fact that Perón’s project for national economic growth aimed at fostering industrial development. As Rein (1998: 16) states, ‘[T]he Peronist doctrine consisted in a threefold aspiration to social justice, economic independence and political sovereignty.’ Perón’s plans gave priority to encouraging local industry and included the following: the financing of modern technology through agricultural exports, an improved power supply and modern means of transport, protectionist policies, preferential credit and state subsidies. However – although industry did grow rapidly and intensively – industrial development did not take place quite as Perón had planned.

By the end of the 1940s, the Argentine economy started to decline and the programmes for industrialisation and economic modernisation never materialised. Thus, the modest growth in the industrial sectors and their reduced technological progress meant there was a decline in demand for skilled labour. What is even more striking is the way in which the industrialisation and economic modernisation discourse found political expression: the development of education was geared to serve the political interests of the Peronist state, contribute to social order and foster political stability.

Perón domesticated the industrialisation discourse in a very specific way – claiming to be transforming Argentina into a ‘socially just nation’ and making the state responsible for protecting the weak sectors of society. In other words, the Peronist movement sought to create ‘new Argentinians’ for the ‘new socially just Argentina’ and the education system was an important tool for achieving this objective.

Of course, education also indirectly contributed to economic growth by providing basic skills for life in urban and rural areas. The expansion of vocational and technical education did meet some of the needs of labour while providing completely new career opportunities for the urban middle class. Both *escuelas industriales* [the industrial colleges] and *Universidad Obrera* [the Workers’ University] with their emphasis on applied sciences provided more practical education for those who could not attend *colegios nacionales* [national colleges]. However, although the reforms originally aimed to foster industrial development, this never occurred. The Peronist educational reforms were tied to the social policies of the State.

Thus in the discourse of the ‘industrial society’, the objectives of vocational education, in both countries, were a crucial form of investment but also acted as a political

and social strategy, although in different ways. Clearly, however, the exact patterns of educational reforms were not directly attributable to the discourse about industrialisation. The social and political framing of education altered the emphasis.

In Brazil, the reforms and the role of the state after 1964, during the military period, included both authoritarianism and a strong belief in economic development financed by international capital. In contrast, in Argentina, Perón took political measures that consisted of a threefold aspiration to social justice, economic independence and political sovereignty by employing protectionist policies which hindered foreign competition. Moreover, this domestic and social struggle gave rise to a good deal of inner conflict.

Both Brazil and Argentina found they were under increasing pressure to introduce reforms. However, by 1970 they were beginning to be faced with a new phenomenon – this was the arrival of the ‘knowledge economy’ and its accompanying discourse which required both countries to make a suitable adjustment.

There was considerable evidence that several academics have been debating the ‘knowledge economy’ in terms of the assumptions and expectations of the international discourse. The discourse on ‘industrial societies’ overlaps with the discourse on progress and modernisation and the even less clear concept of ‘globalisation’. However, the educational implications are clear. Notions such as curriculum-based competencies, lifelong learning, decentralisation and school autonomy are recognised by the literature as being legitimate in this new social context.

When analysing educational policies in these countries, the influence of the ‘knowledge economy’ discourse on world outlooks was apparent and it can be regarded as having become an ideology. Moreover, this ideology has acted as the guiding principles for educational reform in Brazil and Argentina since the 1990s and has had a profound effect in shaping educational systems and changing the status of vocational-technical education. Under the ‘knowledge economy’ discourse or ideology, this has gradually given way to a situation where much of education has become training in competencies.

Perhaps, now, we are witnessing convergence?

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EDUCATION, JOBS, AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Leslie Bash

Introduction

In the last quarter of the twentieth century a state-generated agenda, with a focus on issues of employment and employability, assumed an increasing position of prominence in the comparative education literature. One of the more prominent examples, the 1995 *World Yearbook of Education* (Bash & Green, 1995), offered a range of perspectives, drawn from commentaries on a diversity of contexts, on the relationship between education and work in addition to some of the more salient issues concerning the integration of young people into society. These included:

- The ramifications of global economic and political change
- The impact of industrial restructuring
- Changing labour markets, lifelong learning, and systems of vocational education and training
- Diversity and equality in the transition from education to work

The above use of *vocational education and training* necessitates a working definition based on the conventional view that it comprises: ‘all more or less organised or structured activities that aim to provide people with the knowledge, skills and competences necessary to perform a job or a set of jobs, whether or not they lead to a formal qualification’ (Tessarini & Wannan, 2004: 13).

In signalling the developing impact of globalisation the *World Yearbook* exemplified an expanding narrative which was to reflect, both literally and metaphorically, a growing sense of *fin de siècle*. There appeared to be little anticipation of the kinds of dramatic political events to come (such as 9/11 and the Iraq War) and the ensuing anxieties concerning the apparent alienation of specific constituencies of the young and perceived threats to national and global security. However, it did make an additional contribution to an approach to comparative education that was to focus increasingly upon the unifying consequences of international economic integration.

To place these issues into perspective it may be helpful to open with some comments which would appear fairly evident to those with only a casual acquaintance with a comparative and historical knowledge of education. First of all, questions concerning its connection with the world of work began only to possess meaning once education ceased to be a minority, elite pursuit. Indeed, the classic elitist approach placed a premium on education precisely because it was judged to be irrelevant to the masses.

Thus, the requirement that those in leadership positions receive an education was itself dependent upon an acceptance that the mass of workers did not – and vice versa. Plato's view that a liberal education – intellectual, aesthetic, and physical – would provide the necessary foundation for the guardianship of society has persisted over space and time (Plato, 1955, Book 7).

Secondly, however, there has also been a long-standing view that if the masses were not to be educated they at least might be *trained* in order that they perform their essentially manual labours in an efficient and effective manner. The nature of such training was to be highly prescribed, frequently little more than a process of modelling the tasks to be learned against existing practice: the traditional institution of apprenticeship enshrined in the master–pupil relationship. This institution was to be found in diverse forms but was generally based upon the common notion of mastery, insofar as apprentices were successfully inducted into a 'guild' of practitioners. Essentially, there was the expectation that the pupil would defer to the master as the 'gatekeeper' to the world of recognised craftsmen. Note also that apprenticeship, as with elite education, was gender-specific, being mainly the preserve of the male sector of the population – and many respects this would appear to remain the case. While, in the UK, the recent renaissance of the system (the Modern Apprenticeship) is apparently open to all, neither occupational stereotypes nor the process of gendered occupational segregation have disappeared (Fuller *et al.*, 2005).

Thirdly, subtle changes begin to occur in the narrative. Thus, the term *vocational* was progressively incorporated into the vocabulary of those with a remit for policy and practice in respect of the preparation of individuals for specific occupations. While *vocation* had been previously associated with the notion of a *profession* which evoked the idea of a *calling*, its adjectival counterpart came to have a rather more prosaic meaning: that which pertains to skilled jobs, often with a manual aspect, but ranking below those for which a university education was a prerequisite. Thus, the plumber and the electrician might have been in receipt of vocational *training* while the doctor and lawyer would be expected to have received a university *education*. In this regard, Wolf (2002: chapter 3) notes that policymakers in the developed world have promoted vocational education and training as a necessarily good thing for national economies while at the same perceived as 'a great idea for other people's children'.

The Vocationalisation of the Academy

The apparent rupturing of the boundaries that have conventionally separated vocational training from liberal education signalled widespread changes in the structure and content of work. In addition, it also suggested a more general shift in social relations. In the context of higher education Kazamias and Starida (1992) have identified a process of *vocationalisation* as opposed to that of professionalisation where the emphasis is on preparation for employment. Here, the focus is the market and thus the necessity for a relatively rapid response to its dynamic. Bearing in mind the competitive nature of the global employment market governments which, in the spirit of free enterprise, had previously taken a somewhat *laissez-faire* approach have in recent years sought to

develop regulatory processes. Consequently, diverse occupations, such as teaching, law, and medicine, previously characterised by relative institutionalised autonomy have come under an increasing degree of state control. Garoupa suggests this has occurred, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century, as clients began to demand more information about the services provided by professionals and where the market is perceived to have failed 'to produce the socially optimal quantity and quality of the professional service. . . . [Thus] some protection for the consumer of professional services is necessary to guarantee quality and mitigate inefficiencies. Protection of consumers frequently takes the form of regulation of the profession and its markets' (Garoupa, 2004: 4).

Other jobs traditionally needing at most a course of work-based vocational training are now the province of higher education. Thus, a specialised undergraduate degree is increasingly a global requisite for occupational areas such as nursing, childcare, catering, and retail management. While one possible implication has been that universities have undergone significant changes to enable assessment according to a skills-based, rather than a knowledge-based, agenda it has also raised the issue of an 'over-educated' population. Chevalier (2000) argues this position as a consequence of having taken a considered empirical approach to the issue of 'over-education', specifically in the context of the match between education, qualifications, and the degree of satisfaction with work. Yet it remains undoubtedly a contested concept, especially in an era where a dominant theme in the political narrative suggests that education is the solution to a good many defined social ills. Yet, it could be argued that the likelihood is that even if there is an apparent mismatch between credentials and the requirements of the job in the short run the nature of work itself will change as a consequence of the increased value derived from a more qualified labour force.

From a comparative perspective, the last 30 years or so have provided a tableau upon which has been written the story of an increasingly global quest to establish and maintain international economic competitiveness. One consequence of this has been an ideological move away from one perception of individuals, whose possession of skills and knowledge contributed to personal and social identity formation, to another perception which marked them out essentially as embodiments of human capital (Wilson & Woock, 1995: 8–9). Just as with any other item of capital, educationists and education policymakers began to speak heavily of such items as investment, evaluation, outputs, and profit.

An increasingly globalised move during the last quarter of the twentieth century towards the marketisation of education and training reflected both the accelerating transnational shifts in production and advances in new technologies. The suppliers of education and training recognised the need for a rapid response to a much more flexible global economy where manufacturing jobs declined in the West as they shifted to the less-industrialised regions or were replaced by advanced technologies. At the same time most Western countries at the centre of global economic activity acknowledged these changes in the formation and implementation of policies even if that acknowledgment was often masked by a view of individuals which marked them out as lacking relevant skills rather than as recipients of a market failure to supply jobs.

It should be further noted that until the demise of the state socialist regimes, Eastern Europe continued to operate, unsurprisingly, in a conventional centralised manner,

regulating both the supply of, and the demand for, labour. Schools, vocational training institutions, and universities tended to be little more than conduits for the deployment of human capital within an economic structure characterised by significant state intervention. Arguably, this resulted in a skewed employment structure and contributed to an economy unable to deliver on either the domestic or international fronts. Of course, the state socialist systems of Eastern Europe were not alone in this *sponsorship* process even though a *contest* process may have preceded it (cf. Turner, 1960). In France, a place at a *grande école* would provide a guaranteed future in the elite sectors of employment, while the Ivy League and Oxford and Cambridge universities continued to perform similarly for the US and the UK respectively. By and large, however, by the end of the twentieth century, the majority of industrialised societies in being committed to marketisation rejected the centralised role of the state, except insofar it was needed to deal with perceived threats to the national social and political order or of threats to the national position in the global economic order.

It was not altogether surprising therefore that as youth unemployment began to accelerate in the 1970s the impetus for the establishment of ‘training’ policies in the West became that much greater. What became known in much of the literature on education and work as the ‘new vocationalism’ was exemplified by the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) in the UK. The ‘new vocationalism’ departed from the conventional notion of vocational training in that its primary aim was not to equip young people with sets of specific skills acquired through an often lengthy period of apprenticeship, which would mark them out as qualified technicians and craftsmen. Rather, the focus was on the development of young people to a state of readiness for employment, as Dale states:

The aims . . . include the need to adjust to a new status, somewhere between work and non-work. The objectives of the new vocationalism are as much occupational versatility and personal adjustment as anything that would formerly have been recognized as skill training. (Dale, 1985: 7)

Thus the YTS and its immediate predecessors appeared to assume that the cause of youth unemployment was lack of relevant skills among the young. Significantly, such schemes did not suggest that youth unemployment might be connected with the overall lack of work opportunities. The ‘new vocationalism’ was based upon the notion of generic or transferable skills (such as those relevant to success in job interviews) and, in due course, was to have an impact upon higher education as universities began to be transformed into managerialist degree-delivery systems.

It was clear, however, that the ‘new vocationalism’ was not simply a political response to an apparent acute phenomenon of youth unemployment. It possibly also reflected a realisation that the economy was increasingly global in character, that comparative advantage was becoming much more fluid, and that ‘jobs for life’ was an anachronistic concept. In the UK context the disappearance of manufacturing which had traditionally accommodated significant numbers of young people lacking formal academic and vocational qualifications constituted a clear change in the socio-economic structure. In their quest for lower costs large multinational corporations began to transfer

manufacturing capacity to regions where wages were significantly lower than Europe and North America. At the same time, new technologies (robotics, computer-aided design and manufacture) additionally contributed to the lower demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour while also increasing productivity.

This was all far removed from the pioneering approaches to the education–work relationship, as characterised by Dewey in the US and the polytechnicism of the early post-revolutionary period of the Soviet Union. Here, in principle, the world of work was to be perceived as little different from any other area of human activity and, therefore, could be treated as an authentic aspect of the school curriculum. Work experience was not to be equated with vocational training but as a means of enhancement of the totality of learning. Of course, in the case of the Soviet Union, there was an undoubted ideological agenda to polytechnicism (Bash, 1991) while Dewey’s approach blended with the *Gemeinschaft* of the American local community. Also, while the focus remained upon the internal socio-economic structures of both countries, experimentation in education or work was permissible. Once, however, the political-economic elites in the US and the USSR began to see the future in terms of international economic, political, and military competition there was little room for idealism. ‘Calvinistic’ Stalinism – the Stakhanovite exhortation to all workers to increase their productivity – together with the cold war actions of both the US and the USSR combined to provide a backcloth to the competitive race for global dominance in the 1950s and the 1960s. Centralised direction shaped the vocational narrative in the Soviet Union, with a heavy emphasis on science and technology, while, as in other areas, the fear that the Americans could be upstaged in respect of their supremacy in science resulted in unprecedented Federal intervention in education policy in the shape of the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

In the less-industrialised countries the narrative has tended to be of quite a different order. Basic education is often perceived in terms of the development of human capital, both as a vital contribution to GDP and as a contribution to personal income, with the argument reported by Wilson and Woock (1995: 9) that:

[T]he education and skills level of a nation was crucial for its economic development. . . . This simple formula of expenditure on education in developing countries equalling growth still underlies many of the programmes of education and training fostered by international agencies working in developing nations.

Status issues emerged in the early postcolonial context where many parents, as with their counterparts in the industrialised West, had elite aspirations for their children (the law, civil service, and similar occupations). On the other hand, the demand for a skilled labour force, able to maximise manufacturing and agricultural capacity, needed to be recognised by the newly formed nation states, especially in Africa. However, there was an underlying assumption, challenged strongly by, among others, Philip Foster (1965a, b), that the education system was actually in a position to deliver such skills to emergent economies, that it could remedy deficits in the areas of practical engineering and modern farming. Despite the alleged ‘fallacy’ of vocational schooling, it appeared to be particularly attractive to Nyerere’s Tanzania, with its focus on primary education

as the generator of basic human capital, a theme enshrined in 'Education for Self-Reliance' (Nyerere, 1968) which eschewed the need for widespread secondary or higher education. No doubt, given the global perspectives of the twenty-first century, many would now consider these positions somewhat short-sighted, with the unintended consequence of consigning less-industrialised countries to the periphery of the international economy. Indeed, Foster's thesis was quite clear in demonstrating that aspiring school students and their parents understood that some kind of 'elite' education was in their interests. No doubt a macroeconomic approach to the market economy would suggest that such an increase in aggregate educational demand would constitute a positive contribution to national income and GDP with the consequent additional human capital and overall economic demand. The obverse of this is that vocational schooling, while seen as a universal panacea, would simply reinforce a situation characterised by low-level technology, limited productive capacity, and low wages.

However, the exposure of the 'vocational schooling fallacy' in the context of the less-industrialised countries did not prevent its later reinterpretation in the West. That there should be a close fit between education and work is apparently reflected in the *vocationalist* narratives of the last 30 years. It stands in contrast to the traditional view that the manifest content of education merely signalled to employers the potential status of future employees. Thus, the classical curriculum, the conventional preserve of the European middle and upper classes, was a marker for the professions. It mattered little that it was of a 'non-vocational' character; indeed it was precisely because it was directly removed from the world of work that the classical curriculum, paradoxically, was regarded as having particular relevance. The significance of the classical curriculum according to Stray (1996) was to be found in its symbolisation of academic rigour, social aspiration, and self-discipline. The narrative of the early twenty-first century, however, is founded on the assumed *correspondence* between education and work: measured vocational competencies as assessed in programmes of study, from second-level schooling through to doctoral dissertations.

Davies anticipates this when he notes:

that the tendency to 'vocationalise' the curriculum and favour traditional subject specialisms in schools and colleges has led to a narrowing of the academic curriculum and a stress on vocational training. This is an education and training emphasising standards, discipline, attitudes and dispositions compatible with employers' views of the proper characteristics workers and employees should possess. This vocationalisation of learning opportunity has become part of new divisions of certification and at the higher levels of attainment has undermined the liberal approach to higher education which favoured general and humanistic approaches. (Davies, 1997: 8)

Thus, the attempted democratisation of education at all levels and of the process of transition from formal education to employment has inevitably resulted in the proliferation of accountability mechanisms. Accountability manifests itself not least in the assumed process of dispassionate, objective, neutral assessment with patronage and nepotism, while not entirely disappeared from the world of work, nonetheless having

less legitimacy in the early twenty-first century. The process of entry into employment is increasingly formalised, subject to the possession of publicly recognised skills-based credentials, and frequently shaped by the outcomes of varieties of psychometric and other tests.

In the midst of this quest for correspondence between education and work it is clear that a status hierarchy will remain. While the UK government is pledged to introduce a new-style Diploma (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007), initially specialised but followed by a more general version, in 2008 to run alongside the existing school-leaving combination of GCSE and GCE Advance Level qualifications, even the Education Secretary (in 2007) warned of its possible rejection as second-best by parents. Echoing Foster's previously mentioned observations of Ghana, the fear appeared to be that the Diploma, while possibly providing some kind of improved preparation for work, would be likely to be associated with the relatively low-status vocational areas. As such, it would track young people into a segregated stream – the 'secondary modern' qualification as opposed to the 'gold standard' provided by GCE A levels. At the same time, a proposed GCSE in construction and building (2007) signalled a number of anxieties and tensions among which are the remedying of skill shortages and the motivation of 'non-academic' students.

In sum, this section has attempted to demonstrate that a profound change has taken place in the relationship between education and work in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. This change is characterised by a shifting context from the national to the global. In particular, the vocationalisation process in the West has proceeded from a focus on 'training' in generic and transferable skills for working-class young people having few or no formal qualifications to one that is now much broader in scope. In brief, economic and employment considerations have now come to dominate the entire educational agenda. Accordingly, attention is now turned to the relevance of globalisation to the changing relationship between education and work.

The Globalisation Problematic

In the context under discussion, globalisation, as partially reflected in the Bologna process (European Ministers of Education, 1999) – the creation of a European Higher Education Area – signals the possibility of the convergence of education systems as attempts are made to implement diverse aspects of harmonisation. As a consequence, schools, colleges, and universities may be perceived as little other than adjuncts of the international economic order. Doubtless, some national superstructural features will remain, reflecting closely guarded cultural legacies. Thus, whichever political direction France will have taken as a result of the 2007 presidential election, it is probable that it will continue to display a certain national distinctiveness despite the pressures of the supposed efficiencies of global economic management and the accompanying American-style work ethic. At the same time, leaving aside assertions regarding corruption in the less-industrialised regions of the world, it might be judged that familial and non-democratic influences will continue to be a significant factor in the school-work transition in various parts of the globe.

Significantly, it is difficult to see how even those countries which are relatively peripheral to the global economy and the transnational networks by which the global economy is constituted can escape the pressures to vocationalise the entire educational system. The overwhelming power of the discourse of globalisation is manifested in continually re-created narratives that signal the urgency with which education should engage with the economic infrastructure. This is despite the wealth of data collected by comparative educationists over the past 50 years suggesting that there is little evidence to indicate a causal connection between increased participation in education and national economic development. Or, as Wolf (2002: 53) notes: '[T]here is no clear indication at all that the UK, or any other developed country, is spending below some critical level, or that pumping more money into education will guarantee even half a per cent a year's extra growth.'

However, this does not appear to have prevented governments from continuing to pursue what Wolf (2004: 330) has considered as simplistic policies rooted in target-oriented and over-centralised control ideologies rather than more sophisticated policies connected with the understandings of students and their parents.

Two key difficulties facing the governments of those nation states concerned with their position in the global economy are signalled here. The first concerns the means by which the education system can deliver the skilled and knowledgeable labour perceived to be required at all levels. The second concerns the means by which all sectors of the population will eventually have access to livelihoods which will meet individually, socially, and culturally defined material and non-material needs. The role of schools, colleges, and universities in each country will differ in detail and will be subject to prevailing educational, economic, and political agendas. In this respect, China, for example, continues to perform an interesting balancing act. On the one hand, it seems to be prepared to foster higher educational development to the extent that it temporarily exports students to the West in pursuit of a significant place in the global market. On the other hand, as evidenced by the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (2007), there appears to be a continued maintenance of close, centralised micromanagement of the internal social and political order. Thus, it seems likely that societal tensions in China will increase as the relationship between education and work is progressively globalised while social, cultural, and political life remains relatively constrained.

In the final analysis, at the level of popular discourse, a global view of the education–work relationship might suggest a continuing belief that a 'good' education enhances employment prospects and, therefore, economic development. At the macro level, governments and other agencies persist in actions which appear reminiscent of Foster's 'vocational school fallacy' as policies are devised and implemented to ensure a better 'fit' between the products of the education system and the demands of the economy. In an era of rapid globalisation, futurology is invoked in attempts to forecast employment needs for the next 10, 20, or 30 years as structures are put into place to ensure the production of the specific stratified labour force required for the middle of the twenty-first century. At the micro level, individuals tend towards action which if not always entirely rational nonetheless reflects a perception of self-interest rather than of the collective. Schooling, even if not consistently instrumental in the achievement

of personal, social, and economic advancement is, at the very least, seen as a means of ensuring employment that will meet the socially and culturally defined basic needs of most individuals. It is here that both parents and children place an emphasis upon what may be viewed as the ‘facilitation of positional advantage’, i.e. ‘the labour market advantage conferred by the *exchange value* of education’ (Williams, 2004). Wolf (2002: 54) puts this more concretely in noting that: ‘[S]chooling and qualifications do signal certain substantive skills – and people’s earnings are related not just to their paper qualifications but also to their relative academic ability.’

Conclusion

Comparative studies of the relationship between education and work no doubt illuminate differences in practice, policy, and ideology. However, as this chapter has attempted to demonstrate, such differences are not necessarily explained through conventional modes of analysis, utilising dichotomies such as ‘centralised/decentralised’, ‘capitalist/socialist’, ‘centre/periphery’. These polar concepts have either ceased to have substantial meaning in the wake of the historical events of the final decades of the twentieth century or else globalisation has resulted in an economic geography that reflects a continuing and increasingly fluid dynamic. The economic convergence resulting from increased global commercial integration has implications for a greater convergence of education policies across national systems. As industries become evermore reliant upon advanced scientific, technological and managerial skills, and knowledge, this is likely to be reflected in the agendas of policymakers. At the same time, public concerns increase with the accelerating pace of change in technologies with the fear that innovative, ‘relevant’ education and training policies are outmoded even before they come on stream. As might be predicted, those countries which are judged to be in urgent need of a close, effective relationship between education and employment and, thus, in need of serious capital and recurrent funding, may be the least likely to receive it. Low GDP and national income combined with a failure to capture a sufficient volume of international inward investment contribute obstacles to educational expansion, as exemplified by the case of Bangladesh (Rabobank, 2005: 2): ‘The country is classified as a low-income country by the World Bank. Although 53% of GDP is generated by the services sector, nearly two-thirds of the population are employed in the agricultural sector (20% of GDP).’

The likelihood is that the wealthier countries will continue to be characterised by education systems which both reflect – and contribute to – relatively higher income levels. This is the case whether second-level schooling is comprehensive or selective, whether the work dimension is a central element in general education or confined to the vocational streams. The relegation, or indeed the elimination, of ideological conflict in this area has heralded a much more fluid situation.

On the other hand, it also seems clear that socio-economic divisions will continue to be manifested in the internal dynamics of educational institutions across national systems and, importantly, in educational and employment outcomes. This might be seen in the adoption of policies to promote *lifelong learning*, a watchword that has

now entered the discourse with the connotation of the provision of a panacea for continuing skills deficits in a context of a rapidly changing globalised economy. While its focus is the post-compulsory sector, lifelong learning impacts upon the twenty-first century educational narrative as a whole. The changed narrative appears to continue to emphasise the education–work relationship through a process of marketisation that places the responsibility for vocational success on individuals as consumers and their take-up of *learning packages* rather than on the quality of employer provision (Ryan, 2003). In the context of the European Union its focus is a set of ‘key’ competences defined as: ‘those which all individuals need for personal fulfilment and development, active citizenship, social inclusion and employment’ (Official Journal of the European Union 30.12.2006: 13).

When unpacked, these are distilled into eight headings:

1. Communication in the mother tongue
2. Communication in foreign languages
3. Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology
4. Digital competence
5. Learning to learn
6. Social and civic competences
7. Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship and
8. Cultural awareness and expression

(Official Journal of the European Union 30.12.2006: p13)

It might be observed that the term competence as used here is somewhat broader in meaning than that signalled by conventional usage in that it references mental states rather than just being confined to behaviours. Nonetheless there is the inference that all such competences are capable of being tested and measured, thus reinforcing a progressive shift towards vocationalisation. At the same time, it is also a further shift in the direction of marketisation as learners are transformed into traded ‘commodities’. With the acquisition of ‘value-added’ social and cultural capital, learners enter an increasingly globalised employment arena of bidders and sellers – and one that is constantly shifting. Here, conventional notions of supply and demand together with that of monopolistic competition offer some insights into the relative positions of those with diverse general educational and vocational qualifications at specific moments in space and time. Accordingly, those with internationally recognised advanced skills and qualifications enter with a greater capacity to determine the course of the market in their favour than others whose employment destinies would seem to be almost entirely determined by the market, whose forces are beyond their control.

Thus, the connections between education and work appear to be increasingly reinforced by global patterns. By the middle of the twenty-first century comparative educationists may be examining the prospect of a progressively globalised structure of educational processes geared towards engagement with an increasingly integrated world economic order, while, less convincingly, into an international civic order. Or, more pointedly, it may be necessary for comparative educationists in their quest to

make sense of global patterns of education to heed the observations of Stiglitz (2007) who has noted the uneven consequences of globalisation where economic integration is accompanied by international social segregation and marginalisation.

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THE EVALUATIVE STATE AS POLICY IN TRANSITION: A HISTORICAL AND ANATOMICAL STUDY

Guy Neave

‘All animals are equal but some are more equal than others’

Animal Farm

Introduction

Over the past two decades in Western Europe, the Evaluative State has grown, is growing though whether, like the power of one of Britain’s more unfortunate monarchs, George III, ‘it ought to be diminished’ is a question as delicate as it is misplaced. In this chapter, I will explore the historic forces behind this particular phenomenon with a view to getting some purchase over where it is likely to lead us. And this in turn engages one of the most fundamental developments that higher education in Europe has to grapple with today – namely, the rise of what at different times and across different disciplinary perspectives has been variously described as ‘the European dimension’ (Huisman *et al.*, 2000) as the intergovernmental layer (Maassen & Neave, 2007: 135 ff) or even amongst the more metaphysically inclined within the scholarly community, as the ‘supra governmental’ dimension in the affairs of higher education (Maassen & Olsen, 2007: 3–24).

By and large, the Evaluative State on the one hand and the so-called Bologna Process on the other have been treated as separate and watertight issues – and, to some extent, indeed they are. The former quite obviously took shape and matured within in that classical setting of higher education policy, namely within the Nation State. The latter, however, represents a new and very certainly a permanent additional dimension or level of decision-making that both ties in with, whilst at the same time forming, a species of ‘supra ordinate’ layer beyond what for the past two centuries served as the highest level of aggregation in the evolution of the universities in Europe.

... a Double Transition and a Historical Watershed

Once we shift our sights from the Evaluative State as it evolved within the Nation State to its broader setting as a central dimension within the emerging European Higher Education Area, clearly we find ourselves involved in a species of ‘double transition’.

The first involves changes the Evaluative State brought about on the home front. The second focuses on those further adjustments subsequently made to take account of the Bologna Process and the emergence of a European Higher Education Area. There is, however, one final justification for bringing together the Evaluative State and Bologna and it is no minor one. The rise of the Evaluative State, viewed within the evolving Bologna Process is perhaps the last example of policymaking in higher education conceived uniquely as a national venture (Neave, 2006c: 27–46). And though it is difficult to anticipate with any degree of precision where individual national administrations will draw the line between spheres wholly domestic, and those requiring at very least a modicum of benevolent neutrality from other Member States whether individual or collective, the very imprecision serves merely to emphasize this historic watershed.

The Dynamic and the Origins of the Evaluative State

The Evaluative State has as its essential purpose to ensure the continual mobilization of the higher education system by the regular evaluation of its productivity, performance and its usage of public resources. In short, it is a highly dynamic construct. Hence we need to attend closely to its dynamic aspect, if we are to grasp the full import in the shifts it has brought about. As with most things in higher education policy, the Evaluative State unlike Athena, did not spring fully armed from the thigh of Zeus, of the Prince or whatever allegoric figure one cares to associate with the activities of a Nation's administration. The Evaluative State emerged from a number of measures, few of which could, at the time they were taken, be seen as unambiguous pointers to what was to emerge later. In tracing the historical roots of the Western European version of the Evaluative State, one has to admit that the selfsame measures, which later matured into this construct, had greater kinship with the routine husbandry that systems of higher education demand to keep them running than with a self-conscious and deliberate move to place the relationship between higher education, government and society upon a radically different series of principles and operational procedures. Nor were the motives that underlay the drive towards the Evaluative State necessarily as homogeneous as they now appear. Suggesting this begs a few questions. What is the Evaluative State? What were the driving forces that brought it about? How has it changed the relationship between higher education and society?

To answer these central questions I shall concentrate on Western Europe for the plain and simple reason that this is where the Evaluative State assumed its modern and, in all probability, its most sophisticated form. I shall not, however confine my attention there. There are equally good reasons to justify a wider excursion, not least to avoid the charge of parochialism – *l'esprit de clocher* – which is ever present even in studies that claim to be comparative.

Roots

The roots of the Evaluative State are to be found in three closely interrelated crises that in Western Europe reached a head in the mid-1980s. These were first of all the resurgence of social demand for higher education and on a scale far beyond all precedent.

In short, national administrations faced a situation for which they had neither planned nor foreseen whilst their colleagues in finance faced coffers distressingly empty.

If the first wave of the 1960s drove higher education beyond its historic mission of socializing the future political elites and on to the more complex task of mass higher education, the second wave was no less radical in redefining the purpose of higher education in terms of providing access at a level which for certain countries – France being one – by the last half of the 1990s reached universal status. For others, rates of participation at a similar level became the official target of higher education policy. This was the ambition of Britain (White Paper, 2003) and the Netherlands (Kwikkers *et al.*, 2005) – to have more than 50 percent of the relevant age group in what is now fashionable to call ‘Tertiary Education’ by the year 2010. ‘The ‘universal’ stage is commonly held to be attained when participation in higher education reaches 40 percent of the appropriate age group (Trow, 1974).

The second crisis was how to fund so massive a demand – an issue all the more urgent for the fact the main weight of demand did not fall on the private sector – which was relatively marginal in terms of student enrolments in Western Europe – but rather on universities which were state funded and controlled to upwards of 95 percent of their annual income.

The third element underpinning the drive towards the Evaluative State was the question of operational efficiency. Whilst the first two elements – social demand and funding – even with the wisdom that hindsight brings with it, may be seen as largely routine aspects in running a national system of higher education, the notion of operational efficiency was, in the medium term, to provide a powerful lever in moving routine administrative adjustment and accommodation towards what is often fashionably alluded to in the inimitable jargon of technocracy as ‘system re-engineering’. For this notion, see Mungaray-Lagarda (2002).

Operational Efficiency: A Central Concept

Operational efficiency is key to the rapid emergence of the Evaluative State in Western Europe. To put no finer point on it, the emergence of the Evaluative State itself reflects a species of definitional dynamic – or if one cares to view the phenomenon in terms of philosophy or linguistics – as a species of ‘epistemic drift’. What was understood as ‘operational efficiency’ itself underwent rapid transformation both in respect of those dimensions subject to, and brought under, administrative and public scrutiny. For this same reason, extending the dimensions of oversight also entailed extending the range of procedures, measures of verification and assessment that could be brought to bear. If we look closely at the condition of higher education in those countries where the rise of the Evaluative State emerged earliest in Western Europe – Britain, France, the Netherlands – it is clear that the main challenge posed during the mid-1980s was the distribution and usage of resources. From this it followed that the main goal of policy turned around their further optimization – first by cost reduction, and second by measures in rationalizing the national coverage in disciplines.¹ Operational efficiency remained fully in accordance with the usual range of administrative

action – cost cuttings, a halt on the recruitment of permanent staff or their substitution by part-timers (de Weert & Enders, 2004) and closer scrutiny over student input. There were, however, clear signs which entailed accelerating one particular process, which was already operant in certain systems of higher education in Western Europe before the onset of crisis – namely, the gradual detachment of funding higher education on the basis of student numbers and the gradual abandonment of historic incrementalism – that is, the use of an annual adjustment to take account of inflation, cost of living, etc. (Glenny, 1979).

None of these measures, widely applied though they were across systems as varied as the British, the Belgian, the Dutch and the German, can be interpreted as reform of a radical sort, though that is not to deny their often painful effects.² On the contrary, the development of indicators of institutional performance can, in its early stages, be seen not as an alternative to the long-established procedures of system coordination by law, decree, close financial oversight and accounting – systems which some commentators then interpreted as State control (van Vught, 1989). Rather, in its early stages, the ‘new instrumentality’ was conceived more as a supplement, a more sensitive series of pointers that served first of all the internal needs of ‘system steering’. This it would do in principle by improving both the quality of, and the speed with which, information flowed between the institutional and the systems level within the Nation’s provision of higher education. The immediate purpose of what was to become higher education’s ‘new instrumentality’ was not to lay down principles for a new relationship between government and higher education. Rather, its purpose was conceived in terms of updating and making the existing relationship more efficient – an efficiency operationalized primarily in terms of budgetary compression, with new parameters for the usage of academic resources. One of the more spectacular of these latter was the readiness of central authorities to let the staff/ student ratio float as the student wave engulfed higher education whilst imposing a policy of ‘no growth’ upon the size of the Academic Estate.

What then altered thinking about the place of performance indicators? Where are the origins of that new, powerful and highly sophisticated instrumentality which, in its early stages, was heralded by many students of higher education as a new relationship between government, higher education and society, a relationship based on the notion variously qualified as ‘remote steering’, ‘a facilitatory relationship’? (Neave & van Vught, 1994; van Vught, 1989) This is important to understanding the driving forces that changed an administrative procedure into a full-blown theory, which redefined both the operational dimension itself and changed radically what was held to be the ‘proper and effective relationship’ of higher education with society.

Two Schools of Thought

The first of these driving forces may be cast as ideological, though often presented in a technical discourse. It turned around the conviction amongst national authorities that the Guardian relationship – which had determined the historical and political ties between State and higher education for over a century – was no longer sustainable in its present form³. To this line of argument were several strands best summarized in terms of two dis-

tinct approaches. The first focused primarily around a discourse where the Economic imperative predominated (Dill *et al.*, 2004). Its heartland – at least up to 1989 and the fall of the Berlin Wall – lay in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. In terms of economic doctrine, it may be variously qualified as ‘neo-liberalism’, or when applied to the purpose and relationship between higher education and society, it assumes the trappings of the ‘productivist thesis’. Both strands assigned a fundamental redefinition to operational efficiency. Operational efficiency was no longer conceived as a subset within the established relationship of government, higher education and society. On the contrary, under the canons of neo-liberalism, operational efficiency became the essential credo, the singular, central purpose and objective – and let it be said, the main lever – that opened the way to root and branch ‘re-engineering’ of the higher education system *in toto*. From a historian’s standpoint, it brought the Guardian relationship between government and higher education to an abrupt end and that, as the sinister expression has it, ‘with extreme prejudice’. In effect, the ‘operational’ became ‘the political’.

There is, however, a second school of thought. It too also performed sterling service in shaping the rise of the Evaluative State in Western Europe. It too was no less political. Its focus, however, was very different. Its roots are to be found less in an economic discourse – though obviously this element was not absent. Rather its origins lie within the domain of participant democracy and, more to the point, related to the consequences that social change and enhanced participation in higher education held for the place, identity and responsibility of communities other than the Nation State in the affairs of higher education. Under this setting, operational efficiency took on very different overtones. Whilst it did not deny the desirability of institutional accountability and the other elements of closer financial scrutiny, these were neither its alpha nor its omega. To use a theory less current at the time than it is today, the second school of thought revolved around the principle later to be known in EU circles as subsidiarity – that is the delegation of responsibility to the point where services are provided (de Groof, 1994).

Seen in these terms, operational efficiency took the form of reassigning elements of control and responsibility from central national administration and their relocation, sometimes in the purlieu of regional authorities, sometimes reassigning them back to the individual establishment. This parallel process parades under many flags: ‘the Offloading State’ when seen from a perspective of national administration, ‘the repatriation’ of functions when viewed historically and from the standpoint of the region or the individual institution (Neave, 2001, 2003). Seen within the perspective of politics, it corresponds to the classic and routine notions of administrative decentralization and the devolution of power. This dimension in the rise of the Evaluative State was particularly marked in France, Spain and Italy. It accompanied the federalization of Belgium in 1988 and the splitting of a hitherto national system of higher education into two linguistic communities – one Flemish-speaking and the other French-speaking. Each of the Belgian community developed its very specific institutional form of evaluation policy (Lub, 2003: 5) This was also the route followed by the 13 Spanish Autonomous Communities (Miguel Diaz, 1999) and forms a *leitmotif* in Swedish higher education policy (Bauer, 1988; Bauer and Kogan 1997). Interestingly, the one exception to the federal model is to be seen in Germany. There, though reform to institutional funding, autonomy and the introduction of the principle of contractualization took place

during the latter half of the 1990s, it resulted not in strengthening the apparatus of the Evaluative State at federal level so much as its fragmentation between each of the individual Länder. Paradoxically, the rise of the Evaluative State in Germany was not accompanied by the Central State acquiring further leverage. And to this extent, the Evaluative State in Germany took root *within* the traditional administrative framework between provinces and central government, rather than altering it (Kehm & Lanzendorff, 2006).

Roads to Rome

Regardless of whether the rationale of the Evaluative State obeyed the canons of neo-liberalism or adhered to the imperatives of participant democracy, irrespective of whether the emphasis lay on reasserting the ‘rights of the individual’ to ‘consume higher education’ or, on the contrary focused on the no less indisputable rights of historic and linguistic communities to have greater sway over the institution that intimately shaped both regional identity and regional fortunes, each posed a direct challenge to the place of the central State in the affairs of higher education. Interestingly, both schools of thought shared a common presumption, even if the remedies they advanced differed radically. Both concurred with the desirability of limiting the power of central government. For the theorists of neo-liberalism, the state as regulator was replaced with the notion of ‘market forces’ as the prime regulator of system development. For the supporters of ‘communitarism’ the main burden of change called for a redefinition of the administrative relationship of higher education and government along the lines of a shared partnership between central government and regional authorities – in effect, strengthening the intermediary level between national administration and individual university. Or, as we have seen in the case of Germany, the preservation of the cultural sovereignty the Länder had long possessed. There are, in short, many roads and many justificatory routes that lead on to the Evaluative State.

Leaving aside a more detailed analysis of which higher education system took which pathway to the salvation the Evaluative State held out, let us simply note the amazing dynamic the Evaluative State displayed in Europe. One gains some impression of this dynamism when account is taken of the number of national systems, which moved towards a formal evaluation system in its modern sense. The first step along this road was taken in 1985, with the creation of the French National Evaluation Committee (Staropoli, 1987). By the summer of 2002 within the 30 odd national systems of higher education that formed part of the European Network of Quality Assurance Agencies, created in Finland in 1998, some 34 agencies were given over to Evaluation and Accreditation (Schwartz-Hahn & Westerheijden, 2004).

The Evaluative State and Legal Homogeneity

Irrespective of the particular discourse that accompanied the evolving Evaluative State, whether justified in terms of neo-liberalism or participant democracy, the functions of oversight and the assessment of institutional performance were not the only ones to

undergo marked change. Also to the fore was what some students of higher education policy have termed ‘Legal Homogeneity’ (Neave & van Vught, 1994).

The concept of Legal Homogeneity may be seen as the prime legal construct that governed the relationship between higher education and society, and very particularly so in the historically large systems of Western Europe – Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and at a less exalted level, the Netherlands and Sweden. Legal homogeneity upheld a number of powerful legal fictions, which are not shared by the Anglo-Saxon systems of higher education and thus may be seen as features of essential difference (Neave, 2001). Prime amongst them is the notion that all public universities are on a footing of legal equality and thus have similar status. The second is no less significant. It largely determined the way systems adjusted to change, an adjustment registered in formal, legal enactment which, worked out by central authority, applied homogeneously across a given sector of higher education – universities, short-cycle higher vocational establishments, etc.

Legal homogeneity also determined the nature of system change by linking it indissolubly to the political process at the national level, often requiring full debate in the National Assembly, or its equivalent. To this should be added a further detail: system adjustment rested on the presumption that change, when finally legislated, was introduced in a uniform manner across the appropriate sector. The principle of legal homogeneity emerged at its most visible and powerful in such areas as the conditions of individual access to higher education, the structure, titles and privileges attached to officially certified knowledge that universities awarded in the name of the State, conditions of academic employment, career and promotion. In effect, precisely because of the very principle of legal homogeneity, change involved both heavy formal procedures, often greatly time-consuming, legislative enactment and for that self-same reason tended to be highly politicized.

It is not coincidental that it should be France – a nation where legal homogeneity stood as part of the revolutionary tradition of equality before the law – which established the first of the modern institutions of evolution and oversight, largely in an effort to break out of political deadlock that had long beset higher education policy. No less important was its parallel objective – to put in place a mechanism of review and assessment with the purpose of strengthening institutional capacity for self-determined innovation and initiative. In short, the purpose of Evaluative State *à la française* was to attenuate the rigidity of legal homogeneity by encouraging the Academic Estate to develop a proactive capacity and initiative in developing and shaping the individual establishment, rather than looking to central government or to the Ministry. In the French context, the purpose of institutional evaluation was to provide a map, regularly updated which furnished a synoptic statement of the development and performance of the higher education system, a map that showed the place the individual university occupied in the national system, the better to base institutional initiatives on clear, pragmatic and comparable information. (Neave, 1996)

Evaluatory Homogeneity: A Powerful Lever

The Evaluative State was set in place to speed up, facilitate and lighten the complexities of reform at the level of the individual institution. Yet, the price of its advance involved the deliberate fragmentation of earlier procedures that had accumulated

around legal homogeneity. This it did through various initiatives – through delegation of responsibility – sometimes presented in terms of ‘strengthening institutional leadership’ – through enlarging the activities that individual universities could determine on their own – which is also presented under the rubric of the managerial revolution in higher education, or as extending the canons of what is termed as the ‘New Public Management’ (Pollitt, 2002). By so doing, the Evaluative State also involved redefining the notion of homogeneity. More significantly such a redefinition shifted the concept of homogeneity from its legal *habitus* into the operational domain of the evaluation process itself.

Legal homogeneity thus migrated towards the operational domain and evolved into evaluatory homogeneity – a homogeneity explicitly and deliberately upheld by formal and rigorous procedures of auditing, located sometimes as a separate service within the organization entrusted with the task of evaluation and assessment – which is the model found for instance in England and Sweden – or sometimes handed off to a separate body; for example, to the Inspectorate of Higher Education in the Netherlands (Scheele *et al.*, 1998; Jeliaskova & Westerheijden, 2002) and France (Neave, 1996).

Evaluatory homogeneity – which may be seen as a complicated way of describing ‘bench-marking’ – that is, the setting of minimum targets of achievement and productivity – is an extremely potent construct within an instrumentality of assessment, evaluation and verification already powerful. Indeed, a very good case can be made for seeing the principle of homogeneity operationalized through review and assessment as more pervasive, penetrating and effective by far than its legal counterpart could ever have dreamt of. Powerful and sensitive on its own account, evaluatory homogeneity becomes a force to be reckoned with when taken in conjunction with other developments and very particularly so when one attends to changes in university funding systems.

Conditional Financing: Prime Instrument of Leverage in the Evaluative State

That public sector higher education is today expected to compete for private resources comes as part of that fundamental change in mentality, which the Evaluative State was designed to bring about. Higher Education is no longer viewed as being wholly a public good. Not surprisingly, the quest for resources other than from the public purse received no small urging by governments and Ministry, though obviously the degree of pressure brought to bear and the means by which it was brought to bear, are legion depending on the state of national wealth and hellfare! Amongst the more obvious forms of leveraging policy in Western Europe have been the introduction of ‘conditional financing’, the establishment of a contractual and continually renewable and therefore negotiable relationship between central government – and in certain instances such as France, Spain and Italy – between regional government and the individual university. And whilst few if any systems of higher education have gone so far down the road as the British by directly tying institutional performance to finance, the implicit association between one and the other is clear for all to see. What enhanced

the leverage that evaluation could exercise, however, came in the shape of a *posteriori* financing – that is, funding by output rather than as had previously been the predominant practice, funding on the basis of input – mainly related to student numbers. That funding higher education now focuses on the same area as evaluation – both concentrate on institutional output as the supreme criterion for assessing performance, measuring productivity and institutional output – must surely be one of the most telling factors in shaping institutional behaviour.

This in turn raises a number of questions. How influential is the Evaluative State? In what way does its operational core differ from the legally based instrumentality that preceded it?

The Power and the Potency of the Evaluative State

With higher education policy largely dominated today by the economic perspective, which naturally places weight upon resources, their origins, their generation, their usage and, last of all, what that usage achieves, older and more classic perspectives tend to go by the board. The questions of power, authority, who wields it and to whose benefit it is wielded tend to take a back seat before dissecting out and verifying the technical effectiveness and methodological validity of new procedures and criteria of assessment that by their very nature are precise and lend themselves to both evaluation and sometimes literally to satisfying reward. Furthermore, policy research, as it takes on greater precision also acquires a deeper technicity often at the price of a concomitant and distressing narrowness (Neave, 2004a). As a result, we are well able to count the leaves on the branch, even distinguish their hue and shape, but we tend to have lost any grasp over the state of the forest, let alone its topography and its extent. To this general proposition, the Evaluative State is no exception.

The Evaluative State is about verifying performance, about tracking – the world-weary might say, racking up academic productivity – whether construed in terms of students graduating within the legal time limit, the number of PhDs produced in areas deemed relevant to the Nation's future (Lindqvist, 2006), refereed publications, patents taken out or splendidly enormous contracts signed with firms prominent in the Fortune 500. The Evaluative State is an agent for verifying efficiency and thus many of the studies that have been made of it, tend in the same direction. They tend to eschew the question: 'What is the basis of power that makes the Evaluative State so potent?'

Perhaps such delicacy and discretion simply reflect that at one level the answer stares us in the face. The Evaluative State is powerful precisely because its function is to verify the take-up of policy. It is the agent whose prime purpose is to ascertain implementation on the one hand, and on the other to make sure the individual university, *Fachhochschule*, *Institut Universitaire de Technologie* and polytechnic, upholds its commitment to the thrust of public policy. In other words, the Evaluative State is concerned with the capacity – whether at system, regional or institutional level – to sustain policy goals and, at the same time to ascertain an institution's capacity to adapt where necessary. Graphically put, in these latter days, for the university world the Evaluative State fulfils a function very similar to the Holy Office in days long gone.

Institutional evaluation serves to remind the laggardly of the horrid consequences of persistent sinning. Its theology finds a counterpart in the rigours and orthodoxies of economic efficiency. The Evaluative State is powerful by the nature of the information gathered and by the degree to which that information lends itself to disaggregation, to re-aggregation across different operational levels from base unit, to institution and on to systems level. Any oversight that at one and the same time allows comparison between individual institutions – even individual disciplines – and also permits re-aggregation into regional, provincial and national level cannot be entirely weak, though over time its effectiveness can be eroded and sometimes even blunted (Huitema *et al.*, 2004; Scheele *et al.*, 1998; Jeliaskova & Westerheijden, 2002; Neave, 2006b).

‘Academic Time Versus Productive Time’: A Very Long Perspective

These are the more obvious forms of power the Evaluative State wields. There are others. They have direct consequence for the evolving relationship between higher education, government and society. Indeed, they flow directly from setting up the Evaluative State itself. The first of these is commonly alluded to as ‘productivism’ – that is, the direct harnessing and application of university production to economic purpose, which may also be national purpose as well. There is, however, another aspect to ‘productivism’. It relates to the notion of ‘academic time’, which has been central to the way the university has functioned for a very long time indeed.

For the best part of nine centuries, the one element over which academia had great if not total mastery was precisely over time – time to teach, to learn and to acquire knowledge. To be sure, universities tend no longer to consider their mission ‘*sub specie aeternitatis*’. Nevertheless, the days are not too distant when the pursuit of higher learning was still possible without major research grants simply because the prime value – time itself – was academia’s principal and unique capital. That is what tenure and its granting are all about – the pursuit for knowledge irrespective of the time it might take.

The command of time was the essence of academic freedom, even in the days when knowledge itself was revealed rather than scientific (Neave, 2006a). Evaluation and assessment regularly undertaken as a national exercise are in effect the essential lever to ensure that ‘academic time’ mutates into, and is replaced by, ‘productive time’. For in truth, even if this consequence is nowhere written explicitly into the list of objectives that are assigned to such agencies of Quality Assessment, Accreditation, Audit or Public Accounts that are variously associated with regular scrutiny of institutional performance, this shift nevertheless had taken place. To be sure, there are various technocratic terms that disguise the unpalatable reality – ‘time budgeting’ is one, ‘speeding up institutional response’ another. But this is merely a linguistic sleight of hand that in no way undermines the essential truth that the conversion of academic time into ‘productive time’ is a salient, silent and hugely significant trend in present-day higher education policy. As an aside, the use of such terms as ‘time-budgeting’ is itself redolent of the deepening technicity and linguistic alienation in policy research alluded to earlier.

The Externalization of Academic Norms and Functions

Changing academic time to productive time stands at the intersection of a number of separate processes all of which involve fundamentally redefining both university identity and hence its relationship with society. The introduction of ‘productive time’ into the groves of academe can of course be justified as a necessary development and very particularly so when change is held to be continuous rather than as a stop/go process. In the second place, it may also be seen as part of that process of ‘incorporation’ which in turn has two meanings: the taking over of corporate business practices, forms of organization, job description, hierarchy and very often conditions of service (de Weert & Enders, 2004); second, the redefinition of the university no longer as a unique organization – with a unique task – so much as one subset in a broader series of linkages sometimes qualified as the ‘innovation system’ (Neave, 2006b).

These developments, disparate though they might appear, nevertheless possess a common thrust, namely the subordination of long-held university norms and their realignment upon external practice – a trend that reaches its fullest expression in the notion of competition itself. Competition has never been absent from the university. On the contrary, as the American sociologist, Burton R. Clark pointed out nigh on a quarter of a century ago, competition is the central currency of academia – the gold coin of exchange, repute, standing and excellence (Clark, 1983). And this latter perspective gives us a further clue to the power of the Evaluative State.

An Operational Core More Sophisticated

If we scrutinize the central core in the Evaluative State’s operational domain, we see that academic time is not the only condition to have changed. There are others and they have a strange odour of expropriation. For if the Evaluative State confirms a mutation and change in the referential norms that now shape the higher education enterprise, it has also taken over to its own account and to its own particular ends two other instruments that are equally vital in shaping what another American policy analyst, Martin Trow, termed the ‘private life of academia’ (Trow, 1975). The most telling addition to the leverage – and thus the influence – the Evaluative State can exercise over academia has been the addition to its operational armoury of competition and peer review. The use of peer review – quite apart from the derivatives that the Lords of Evaluation may devise in their own interest, ‘guided’ ‘focused’ peer review, for instance – (El Khawas, 1992) – is a clear example of that broader process, central to constructing the Evaluative State – namely the externalization of practices previously internal to academia and their application to the business of assessment and verification.

Whether such additions to the central operational core of the Evaluative State illustrate the process of ‘externalizing’ the practices that previously characterized the University’s private life (Kogan, 2006) or whether they are simply presented as elements central to installing a new transparency in tracking the dynamics of higher education development, it is, I think, undeniable that both interpretations provide a very substantial pointer to the high sophistication of the instrumentality the Evaluative State now commands.

Institutional Image: Creation, Destruction and Impact

There remains one last area where the Evaluative State wields much influence. This concerns what is best described as the ‘individual university’s image’. I say ‘would appear’ because to the best of my knowledge the question of the impact of evaluation upon the standing a university might have amongst the public has yet to be tackled. Yet the question of image is important, both in the setting of the Evaluative State and more so as part of the policy of ‘marketing’ higher education. Whether the key product of the Evaluative State – league tables of ranking as a result of assessment – effectively *do* influence student choice is not in itself important. What *is* important is that institutions and their leadership *appear to believe* they do. More to the point, though this is not yet a universal trend, institutions set about capitalizing on favourable results or limiting damage if performance has not been up to their own expectations.

Thus, the Evaluative State plays a crucial role in the area of institutional image-building. Indeed, the more higher education is construed as a ‘marketable product’, the greater the influence must accrue around any agency that has the express purpose to define a university’s public image which, *soit dit en passant* is not necessarily always the same in academia as it is to the parent in the street, even though the purpose of the Evaluative State is to ensure that as far as possible, they coincide. The Evaluative State provides the basic material for the public’s perception of both the higher education system and the individual universities within it. Expressed in the hackneyed language that all too often belittles the art of journalism, the Evaluative State is wholeheartedly engaged in ‘putting an end to the ivory tower’. To traduce the expression of the father of Sociology, Max Weber, the task of the Evaluative State is to ensure that the university is both ‘*in* the world and *of* it’.

From a different angle, but no less significant, it is at this point that institutional performance becomes the handmaiden of competition with the one reinforcing the other. Thus, the power of the Evaluative State resides in the images it allows to be built of the higher education system it evaluates. However, image-building is yet another instance amongst the many we have already noted of that process analysed earlier in the context of ‘the displacement of functions’. Here, however, it involves modifying and relocating the hitherto closed cycle of reporting and accounting, which in that earlier mode of system coordination identified with Legal Homogeneity, took place exclusively – and very often privately – between university leadership and national authorities. It brings that cycle into the public domain.

Exporting the Evaluative State

Earlier in this chapter it was argued that the Evaluative State represents a transition inasmuch as policymaking in higher education thereafter rapidly took on a European dimension. And whilst the coincidence in the timing as individual Nations began to put the structures of the Evaluative State in place may also be interpreted as ‘policy convergence’ within a Nation State setting and with individual Nations acting independently to meet change unceasing, so there is sufficient evidence of another phenomenon that

anticipated if it did not directly give further weight to the supranational aspect. In the inimitable jargon of the Brussels bureaucracy, this involves the principle of ‘portability’ – that is, the take up and application of a policy devised by one system of higher education by another. There are, not surprisingly, other descriptions: in the classic vocabulary of comparative education it parades under the flag of ‘borrowing’.

It should not be thought, however, that ‘portability’ is a development found only in Old Europe, though the rise of the Evaluative State – above all after 1991 – saw an intense activity on the part of the ‘pioneering’ Nations to export their particular versions of it. Thus, we find France advising authorities in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and the Netherlands active in making its experience in the area of performance indicators and quality assurance procedures available to the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, Poland and Russia.⁴ Then, there are the British who give advice on evaluative techniques to everyone and the Swedes who give advice to none since they are taken up with shaping their own radical edition of the Evaluative State, based on a series of assumptions and purposes very different from the rest of Europe (HSV Rapport, 2005). Interesting and indeed vital though this example of ‘cross-frontier exchange’ and portability of policy very certainly is in moving the governing principles of higher education policy from Legal Homogeneity to Evaluative Homogeneity, it responded to very different needs in the ‘New Europe’.

Inside, Outside

To newly liberated countries, struggling to reach some measure of order and stability in the relationship between government and higher education, the strengthening profile of the Evaluative State in Old Europe was not a matter of polite interest alone. As Old Europe multiplied the numbers of agencies involved in overseeing Quality Assurance and as the procedures to review, visit, monitor and assess both institutions and systems became institutionally embedded features, so close scrutiny from the New Europe grew (Tomusk, 2006). The extension of Evaluatory Homogeneity to include the central issue of accreditation – the assessment and validation of institutional fitness to develop new programmes, degrees and qualifications – merely concentrated interest further. Several motives were at play. In the first place, the development of quality assurance, evaluation and accreditation structures were seen by the newly independent lands as key and quintessential features in what they held to be – and indeed often described in their official publications as – ‘the European system of higher education’.

The very idea of a ‘European’ system was premature. Indeed, the notion itself received little sympathetic hearing from precisely those engaged in substituting Legal Homogeneity with Evaluatory Homogeneity in Western Europe. Important though the quest for quality and access to accreditation both were to those Nations in Old Europe actively engaged in their development, neither was regarded as a major identifying feature in any system, let alone a *European* system, the idea of which was at the very best but a single dimension in the complexities of higher education policy, still largely conceived in terms of individual Nation States (Neave, 2001). Yet the persistent allusion by authorities in the newly liberated lands to a ‘European higher education system’,

grossly inaccurate and thoroughly eschatological though it was, had a purpose. That purpose was for internal consumption only and destined for the home front.

Vision and Purpose: The Solution to the Crisis of Legitimacy

In the ‘New Europe’, the vision of a ‘European system’ of higher education provided an example and a goal for national purpose. This it did – not simply by focusing attention in the higher education community back home upon the issue of European integration (Tomusk, 2006). By associating Quality Assurance and Accreditation with a ‘European system’, however mythical it might appear to outside observers, authorities in the ‘New’ Europe could justify establishing similar agencies of control, with similar functions and often similar titles, irrespective of the nature of the system – private or public. The re-establishment of control was thus legitimated. This was not state bureaucracy resuscitated or the resuscitation of Stalin’s ghost. On the contrary, the taking on board of both Quality Assurance and Accreditation, the measures to set them in legislation derived from a new legitimacy – which operated on two levels. These two levels were: first, that the policy of legislating the status of the private sector was not to bring it to heel or to constrain it.⁵ Rather it formed part of an overall strategy to bring the national system of higher education up to a modicum of formal organization and administrative harmony that could sustain competition and the possible challenges of European integration, when the time came. Second, the legislative enactments this required were far from reverting to an earlier administrative homogeneity through legislation. They were, on the contrary, the necessary preliminary to the establishment of these mechanisms and procedures to bring the national system into line with the most recent policy in Western Europe. Far from being a step backwards, legislating a framework of Evaluatory Homogeneity in New Europe served as a clear sign of the wish by governments to be seen as part of the ‘European’ system they professed to see.

Envoi

In this essay, I have examined changes in the relationship between higher education and government in Europe, West and East. I have focused on the rise of the Evaluative State. In both the ‘Old’ Europe and the ‘New’, though for reasons very different in each case, the Evaluative State is a powerful policy construct, though the role it played, just as the policies it advanced, were also radically different in each. Whether these differences will move on towards a common vision is a matter that only time, political intent and sheer institutional capacity to endorse that vision will tell.

In tracking the rise of the Evaluative State, I have also sought to dissect the basis of its power. It is considerable. Its instrumentality is deeply penetrative into the lives of individual institutions. In certain countries, it is deeply penetrative into the lives of individuals too. Yet, it is also subtle and sophisticated. In effect, the instrumentality of institutional evaluation and assessment moves the discourse that surrounds the notion of ‘remote steering’ onto a different plane. The Evaluative State works through assessing institutional output. Whilst it still remains the case that very few Nations tie public

funding directly to performance, from the standpoint of the leverage evaluation has upon institutional behaviour and leadership's perception of institutional repute and excellence, it is arguable that close ties are not necessary – at the moment. They may be later, however (Jeliaskova & Westerheijden, 2002).

The heart of the system of leverage –if leverage may be said to have such an organ – resides in the Evaluative State conveying its results publicly so they are available to all stakeholders. It acts directly on institutional repute and claims to excellence. It verifies on a regular basis the quality of the services provided by institutions of higher education. If the truth were out, the Evaluative State, acting directly through agency evaluation and agency oversight gives a new reality to the notion of 'remote steering'. By so doing, it raises the question whether the claim of political authorities to have reduced the power of the State is reflected in reality, in face of a rhetoric which is as pervasive as it is so often at odds with that reality (Neave, 2004b).

One of the more important changes the Evaluative State has brought about is the replacement of what is sometimes known as 'Legal Homogeneity' as one of the central principles that shape the relationship between higher education and government. In the Evaluative State, Legal Homogeneity, yields before the notion of 'Evaluatory Homogeneity'. It is a change of major import if only for the fact that ostensibly it pays scant attention to the classic issue of public versus private in the Nation's provision of higher education. When the judgement of institutions is made on the basis of their output, it really does not matter a fig what the form of ownership takes. Still, ownership may be relevant when we seek to explain outstanding achievement – whether for better or for worse. That, however, is a different kettle of fish.

The Evaluative State, I would suggest, brings the debate in higher education to other pastures. It moves debate on, for instance, to the impact and consequences the Evaluative State has upon the emergence of new forms of institutional differentiation as institutional leadership responds to the perceived standing – or ignominy – that public evaluation lays upon the individual institution. Since one of the elements in public policy that has marched in step with the rise of the Evaluative State has been the extension of the scope of institutional self-government, the interaction between evaluated status and institutional behaviour becomes a matter of the utmost interest – and relevance! Evaluatory homogeneity shares a common point with Animal Farm. As Mr Blair – Eric not Tony – had Napoleon the Pig point out to his stalwarts 'All Animals are equal, but some are more equal than others.' Whether universities are more equal or less is, of course, the duty of the Evaluative State to find out! The shame or fame are matters for consumers and stakeholders to judge (Neave, 2002).

In effect, the Evaluative State returns us to the fundamental issues of power, authority and above all, the ends to which the Evaluative State is set to work and to service. It does so paradoxically because the Evaluative State itself is focused largely on means. Efficiency is a means in search of an end. And what is justified in the name of efficiency can be – as in a not too distant past, it has indeed been – used to uphold social constructs of the most dubious sort. The Evaluative State then brings us back to the basic and abiding questions that society has always to pose to itself. It does so because the overall – and perhaps artificially coherent – vision of higher education that Legal Homogeneity once provided is dissolving. With individual institutions of

higher education using the greater latitude officialdom has granted to shape their own particular profile and mission, coherence wavers before the prospect of fragmentation. The technicity of the Evaluative State, its sophistication and methodological nicety ought not to blind us to the fact that performance is important. So is coherent purpose. With an instrumentality more effective in shaping institutional behaviour than ever before, the central questions remain: Higher Education for whom? On whose terms? To advance what type of society? And to realize what social vision?

Notes

1. The latter aspect was of particular concern to the Dutch authorities for whom the solution lay primarily in terms of the Division of Tasks and the Concentration of higher education.
2. Chronologically, reductions in university expenditure began in 1981 in the UK and the Netherlands, in 1986 with the Santa Anna Plan in Belgium
3. Others may see it in terms of the Humboldtian Concordat between State and University in which the former guaranteed the intellectual independence of individual scholars grouped within that corporation and which took the operational form of a State monopoly over the financing of the public sector as part of the national heritage and achievement. (For this see Neave *et al.*, 2006)
4. Though by no manner of means alone in this undertaking, the Centre for Higher Education Policy at the University of Twente has been closely involved in providing the technical input both to intergovernmental exchanges as well as training Ministry officials from East and Central Europe in the arcana of the evaluative state, quality assurance, evaluation and accreditation for the past 15 years.
5. This was not always born out later. For instance, whilst the Russian Law of 1992 recognized the right to establish higher education on religious or corporate basis, and was thus relatively accommodating, its successor in 1996 began to apply accreditation procedures to separate sheep from goats in the private sector. Some have interpreted this as bid by the Old Guard in Ministries to protect the State sector (Tomusk, 2005). Whilst this might well be so, there is little point in putting in place accreditation systems à l'occidentale if they are deprived of judgemental teeth. Besides, the new theology recognizes that such rigour can always be justified in the name of consumer protection (Ovodenko, 2004; Smale and Gounko, 2006).

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FROM COHERENCE TO DIFFERENTIATION: UNDERSTANDING (CHANGES IN) THE EUROPEAN AREA FOR HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Wim Weymans

Introduction

It would be no exaggeration to say that the aim of a European research and higher education policy is the creation of a ‘European research area’ (ERA) or a ‘European area of higher education’ (EAHE). Although people in the field may be more affected by, and thus acquainted with, the process of European higher education reform known as ‘Bologna’, the aim that underpins this process is the construction of a common area for higher education. Particularly since the intergovernmental agreement in 1999, known as the Bologna declaration, and the European Commission’s initiative in 2000 to make Europe the world’s most competitive knowledge-based economy, known as the Lisbon Agenda, the formation of this area by 2010 has been high on the European agenda. There is a marked contrast, however, between the pervasiveness of this concept of a European area and its lack of conceptual clarity. What, then, do people mean when they refer to such a European area?

This chapter will argue, firstly, that one can discern at least three different ways in which the European area for research and higher education is understood and structured: while referring to the same area, people often mean different things by it. This chapter will also show who defends which space and how different groups wish to govern it. Although it will mainly focus on the Commission’s discourse on universities, it will also take into account other voices.

Second, this chapter will argue that over the past few years, one can witness a dramatic and paradigmatic shift in the way this area is understood and structured. One can describe this shift as the evolution from a model of coherence and cohesion towards one of differentiation or competition. While the model of coherence stresses and creates similarities between different European universities, the new model focuses more on differentiation. Interestingly, this change affects all three conflicting views mentioned before. The chapter then examines how, as a result of these changes, the financial and political stakes of the European education and research area are getting higher. I shall also show how this new paradigm produces new agents, a new rhetoric and new modes of governance.

Despite its importance in terms of budget and strategic impact, very few EU scholars devote attention to research and education policy: for example, in Wallace *et al.*,

2005 there is no chapter on this topic. While there are many interesting books on the idea of a ‘European space’ (Jensen & Richardson, 2004), on the construction of a European identity (Shore, 2000) and on the relationship between a European space and that identity (McNeill, 2004), very little attention has so far been devoted to the area for research and education. True, some researchers have started to investigate the European area of higher education (van der Wende, 2001; Nóvoa & Lawn, 2002; de Wit, 2003; Keeling, 2004). Yet most of these existing studies examine the area of higher education and that of research separately, thus simply duplicating the bureaucratic division of labour between the respective European Commission’s directorates-general of education (DG EAC) and research (DG RTD). By contrast, this chapter takes the higher education and research areas together. This is because universities are characterised by precisely the combination of education and research, which means that changes in education affect a university’s research and vice versa. The fact that the Bologna process – which traditionally only touched education – currently also reforms doctoral research (The European Ministers of Education, 2005: 3–4) shows how artificial this distinction has become. Similarly, the Commission’s power, which was initially mainly limited to research, has now *de facto* expanded to higher education policy as well (Keeling, 2006). This explains why stakeholders ask that “these two policy agendas urgently need to be viewed together” (EUA, 2005: 3). Taking them together may allow people to see the massive nature of the changes that are underway.

Fighting Over European Areas for Higher Education and Research

What is a European area for higher education and research? The trivial answer is that it is simply a geographical area in which there are about “4 000 institutions, over 17 million students and some 1.5 million staff – of whom 435 000 are researchers” (CEC, 2006b: 3, 2003: 5).¹ In this sense, a ‘European university’ is a university located in Europe, just as a European city is a city that can be found on the European map. However, for most people agents the mere presence of institutes of higher education in the same geographical space is, in itself, not enough. Indeed, nothing guarantees that these institutions know about each other, understand each other’s systems or exchange information. When European ministers of education began with the ‘creation of the European area of higher education’ in Bologna in 1999 and the Commission 1 year later had the idea “to create a European research area” (CEC, 2000: 8), they meant more than just geography. In order to feel part of a larger area beyond the borders of the region or the nation state, one should not simply be objectively on the European map, but also be subjectively connected with other people. Creating a European area means that existing institutions at least know that they are part of the same space or landscape and feel connected to each other. How can this be achieved?

I believe that, until recently, for most people the answer to that question lay in increasing the coherence and cohesion of standards and degrees. In European jargon this cohesion is often also referred to as ‘convergence’ (in the field of education) or ‘harmonisation’ (when talking about research) and one could also use terms like

‘standardisation’ or ‘coordination’. Given the consensus on this answer one can see it as a paradigm, that is to say an ‘entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community’ (Kuhn, 1996: 175). Such a model or paradigm is of course an abstract ideal-typical construct, which therefore leaves room for different appropriations. I believe that in policy documents and initiatives one can indeed discern at least three different ways of conceptualising and constructing such an area according to the model of coherence. As we shall see these views also differ on the question of who should ‘govern’ this area (Treib *et al.*, 2005).

A first way to turn a European map into a European area through coherence is obviously to create common or shared standards and points of reference. In this sense universities can only be called European universities if they share the same degrees, standards, credit systems, indicators and infrastructures. Once they do this, universities will start comparing themselves with other European universities rather than merely with universities in their own country. Moreover, once they share the same standards and degrees, they will become readable and visible (and therefore accessible) for insiders and for outsiders. By way of comparison one can say that many European cities are ‘European’ because they share for example the same currency or traffic road system, which gives them a distinct European dimension beyond their typical features.

This first attempt to create a shared European space through sharing standards clearly underpins the Bologna process that aims at a further achievement of ‘greater compatibility and comparability’ of the systems of higher education (The European Ministers of Education, 1999) through the ‘adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees’ that provides ‘a common reference’ (CEC, 2005: 6). The aim then was to ‘strengthen the convergence of higher education systems’ (CEC, 2003: 4), notably through the creation of a European Qualifications Network, ‘commonly accepted guidelines and criteria’, a shared quality assurance and a European credit transfer system (ECTS) (The European Ministers of Education, 1999, 2005, 2007; CEC, 2005: 6–7, 11).

The creation of the European research area is equally driven by the need for ‘common references and basic standards’ (CEC, 2005: 6) and the establishment of ‘a common system of reference... by aligning methods, harmonising procedures and comparing results’ resulting in ‘the development of a European scientific and technical reference area’ (CEC, 2000: 15). To that aim ‘the collection of data throughout the Union... needs to be improved and statistics and indicators developed at European level’ (CEC, 2000: 20). As in the economic free market, in the market of research too, the aim is ‘to simplify and harmonise regulations and administrative conditions’ (CEC, 2000: 19).

In short, students and researchers alike should be able to refer to a shared European horizon, expressed in similar degrees and comparable scientific indicators. As the Bologna process has shown, to realise this first spatial vision, ‘soft’ or minimal modes of governance (like the ‘open method of coordination’) involving national ministers and several stakeholders normally suffice, as one does not in principle need a supranational body to coordinate national policies.

Yet, for the European Commission in particular this first answer is insufficient for obtaining a ‘true’ European area. For them, creating a shared space not only presupposes sharing standards but also needs active collaboration through exchange of

students and researchers. Compare this with the idea that truly European cities may be created through collaboration between them, such as partnerships.

This second vision also concretely underpins European policy. In the field of education one can think of the Erasmus exchange programme, which has advanced European student mobility for more than a quarter century. While the introduction of shared degrees affects all students, actual student mobility through Erasmus only involves a relatively small minority (Neave, 2002: 184–185). Consider also the more recent idea of offering ‘more “European” courses, offered jointly by consortia of universities and leading to joint or double degrees at Master or Doctorate level’ (CEC, 2006b: 10). In the field of research there is collaborative research, which aimed at ‘networking of existing centres of excellence’ (CEC, 2000: 8), the creation of networks between different European countries, in order to increase collaboration between different European research teams. In sum, in this view a truly European space only comes into being when universities collaborate through exchange of students or researchers.

More radically still, the Commission supports a third way of developing a European higher education and research area, one that creates new institutions that are detached from existing national territories. As an example of such a truly ‘European’ university, one can think of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, where academics and students teach or study after having left their national university. Similarly, consider the creation of a Joint Research Centre (JRC) as an independent ‘European’ research centre, hosted by the European Commission. In the field of research, there is the dream of creating ‘virtual centres’ or ‘real “virtual centres of excellence”’ or ‘real “virtual research institutes”’ through IT tools (CEC, 2000: 8, 10–11). This can be compared with the creation of new capitals (think of Madrid or Brasilia) that are meant to transcend existing regional cities and capitals. The underlying idea here is that a truly European space must be detached from existing places that have a national reputation.

These last two visions imply different modes of governance. Although it would be conceivable that different countries agree to exchange or collaborate (as they often do), it is *de facto* a supranational institution like the European Commission that was able to push through collaboration and exchange programmes on a European scale. Instead of intergovernmental modes of governance, we find here a more centralised way of steering, for example in the field of research where the Commission determines which topics it wants to subsidise. Because of its supranational nature, the creation of new institutions obviously presupposes an even more centralised mode of steering.

Given that the latter two visions of the creation of a European space through collaboration or new institutions presuppose centralised modes of governance, it comes as no surprise that most stakeholders and national governments reject these. The European Commission by contrast emerges as their stubborn defender. Why is this so? The simple answer is that this is because of the Commission’s thirst for power. The more interesting answer is that the Commission’s particular vision of a European area stems from an attachment to a deeply rooted idea that a truly European space should necessarily transcend national institutions and that it involves a detachment from one’s particular national horizon. Just as the Jacobins in revolutionary France saw an opposition between one’s particular background and the true national general spirit, the European

Commission similarly believes that creating Europe involves a detachment from one's national background. Just as French Jacobins created practices and institutions that would actively foster such detachment notably through education (Rosanvallon, 1990: 100 ff), so the European Commission wants to create a European space through programmes of collaboration or by creating new European institutions.

Three Spaces, Two Paradigms: From Coherence to Differentiation

While the fight over these different spatial views continues, I believe that over the last few years the underlying goal and paradigm has changed dramatically. I think that the paradigm of coherence is currently in the process of being replaced by a model of differentiation. Where the final goal of a European research and higher education area initially consisted in stressing and creating similarities between different European universities, more recently the focus has been more on differentiation and competition.²

It was no surprise that coherence precedes differentiation. Both logically and chronologically, differentiation and competition presuppose a minimal degree of standardisation. As the Commission writes: 'a more coherent and compatible European framework... is a condition for the readability, and hence the competitiveness, of European universities' (CEC, 2003: 5; my emphasis). This explains why the Commission, as one of the main advocates of the paradigm of differentiation today, at the same time wants a 'sufficient compatibility between the different national regulations' (CEC, 2005: 6) as a condition for increased differentiation. This also explains why some see the coherence associated with the Bologna process as a tool for a 'badly needed injection of diversity and competition into the European university system' (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 38).

Yet, while differentiation necessarily presupposes coherence, coherence should not necessarily lead to differentiation. While initial standardisation may be a matter of necessity, subsequent differentiation is a matter of political choice and is certainly not a natural evolution. Herein lies the whole political problem. For what is to be done once a minimal degree of coherence is achieved? Should one further distribute funds equally over all European universities to foster further harmonisation, or are shared standards and degrees only a first step to differentiate between strong and weak universities? The answer depends on which model you follow. Those defending the model of coherence will focus on what universities have in common and will want to include all universities. Those who start from the model of differentiation by contrast will focus on differences between universities and will want to foster this differentiation through competition.

To be sure, the *rationale* behind both paradigms was the need for Europe to become a knowledge-based economy. The question had always been are universities 'in a position to compete with the best universities in the world and provide a sustainable level of excellence?' (CEC, 2003: 3, 22). Yet the answers to that question have differed. Those defending coherence believed that international competitiveness would increase through coherence alone (thus making European universities more attractive to foreign

researchers and students) and by distributing more money over all universities. Those aiming at differentiation argued by contrast that coherence alone did not suffice and that differentiation and competition were also needed. Funding, then, should be concentrated on a competitive basis rather than disseminated on the basis of inclusiveness.

According to the Commission, the creation of a true knowledge economy presupposes a concentration of top research in a small number of universities, rather than a distribution of research capacity over as many universities as possible, as the model of coherence would have it. Differentiation thus became the new keyword. While the Commission still said that ‘the aim must be to bring all universities to the peak of their potential’ (CEC, 2003: 16) it also suggested that this potential differed and that a ‘combination of *the absolute need for excellence*, the effects of the precariousness of resources and the pressure of competition, forces universities and member states to *make choices*’ (CEC, 2003: 18; my emphasis). Put another way, the Commission stated that ‘Europe needs universities able to build on their own strengths and *differentiate* their activities on the basis of these strengths’ (CEC, 2006b: 4; my emphasis) arguing that ‘mobilising all Europe’s brain power (...) will require *much more diversity* than hitherto’ (CEC, 2005: 5; my emphasis). The Commission clearly and unambiguously indicated the implications of all this, stating that ‘the *concentration of research funding* on a smaller number of areas and institutions should lead to increased specialisation of the universities, in line with the move currently observed towards a European university area which is *more differentiated*’ (CEC, 2003: 18; my emphasis, see also CEC, 2005: 5). This, then, ‘requires more competition-based funding in research and more output-related funding in education’ (CEC, 2005: 8).

The underlying assumption of the paradigm of differentiation is that in order to be attractive for foreign researchers and students, European universities, like their American counterparts, need ‘the necessary critical mass’ (CEC, 2003: 7). The Commission explains that while the United States, like the European Union, has about 4,000 higher education establishments, only 50 of these ‘account for the lion’s share of American academic research capacity, public funding in support of university research and the country’s Nobel prizes for science’ (CEC, 2003: 5 n.9; CEC, 2006a: 5 n.9). For the Commission, in Europe too a ‘culture of excellence’ can exist only in ‘a few entire universities’ (CEC, 2005: 5). Given that ‘high-tech businesses ... tend to set up near the best-performing universities’ (CEC, 2003: 8), concentration of research is also necessary for technology transfer.

Changing Paradigms, Changing Discourses

Under this new paradigm of differentiation, old words acquired a new meaning. Take the central idea that in order to create ‘a dynamic European landscape’ that is ‘open and attractive’ (CEC, 2000: 18) to researchers, students and investors, both inside and outside Europe, ‘European higher education ... needs to become “*readable*” or ‘*more visible* in the world’ and should be ‘*building an attractive image*’ (CEC, 2005: 4, 2006b: 9–10; my emphasis). With the change of paradigm, the meaning of readability or visibility as central goals of this area changed as well. Under the model of coherence,

increasing visibility or readability only meant making an area intelligible through shared standards and references. The idea was that Europe had a hidden expertise which needed to be made visible or readable to outsiders through a harmonisation of standards and degrees. That was done by ‘mapping’ (existing) European centres of excellence (CEC, 2000: 10).

Under the paradigm of differentiation, readability and visibility now mean making some excellent universities more visible than others through, for example, differentiated funding. Where in the old model visibility simply meant revealing existing excellence by harmonising standards, under the model of differentiation it implies actively creating excellence by concentrating funding in some highly visible excellent universities. Under the model of coherence excellence was deemed to be already there waiting to be discovered, while under the paradigm of differentiation it had to be created. Rather than assuming that Europe already has excellence the Commission now stated that at present ‘most universities... are ill-prepared for worldwide competition’ and that, in the future, ‘Europe simply must have a first-class university system’ or should be ‘achieving world-class quality’ (CEC, 2003: 22; CEC, 2005: 3).

To use the metaphor of light, visibility no longer meant ‘bringing to light’ existing excellence in all European universities by making their degrees readable and comparable, but rather to create excellence by putting the best universities ‘in the spotlight’, while leaving others ‘in the shadows’. The light of coherence is a sun that shines over the entire European stage. Differentiation is a spotlight that picks out the best.

As the meaning of keywords underpinning the discourse changed, so did its basic oppositions. The key dichotomy of the paradigm of harmonisation was between on the one hand a state of ‘fragmentation’, ‘isolation’, ‘compartmentalisation’, ‘disparity’, ‘lack of coordination’ of existing national systems, which needed to be replaced by, on the other hand, ‘de-compartmentalisation’, ‘better integration’ and ‘a more coherent approach’ (CEC, 2000: 7, 9, 18). Under the paradigm of differentiation, that dichotomy is turned upside down: the ideal is now differentiation rather than coherence, which is now opposed to ‘an undesirable degree of *uniformity*’ (CEC, 2006b: 3; my emphasis). The problem is now no longer fragmentation but rather ‘uniformity and egalitarianism’ which excludes those ‘who do not conform to the *standard model*’ leading to ‘an average quality of universities’ and, which is seen in terms of ‘*insufficient differentiation*’ resulting in ‘deficiencies’ (CEC, 2005: 3–4; my emphasis).

Ominously, the Commission openly states that universities should no longer follow traditional models such as ‘the ideal model of university envisaged nearly one century ago [*sic*] by Wilhelm von Humboldt’ because the trend today ‘is away from these models, and *towards greater differentiation*’ (CEC, 2003: 5–6; my emphasis). While it still admits that ‘the link between research and teaching naturally continues to define the ethos of a university... this link is nevertheless not the same in all institutions, for all programmes or for all levels’ (CEC, 2003: 18). Stronger still: ‘while all institutions share certain common values and tasks, not all need the same balance between education and research... research should remain a key task of the systems as a whole, but not necessarily for all institutions’ (CEC, 2006b: 4). A recent report by a European think tank similarly states that ‘there is a growing need for diversity – for some universities with the resources to compete with the best in the

world, and for others to meet regional and local requirements in a first-class fashion' (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 15).

It is hard to tell when exactly the paradigm of coherence was challenged by that of differentiation. In fact, one could even argue that from the very start of the creation of a European area for education and research, the language of differentiation was already present in the documents. Yet, as in the case of visibility, words mean different things here. In the Bologna declaration of 1999, for example, there was already talk about 'increasing the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education'. Yet, this was then interpreted not in terms of increasing competition between European universities, but rather as an argument to boost the competitiveness of all European universities vis-à-vis the United States and Japan. Under the paradigm of differentiation, 'increasing competitiveness' means making the very best competitive at the expense of others. To be competitive with universities outside Europe, then, European universities also need to compete with each other.

The Model of Differentiation in Action

This new model of differentiation is mainly visible in the 'communications' by the Commission, which have propagated it since 2003 (if not earlier). Yet the model was practised in policy initiatives as much as it was preached in those communications. What, then, were the implications of these policy initiatives at different spatial levels?

Let us take the creation of shared standards first. Where, within the paradigm of harmonisation, shared standards were used to enhance coherence between different universities, within the newer model, 'standards' are used to differentiate between them. Consider the creation of instruments for quality assurance, whereby universities evaluate themselves or are evaluated, which fosters competition and differentiation. The Bologna process itself is also affected by the Commission's interference, which leads to 'a growing stratification of the higher education sector in the EU' (Keeling, 2006: 214).

Even more crucially and more significantly at this first level was the creation of a European Research Council (ERC) which is modelled after the National Science Foundation (NSF) in the United States (CEC, 2004). The aim of this ERC is to apply the same standards to all researchers. Yet, the standards are those of excellence rather than the lowest common denominator: 'unlike earlier EU contributions to science funding, it will allocate research grants purely on the basis of peer-reviewed excellence' (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 5). Needless to say, when researchers from particular universities enter into a Europe-wide competition with excellence as its sole criterion, this will increase competition and differentiation. Moreover, such an ERC will 'set up benchmarks against which the best researchers in Europe can measure themselves' (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 57).

The new model also affected the second spatial level. The creation of a European space through collaboration now also aimed at excellence. In the field of research there was the intention of creating so-called networks of excellence (NoE) and integrated projects (IP) (CEC, 2003: 10, 18). In the domain of education there was the start of the

Erasmus Mundus programme at the Masters level. Unlike the classical Erasmus programme, the Erasmus Mundus programmes presuppose a selection of the programme as well as the participants on a competitive basis 'in order to attract to Europe some of the world's best students' (CEC, 2003: 11). Where for traditional Erasmus programmes almost all universities could participate, Erasmus Mundus programmes are selected on a competitive basis.

More so than in the classical Erasmus programme, the Erasmus Mundus programme defines the European space in terms of detachment or disconnection: the idea behind the programme is that students only enter a European space when they are confronted with different European cultures, which is why the programme requires them to pursue their studies 'in at least two European countries' (CEC, 2003: 11) during one academic year. While the US Fulbright scheme, which is Erasmus Mundus' main example, forbids a stay in more than one institution, under Erasmus Mundus such a stay in at least two member states is a key condition. Just as in collaborative research, a European space is seen as the negation of rootedness in a national space and culture. Entering a European space means detaching oneself from national cultures. It remains to be seen if such an uprooted 'European' experience where students from outside Europe are confronted with two or even three different cultures during one academic year (while classes are taught in English) will not leave them confused rather than enriched by a 'European' experience. All the same, in this sense Erasmus Mundus combines the two views of European space: from the organisers' perspective, it aims at collaboration, while from the participants' viewpoint it involves an experience of detachment or disconnection.

The third vision of a European space in terms of detachment is now also interpreted in terms of differentiation. Consider the Commission's recent idea to create a European Institute of Technology (EIT) (CEC, 2005: 12, 2006b: 2, 11; CEC, 2006a: 2,4) as a European counterpart to the MIT. Unlike the paradigm of coherence, the EIT wants to concentrate excellence. Yet rather than concentrating on excellence in a small number of existing universities – which could be the outcome of an ERC – the EIT wants to concentrate research in a separate European institute. Although the project has been toned down (CEC, 2006c), the Commission initially wanted excellent universities to 'second' their best researchers to a European institute where they would remain for several years (CEC, 2006a: 2, 8–9, 11–12).

A New Model, New Modes of Governance

Differentiation also changed the balance of power between existing players. Where the Bologna process aiming at coherence was mainly led by the Ministers of Education of member states, 'together with...non governmental European organisations', the model of differentiation is clearly guided by supranational agents, specifically the European Commission. More generally, the autonomy of universities vis-à-vis both national governments and the Commission is bound to increase under the new model. While cohesion still requires a nation state to implement common standards, the model of differentiation by contrast necessitates that the state give up its control over universities and increase their autonomy.

At the same time the new model also created new players, such as new advocacy organisations. While the Bologna Process is monitored and steered by the European University Association (EUA), the paradigm of differentiation is propagated by more 'selective' advocacy organisations. Where the EUA represents about 700 European universities, its more 'selective' counterparts like the League for European Research Universities (LERU) (founded in 2002) only represents 20 (from 'Oxbridge' to Leuven and Heidelberg), while the IDEA league which was founded in 2005 only represents five of the best 'technical' research institutions in Europe. Its four founding members are Imperial College London, Delft University of Technology, ETH Zürich and Aachen University – hence the acronym 'IDEA'. Both the LERU and IDEA 'leagues' explicitly represent the interests of top research universities and thus defend differentiation. A differentiated European area thus also causes a differentiation in advocacy groups.

Interestingly, the gap between the more inclusive and more elitist policy organisations is not as wide as one would expect: all seem to support differentiation which again suggests that there is indeed a paradigm at work. Even the more inclusive EUA states that 'universities accept that there is a tension between its necessary strengthening of research universities and the need to ensure resources for research-based teaching in all universities' (EUA, 2005: 4).

Although most actors involved agreed on the new paradigm of differentiation, the traditional differences on the European area between the Commission and these advocacy groups, old and new, continued. Once again two concepts of a European space conflict: a space in terms of common standards and infrastructures (this time serving differentiation and excellence) was again opposed to a European space as transcending existing national universities. As before, all participants agree on the first spatial vision: just as almost all endorse the Bologna process as a means to get more coherence, all now support the creation of a research council (ERC) as a way to increase differentiation. Yet when it comes to the more ambitious visions of a more integrated European space the Commission and the stakeholders again part company. Just as almost all advocacy organisations welcomed the ERC, so they almost unanimously rejected the 'European MIT' (the EIT) precisely because it was a separate institution, which was only defended by the Commission.

Critics of the Commission's more radical view of the European area may argue that true differentiation is incompatible with the Commission's more 'integrated' and controlled, 'top-down' views. While very few doubt that the ERC (like the National Science Foundation in the United States) is an efficient 'bottom-up' way to benefit differentiation, competition and 'excellence', many doubt the efficiency of a competition in which the Commission interferes. The Networks of Excellence indeed require lots of paperwork, are policy driven and not responsive enough to science (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 44), while the Erasmus Mundus programme in turn only accepts universities which already collaborate. All this means that truly excellent universities (like 'Oxbridge') are reluctant to apply to these programmes that then risk becoming excellent in name only.

Although old oppositions surface again, governance in the new paradigm of differentiation differs in crucial ways from that of coherence. Generally speaking, the stakes

under the paradigm of differentiation have become higher. Unlike the paradigm of differentiation, the model of harmonisation was simply less contentious and in that sense less political. This is hardly surprising, for who would object to increasing coherence of standards? This is why the Bologna process is often seen as an example of harmonious policymaking where all stakeholders are involved, thus showing that multilevel governance with 40 or so ministers and an equal amount of stakeholders around the table is indeed possible. Typical for coherence is also its inclusiveness: Erasmus and the Bologna process, for example, have as their goal to include as many institutions as possible and use hardly any internal competition for quality. In the field of collaborative research, too, there was *de facto* a marked absence of competition for excellent research teams. Instead a wide range of European research institutes participated, mostly evenly spread between north and south, west and east.

By contrast, the policy aiming at differentiation is generally more political not only because funding is differentiated on a competitive basis, but also because the available amount of funding is higher. The paradigm of coherence had no other incentive than the binding signatures of ministers or the award of relatively small-scale grants to students under the Erasmus programme. True, the Marie Curie grants and collaborative research involved a considerable budget. Yet the budget that is used to propagate the new model is considerably higher. The ERC will get its own budget of around €1 billion a year, while the Erasmus Mundus grants (to which, surprisingly, only non-EU citizens are entitled) are higher than those of the existing Erasmus programmes. The presence of funding as a mechanism of governance, then, means that the impact of the paradigm of differentiation is likely to be even higher than that of coherence.

Yet, as the debates get more political and the stakes get higher, consultation, and thus contestation, paradoxically diminishes. Indeed, the relatively broad and open consultation that had still characterised the model of coherence (think of the Bologna process), is now replaced by a top-down mode of governance. The creation of the ERC and the EIT was implemented fast and without much consultation. Despite a massive rejection of the idea of an EIT by various stakeholders and consultative bodies inside and outside the Commission (e.g. Sanders, 2006; Lambert & Butler, 2006: 5, 58–9; LERU, 2005), the Council and Commission initially went ahead with the idea (see CEC 2006a; CEC, 2006b: 2, 11). Only recently has the Commission moderated it, probably because some member states protested.³

How can we explain that, as the stakes get higher, consultation diminishes? A cynical explanation could be that when the budget increases, the space for democratic consultation decreases. Multilevel governance within the Bologna process is all well and good as long as there are no huge EU budgets involved. Yet I believe that this is only part of the story. The relative consensus on this top-down policy can also be explained by the language that is used to legitimise the creation of a differentiated European area. I believe differentiation is legitimised through a permanent ‘rhetoric of emergency’. The origin of and driving force behind this rhetoric lies in the Commission’s so-called Lisbon agenda which wants to make Europe the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world by 2010.

True, this rhetoric of emergency was used by the Commission as early as 2000 when it declared that ‘the situation is urgent’ (CEC, 2000: 24). The motif increased even

further when the model of differentiation started guiding European policy. Ever since, the European area for research and education is depicted as being in a permanent state of emergency. In almost all Commission documents the dramatic weakness of European research and education vis-à-vis the United States and Japan is emphasised. This rhetoric became particularly strong when in 2004 for the first time an attempt was made to offer a global ranking of the 500 best universities in the world in what became known as the so-called Shanghai ranking (Shanghai Jiao Tong University, 2004). This ranking has been used ever since by the European Commission to legitimise its call for evermore drastic action (e.g. in CEC, 2005: 3 n.10; CEC, 2006a: 5n.6). Almost simultaneously another global ranking by the *Times Higher Education Supplement* (2004) came to similar conclusions. Why were these rankings so alarming? Tony Blair gave the answer to that question in the European Parliament in June 2005 when he declared that ‘of the top 20 universities in the world today, only two are now in Europe’ (Blair, 2005). Blair modestly omitted the fact that those two were in fact British, so that, with the words of the Commission, ‘apart from a handful in Britain, there are no European Union universities in the top 20 in the world and relatively few in the top 50’ (CEC, 2005: 3; CEC, 2006a: 5). Such a desperate condition, goes the line, requires and legitimises desperate measures.

Perhaps it is this rhetoric of a state of emergency which explains why the Commission is given such a strong mandate in this field and why it can operate in a swift and top-down way, as opposed to the more bottom-up procedures that were characteristic for the implementation of coherence. This is surprising given that initiatives propagating differentiation such as the ERC ‘have caused alarm in some EU countries, concerned that the drive for results will mean that EU money is pumped into elite institutions with the best research records mainly in Britain, the Nordic countries and the Netherlands’ (Laitner, 2005). Yet although many member states have reasons to believe that an ERC would go against their national interests, the Council has nonetheless supported the Commission in its creation of differentiated European space. However, it remains to be seen how things will evolve once the ERC starts working. Will member states in the south and the east accept a differentiated European landscape? Moreover, one can wonder if these countries are not ‘trapped in a vicious circle: they will get no more money unless they reform; and they cannot reform without more money’ (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 20, 38, 47, 55, 60, 65).

Epilogue: ‘Future Research’

Some may object that this chapter limits itself to examining the official discourse without actually researching how people experience changes in the European space at the grass roots level. One could for example ask if the Bologna process’s official intention to increase mobility, did not *de facto* decrease it, because of the rigid study structure it has created. While it is true that an analysis of texts by the Commission does not tell us if and how they are implemented and experienced at the grass roots, I believe that it is equally true that such analysis also precedes events at that level and can therefore identify tendencies that have not yet been implemented in practice. Despite all post-modern doubts about the idea of a ‘centre’, it remains true that most policies start at a

fairly limited policy level and is only afterwards implemented in reality. First there was the Bologna declaration and then the process, not the other way round.

For that reason, conceptual analysis may offer us an 'early warning system' to inform us that an educational earthquake may be underway. Only now, many years after its inception, millions of students and researchers in the European area are coming to terms with the consequences of the Bologna process. If we wait till the model of differentiation is visible in the field, then stakeholders and policymakers alike may (again) be caught off-guard by decisions they may not have foreseen or may not approve of. This, then, is the paradox: while we can only now see what the implications of a process such as 'Bologna' are in practice, it is precisely for that reason too late now to change dysfunctions. So, although conceptual analysis differs from an examination of what happens at grass roots level, it may still critically anticipate consequences at that level. How, then, can we try to anticipate consequences of the paradigm of differentiation?

First, we can obviously try to anticipate consequences by looking at the United States as an example of a differentiated area and hence one the Commission constantly invokes. One problem we can observe there concerns the social role of the (social) sciences on which the Commission had always taken an ambiguous position. On the one hand the Commission suggests that universities should be more open to society and should 'explain at home and abroad the specific value of what they produce for learners and society' (CEC, 2005: 4). Similarly, the Commission complains that 'communication between scientific specialists and non-specialists is much needed but often absent' (CEC, 2006b: 8). This openness to society ranges from developing policy oriented research to being 'open' to society and the market at large (e.g. CEC, 2005: 8) leading to a 'cross-fertilisation with the business-community and with the wider society' (CEC, 2006b: 4).

Yet on the other hand the Commission also states that 'universities should be funded more for what they do than for what they are, by focussing funding on relevant outputs rather than on inputs' (CEC, 2006b: 7). Yet the more output is measured in (and by) the social sciences, the more those researchers tend to publish in highly specialised journals. This in turn means that they will be less likely to publish for a wider audience (as this is not acknowledged as relevant 'output' in most rankings) and that they will be less likely to develop more general positions addressing a wider audience (as these seldom conform to what is required in specialised journals) or simply have less time to communicate to a larger audience (Lipsett, 2006). In short, this risks undermining the 'public mission and overall social and cultural remit of universities' (CEC, 2006b: 6).

Here the European Commission risks reproducing the paradox that characterises its admired American example: while the United States has the best research universities in terms of output, its universities host arguably less 'public intellectuals' in the social sciences than Europe. The question will thus be if the paradigm of differentiation will not lead to a 'neutralisation' of the social and political role of academics in the (social) sciences, and if, in so doing, Europe risks not losing one of its typical cultural values in the name of an American model that may be particularly deficient in this respect.

Another problem we can observe in a differentiated area such as the United States is that the university and the knowledge it produces are seen 'in terms of a generalized logic of "accountability" in which the University must pursue "excellence" in all

aspects of its functioning' (Readings, 1996: 3). In the same way, the Commission also supports 'external quality assurance' (CEC, 2005: 7), and relates it to 'clearly defined targets and indicators' (CEC, 2006b: 8) or to the presence of professional management in universities, allowing 'professionals from outside the purely academic tradition' within 'universities' management and governance structures' (CEC, 2003: 17 and 9, 2005: 9, 2006b: 5). However excellence and accountability then often tend to be reduced to 'exhaustive accounting', 'bookkeeping' and evaluation (Readings, 1996: 18, 26, 29, 32, 130–34). As a result, the university increasingly needs administrators, which explains why (American) universities understand themselves 'solely in terms of the structure of corporate administration' (Readings, 1996: 29). Yet one can wonder if this reflects the universities' mission. Is the knowledge the university produces and teaches something that can be measured and quantified? Can its accountability be reduced to accounting? Shouldn't its mission resist any 'final determination' rather than embracing a narrow definition of excellence 'as an *alibi* that might excuse us from the necessity of thinking about what we are saying, when and from where we are saying it'? (Readings, 1996: 160).

But we can, secondly, also learn positive lessons from the United States like the importance of access. It is not easy to reconcile a differentiated area with the Bologna process' 'commitment to making quality higher education equally accessible to all' (The European Ministers of Education, 2005: 4) as differentiation normally implies a diversification of students on the basis of intelligence. Yet such a differentiated landscape also means that universities need more money, which almost inevitably implies that tuition fees will be introduced (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 4). This in turn signifies that there is a risk that some of the best students from a less privileged background will no longer be able to study. A differentiation will then reflect differences in wealth rather than in talent.

If a diversified European space really wants to attract the best rather than the richest, thus 'breaking the link between social origin and educational attainment' (CEC, 2005: 6) then it needs an extensive system of grants, like in the United States or the United Kingdom. The Commission indeed emphasised that 'it is crucially important to maintain the excellence of teaching and research... while still ensuring broad, fair and democratic access' (CEC, 2003: 6, 13–15, 2005: 10). Against many in (continental) Europe who believe in the 'automatic right of access to university studies' (CEC, 2003: 14), the Commission argues that 'tuition fees could in practice provide better access for students from lower income groups if the incremental funds were recycled into a sound aid system' (CEC, 2005: 8). Put more bluntly: the 'use of the access argument to justify free higher education for all university students is simply a piece of middle class special pleading' (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 52). The Commission concretely suggests that 'where tuition fees are introduced, a substantial part of the funds should be redistributed as income-contingent grant/loans aimed at guaranteeing access for all, and as performance-related scholarships aimed at encouraging excellence' (CEC, 2005: 10). However, most governments or advocacy groups which are (slowly) implementing the paradigm of differentiation did not follow the Commission's advice for compensating talent-based grants (partly financed by tuition fees) for the less well off. This is worrying, as the European diversified space risks become more unequal than its

American counterpart, where excellence is at least in part combined with an extended grants scheme.

Another thing we could learn from the United States, as the Commission admits, is fostering certain values and practices in higher education, such as valuing interdisciplinarity, fundamental research, autonomy and career prospects for (young) researchers and so on (Lambert & Butler, 2006: 44; Ingdahl, 2006; CEC, 2003: 8–9, 2005: 9). Yet although a successful implementation of differentiation requires such values and practices, implementing this will be very difficult.

A third and final way to predict problems is by focussing on the United Kingdom as a European country where differentiation is already implemented, the results of which can now be observed. One striking result is that teaching becomes less important than research, as ‘competitive funding . . . based on institutional evaluation systems and on diversified performance indicators’ (CEC, 2006b: 8) means – *de facto* – attributing funding on the basis of research output. This too is worrying. While the United States has the best research universities in the world, when it comes to quality of undergraduate teaching at those research universities, some top European research universities particularly in the United Kingdom, are arguably better in some respects. Think of ‘Oxbridge’ and its particular tutorial system, which involves top researchers (and not graduate students, as is the case in the United States) offering small-scale tutorials for undergraduates. Yet, precisely as a result of ‘more competition-based funding in research and more output-related funding in education’ (CEC, 2005: 8), this undergraduate teaching system and the colleges that provide its particular context are currently under threat. For if careers of academics depend increasingly on research output rather than commitment to undergraduate teaching and university life in general, then such commitment risks being undermined.

A further problem is related to the way a differentiated area is created in the United Kingdom. While the United States already has an established differentiated university landscape, European countries like the United Kingdom try to get one of its own through ‘the highly artificial creation of a fictional market’ (Readings, 1996: 36) by using government funding. This concretely means that the British government creates ‘a unified . . . accounting mechanism’, such as the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), in order ‘to accentuate differentials in perceived quality rather than to reduce them. Thus more money is given to the high-scoring university departments, while the poor ones, rather than being developed, are starved of cash’ (Readings, 1996: 36–37).

However, given that ‘the taxpayer’s money’ is involved, the procedures that are used to award competitive funding tends to involve a hugely bureaucratic system of auditing, surveillance and controlling researchers (Readings, 1996: 36–37). Ironically, when it comes to higher education policy, the United Kingdom has now become a precursor of a bureaucratic system that is normally associated with ‘Brussels’. As a result, the United Kingdom, and tomorrow’s Europe, risk creating an artificial university ‘market’ or ‘area’ that involves much more bureaucracy and government than the American area they wanted to emulate. Yet this may have unintended outcomes. Indeed, such bureaucratic control may even become counterproductive, not just because it takes away time from researchers, but also, and more importantly, because it starts from the assumption that researchers cannot be trusted, which may damage their ‘professional pride

and integrity' and build 'a culture of suspicion, low morale, and may ultimately lead to professional cynicism' (O'Neill, 2002: 50 and 57). With the exception of Readings' (1996) work, it is perhaps no coincidence that these trends are mainly examined by British academics such as Onora O'Neill (2002), David Marquand (2004), Michael Power (1997) or Marilyn Strathern (2000).

These are just some telling examples of a bureaucratic tendency to measure and 'objectify' knowledge, research and teaching which is not limited to the United Kingdom alone: what happens in the United Kingdom and some other European countries today may happen in the rest of Europe tomorrow. As we have seen, the creation of a European area for higher education and research also changes the reality of a European university. Yet despite this, these European universities themselves are hardly reflecting on these and future changes. Compared to the scale of the changes that are currently affecting the European area, academic research about these changes is relatively rare, and within this under-researched field only few researchers offer a critical perspective. Given this gap between the dramatic changes in the European university landscape and the universities' own lack of (critical) research on these changes that will nevertheless determine their future, an appeal for more research is justified.

Notes

1. 'CEC' stands for 'Commission of the European Communities'
2. I distinguish differentiation (of tasks and profiles) from diversity (of culture): while harmonisation can be compatible with cultural diversity, it does not necessarily imply functional differentiation (or stratification). Moreover, like the Commission, I use the term differentiation, although I am aware that others argue that it is better to use the term 'diversification' (Huisman, 1995).
3. Even the influence these member states retained over the Bologna process or over the collaborative research is now replaced by institutions such as the ERC or the EIT that are autonomous from either the Commission or the member states.

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MAMMON, MARKETS, AND MANAGERIALISM – ASIA-PACIFIC PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Anthony Welch

If the world in general has changed profoundly over recent decades, so too has the world of education, in ways that reshape all who interact with it, whether educators, students, or parents. Educational institutions too, have been re-fashioned substantially, and all too often, it seems, by forces well outside education, and according to principles that have little to do with education.

Within the North, the ebullience of the post-war decades has largely gone, and the post-war Keynesian settlement replaced by a much more austere and technicist world of markets and managerialism (Clarke *et al.*, 2000; Considine & Painter, 1997; Gee *et al.*, 1996; Yeatman, 1997). Within the South, including some socialist states transitioning to a market economy, markets and managerialism have been seen as key strategies with which to promote development, reform the rigidities of the state socialist model, and leapfrog directly into a modern knowledge economy. Within education, the determination that post-war capitalist, or post-revolutionary socialist generations, would not be disfigured by structures and ideologies that created and sustained class, ethnic, and gender inequalities, has now been largely overtaken by a fissiparous reform programme, that often sets groups, institutions, teachers, parents, and students against one another. (This is not to say that the former more egalitarian ideologies were always successful in achieving their goals; rather that the goals were different, and equality accorded a higher priority.)

This chapter sketches some of the main tenets of this renascent ideology, making the point that it is not the first time that such ideologies have reformed (and arguably deformed) education. Some of the mainsprings of markets and managerialism are first outlined. A sketch of earlier episodes of the introduction of business efficiency schemes into education, both in Britain and the colonies, and the effects on pedagogy, curriculum, and financing of education, as well as upon teachers, and pupils, is followed by some select examples of contemporary reform programmes, within schooling and higher education systems, from various contexts. The sketch of major reform moments in education within the Asia-Pacific region, specifically in both Australia and China, serves to illustrate the capacity of contemporary ideologies of markets and managerialism to transcend political and cultural differences, and levels of development.

Mainsprings

After briefly tracing core assumptions underlying markets, and managerialism, some of the likely ways in which each finds expression in education are outlined. Theories of educational markets are understood in more theoretical terms, and seen to rest on theories of choice, while managerialism is seen to offer a technology of implementation, including benchmarks with which to measure progress towards the attainment of market goals. While in each case, contra to the claims of hyper-globalists such as Ohmae (1991, 1995), state strategies do make a difference, (Weiss, 1998; Welch & Mok, 2003), it is equally true that the agendas of major global agencies such as the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and the OECD have been significant in pressing, for example, ‘a less interventionist...state,...and a preference for market-like mechanisms over bureaucratic methods of service delivery’ (World Bank, 1995: 12).

Markets

Markets in education are justified by an appeal to the notion of choice, and the argument that state-dominated systems denied much, if any, choice to families, parents, and students. By contrast, it is argued, individuals should be free to select an education that they believe best caters to their interests and aspirations, and should also be responsible for the outcomes of that choice. According to this argument, individuals and families compete for advantage in education. Within market discourses, education is seen as a positional good, in which those who have the knowledge and opportunity, use education for purposes of achieving greater status, and a better position in the socio-economic hierarchy (Gewirtz *et al.*, 1995). Choices are often made more on the status of an educational institution, whether school, college, or university, rather than the quality of education it offers. Individuals gain advantage through gaining access to prestige education, but (it is sometimes admitted) this is at a cost to others: ‘Positional competition...is a zero-sum game. What winners win, losers lose’ (Hirsch, 1976: 52). Despite substantial evidence that class effects mean that the more sophisticated choosers can compound their social and educational advantages (Gewirtz *et al.*, 1995; Gilborn & Youdell, 2000; Campbell & Sherington, 2006), while those whose cultural capital equips them less well in the competition stakes fare much less well, market ideologies continue to thrive. As a result, a more fissiparous society eventuates, where the gap between the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’ widens as a direct result of the extension of educational markets.

This is not the whole story, of course: it is not just individuals who comprise the market. Institutions, too, increasingly compete. It is now often said that rather than students choosing schools, schools are often choosing students, in carefully orchestrated marketing campaigns (Ball, 2007; Campbell & Sherington, 2006). While more advantaged schools (in terms of location, social class composition, or with low proportions of children whose first language is not that of the majority) are able to trade on these attributes to forge further ahead, schools in poorer areas, rural environments, or with high proportions of migrant children who must learn the majority language as their second language) often fall further behind, becoming less and less attractive

both to parents and funding agencies. According to market ideologies, parents and children frequenting such schools may then effectively be blamed for their own failure to choose a better school.

In both Australia and China, the fostering of market ideologies in education, as in other social policy arenas, has been a concomitant of a changed view of the shape and role of the state. The two contexts were very different of course – while in China, the ending of the private sector in education after 1949 followed from the principle that the state was responsible for all provision of education, in Australia, there had long been a significant private sector, most particularly at the secondary level (Campbell, 2007). The rise of a more economistic ideology in the latter in the 1980s saw the increasing subordination of education to the language and logic of economics, and the subsequent progressive extension of marketization to the public sector. In China, the period of its opening, after the turbulence and retreat from the outside world of the Cultural Revolution, also coincided with the decade of the 1980s, and heralded the end of the iron rice bowl, whereby the state had guaranteed employment for life, and large and often unwieldy state-owned enterprises (SOEs) delivered a full range of services, including schooling, to their workforce.

Managerialism

Managerialism in education is arguably an outgrowth of wider neo-liberal reform programmes of the past decade or two – often termed ‘economically rational’ in Australia (Pusey, 1991). Such programmes have not merely led to greater privatization and decentralization (although as some have pointed out, the directed character of the latter means the process might be better characterized as centralized decentralization), but have also – in an apparent paradox – led to increased regulation of educational institutions. It is the latter process that interests us here. In an era in which funding per student for public sector educational institutions has plateaued or declined in many systems, in effect this means that education has come under increasing pressure, but also paradoxically, under increasing scrutiny or surveillance (Cowen, 1996; Miller, 1995a and b; Sheehan, 1996). As much as a decade or more ago, the effects of this ideology were being pointed out in countries such as Australia:

[W]hile hard-pressed staff in schools and universities must do more and more with less and less, they are less free to engage in democratic action and resistance. They are increasingly beset by detailed external and internal demands which affect both how they spend their time, and which increasingly impose directly upon curricula, evaluation and pedagogy – all in the name of accountability or devolution. (Welch, 1997: 17)

The basis for managerialism rests on an appeal to technicist principles of efficiency and economism (Habermas, 1971, 1974, 1976, 1978; Pusey, 1991; Welch, 1997, 1998, 2007a) that represent the historical triumph of a means-end, that is instrumentalist rationality over older forms of reason that enshrined ethical concerns about the social good (such as that of the ancient Greeks, for example, whose maxim ‘Man is the

measure of all things' was effectively countered by the new logic of efficiency and economism). An alternative account was offered by Lyotard, whose notion of performativity critiqued the historical process whereby knowledge has become commodified and transformed into one of the principal productive forces in society. Under such conditions he argued, notions of productivity like 'optimising the system's performance' (Lyotard, 1984: xxiv) become the ultimate goal, and the relevant system technology is drawn from the discourse of business and management. Enhancing worker productivity, including by the use of new technologies such as ICTs, forms the new techno-logic of performativity. Performance targets are set, and individual workers compete against each other for rewards and punishments. This new regimen means that questions drawn from the discourse of business efficiency come to dominate: 'Is it efficient?' or 'Is it saleable?' become more important and more common questions than 'Is it true?' (Lyotard, 1984: 51).

Historical Antecedents

As argued above, a key technology of managerialism is the idea of rewarding workers according to quantitative performance targets. While this provides a starting point for understanding why they were introduced, and what influence they have on educational policy, it remains to chart their effects in practice. In the Anglo-American democracies described above (countries such as New Zealand, Canada, the UK, and Australia), performance indicators have flourished in recent decades, to the point where they have become an integral weapon in the managerialist armoury – within education, just as in health, welfare, and other public policy arenas. But not for the first time: before managerialism, there was efficiency. A brief review of one or two examples of efficiency movements in education, from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, serves not merely to show the principal effects of this ideology, but also provides an excellent reminder of the lessons of history, at least for those who still wish to learn.

Payment by Results

The first example, drawn from the mid nineteenth century, was, like much educational baggage of the time, imported by numerous colonies from England. Among other things, it also serves as a timely warning to current hyper-globalists, such as Ohmae or Greider (1997) who insist that the impact of globalization effects on current policy agendas is an entirely novel phenomenon. Importing policies from the UK, or elsewhere, is by no means new.

The Revised Code, or *payment by results* as it came to be widely known, was introduced into British education around the 1860s, its rationale encapsulated in the proud boast of its proponent to the British parliament: 'If it is not cheap it shall be efficient; if it is not efficient it shall be cheap' (Maclure, 1974: 79–82). Its legitimacy stemmed from the strong prevailing current of business accountability, and efficiency, that informed education inquiries of the time, in particular arising from the report of the Newcastle Commission: 'The Commissioners held the common view of the period, that the notion of accountability, so vital to a well-run business, should be applied

vigorously to all forms of government expenditure' (Musgrave, 1968: 35). Within years, it had been introduced into several of the Australian colonies (Turney, 1969: 229–32; Miller, 1986; Rodwell, 1992), and to India (D'Souza, 1976; Allender, 2006).

The original British scheme was largely inspired by middle-class fears of rising calls upon state funds for elementary schools (provided for the working class), at a time of swelling demand for education by and for that group. In an effort to rein in justified rises in expenditure, the needs of a 'business age' specified that a 'standard' be established which each child had to attain to pass at that level (Musgrave, 1968: 36). This standard was based upon the assumed needs of industry for a literate workforce and bourgeois assumptions about a curriculum appropriate to the working class: the three Rs, suffused by Christianity.

The effects of the scheme were swift and dramatic – in the face of rising demand, the state grant for primary education promptly fell by more than a quarter, and a sharp decline ensued in numbers of pupil teachers and teachers' college trainees. The teacher/pupil ratio worsened profoundly: from 1:36 in 1861 to 1:54 five years later (Maclure, 1973: 81).

Other perverse effects included inducing teachers, whose annual salaries were now tied to the numbers of pupils in their classes and to their performance at particular exams, to cheat. Teachers drilled their pupils mercilessly on test items (Hyndman, 1978: 34) once the inspector's visit was imminent. Some secretly trained their pupils in classroom tricks that would create a more favourable impression. Yet others falsified enrolment registers, to keep numbers artificially high. Sick children were dragged along to school to satisfy attendance requirements, upon which teachers' salaries were dependent (Hyndman, 1978: 37), while teachers now had to negotiate their salaries directly with school managers (Welch, 2007a).

Cramming, rather than teaching, became the means to ensure a teacher's livelihood – weakening pupils, teachers, and pedagogy. Hence, a further product of the Revised Code was a narrowing of the curriculum and a narrow instrumentalism with respect to educational aims. Overall, while the scheme was justified by appeals to the principle of 'efficiency', it was in fact introduced largely as a means of curbing justifiable growth in state expenditure on education.

As with the Indian experience (D'Souza, 1976; Allender, 2006), and at much the same time, the Australian schemes inherited all the weaknesses of the British. The introduction of the so-called Standards of Proficiency into New South Wales for example, insisted that teachers follow set requirements scrupulously, and a similarly detailed examination of requirements by inspectors. The effects on each was to mechanize the labour process. Teachers, whose promotional prospects were directly tied to their pupils' results in the test, were led to implement 'rote learning and... mechanical modes of instruction' (Turney, 1969: 230), while '[t]he work of the inspector largely became one of mechanical examining and his reports became mainly based on statistical analysis of results' (Turney, 1969: 231). In the colony of Victoria, for example, *payment by results* was acknowledged to have achieved 'the encouragement (of)... memorization rather than reasoning (of) formal, mechanical teaching methods, and... keeping the curriculum narrow' (Barcan, 1980: 107; see also Rodwell, 1992).

Taylorism or Scientific Management

The 'payment by results' scheme in England, India, and various Australian colonies in the 1860s were not the only ones to use business efficiency to promote ideological reforms in education. Taylorism, or scientific management, cut a swathe through American schools and universities in the period around the First World War. Originally introduced into manufacturing industry in an attempt to boost productivity (the amount produced per worker), the success of *scientific management* in extracting more output per input attracted those concerned to hold back or reduce spending on education. Business interests were particularly concerned, under the banner of efficiency, to reduce state educational costs (termed 'wastage'), while also shifting the financial burden of apprenticeships away from industry, which had been their traditional training ground.

The imposition of this *cult of efficiency* as it was dubbed (Callahan, 1962; Welch, 1998), impoverished education. But not just costs were reduced: the curriculum was narrowed to become more like vocational training, while the education system's capacity to respond to diversity – African Americans (then called Negroes or blacks), rural dwellers, poor whites, and the growing ranks of American immigrants – was equally attenuated.

The rationale for implementing *scientific management* in schools and universities was based squarely on an argument that:

consisted of making unfavourable comparisons between the schools and business enterprise, of applying business–industrial criteria (e.g. economy and efficiency) to education, and of suggesting that business and industrial practices be adopted by educators. (Callahan, 1962: 6)

Within years, not merely had the *Atlantic Monthly* championed its introduction into education, but even The National Education Association. By 1907, popular books on education argued that classroom management could be seen as a 'business problem'. By 1910, it could be claimed that:

Our universities are beginning to be run as business colleges. They advertise, they compete with one another, they pretend to give good value to their customers. They desire to increase their trade, they offer social advantages and business openings to their patrons. (Callahan, 1962: 7)

School boards were made smaller, sometimes considerably, and became dominated by businessmen interested in reforming school administration along financial lines. This represented a profound retreat from earlier reforms of some of the best-known school administrators such as William T. Harris, Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard, whose reforms were motivated by broader and deeper interests in education, and a stronger background in the field, rather than the field of business.

A final change provoked by the rising tide of business ideology in American education at this time was curriculum reform, where the principal push was to make

the curriculum ‘more practical’. Major business moguls, such as Andrew Carnegie, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and John D. Rockefeller, argued that their success had nothing to do with ‘book learning’ but was based on good old-fashioned common sense married to the kind of business acumen that could not be taught in schools. Carnegie was particularly scornful of college study: ‘In my own experience I can say that I have known few young men intended for business who were not injured by a collegiate education’ (Callahan, 1962: 9).

According to this ideology, Business English should be substituted for composition, and business principles, contracts and bookkeeping be introduced into schools. At least for those not proceeding to high school, and arguably for all pupils, the ‘love of learning’ should be subordinated to the ‘love of earning’ (Callahan, 1962: 10), a view that also licensed the proliferation of vocational courses in schools.

The preceding historical examples of the implementation of ‘efficiency’ policies in education serve as useful pointers to more modern ideologies of markets and managerialism in education. Among principal effects of earlier episodes were the following:

- A narrowing of the curriculum, and heightened emphasis upon vocationalism (see also Kliebard, 1999)
- Lower quality teaching, caused by cramming and ‘teaching to the test’
- Significant cost reductions in real terms, leading to much higher class sizes, and fewer teaching recruits and
- Less effective capacity to respond to cultural diversity and working class pupils.

Markets and Managerialism in Australian Education

Notwithstanding the above, we should not be too surprised that the results of earlier episodes, when education came to be dominated by ideologies of business efficiency, have little influenced populist politicians, selected educational critics, and media hacks, who peddle similar principles in modern guise. The following select examples from Australia, and China, underline not merely the easy popularity of such schemes, but also the failure of the policy process to attend to the lessons of earlier episodes.

Notwithstanding the corrosive critiques of the incorporation of business efficiency models into the world of social policy by figures such as Habermas and Lyotard, managerialism has been widely implemented in the Australian state (Painter, 1997), and its reform agenda widely touted, including within education (Miller, 1995a, b). Entire management technologies such as Total Quality Management, borrowed from the commercial world, have been used to regulate educational institutions. A recent variant to be incorporated into some schools and universities is the ‘Balanced Scorecard’ management technology, replete with Key Performance Indicators, and coloured flags that indicate progress towards goals. Red indicates danger, of course.

The rise of markets in education has had a profound effect on Australian universities, technical and further education (TAFE), and schools in recent years, as institutions (both private *and* public) increasingly compete for students, or at least for a greater share of certain kinds of students. Hence the birth or expansion of performing arts high schools, academically selective high schools, sports high schools, technology

high schools, schools that offer an international curriculum such as the International Baccalaureate, and institutions that market a curriculum based on a particular religion (various Christian or Muslim schools, for example). Universities are also enmeshed in this market, competing vigorously for both local and international enrolments (Welch, 2003).

Justified by an appeal to choice, the Australian strategy was twofold. The first was, since choice entailed more than choice within the public sector, to expand the private sector in education. While most of the energy here has been expended on shifting resources from public schools to the private sector (Welch, 2003, 2007a; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2000a, b, c), the beginnings of such moves in higher education (which has in Australia traditionally been entirely public), may now be discerned.

In the process, whereas marketing was formerly restricted to the private sector, the principle and practice has now become firmly ensconced within the public sector, with vigorous competition for the best students. In some states (like Canada, the USA, Germany, and Australia), the process of competition within the public sector has been deliberately intensified by the creation of selective high schools, at least in some states, which now often attract many more applicants than they could conceivably accommodate. The effects on the mainstream neighbourhood high school of this retreat from the former idea of a common school have been predictable, with research revealing their progressive residualization (Campbell & Sherington, 2006; Campbell, 2007). Within the Australian university system, the former fiction that all universities were much the same has now been exploded by the formation of various splinter groups within the sector. Examples include the Group of Eight (Go8), which (like the Russell Group in the UK) collectively dominate the race for research income; the New Generation Universities, Innovative Research Universities, and other such groupings.

The second strategy was to induce a climate of market competition within the public sector, whose schools were to be encouraged to compete vigorously, not merely with other state schools, but also with private sector institutions. Hence, the successful academically selective state high schools in New South Wales, most of which are creations of the past 20 years, now tout their academic results, which now often outshine those of wealthy private sector academies, whose parents pay fees of as much as A\$20,000 per annum, while mainstream state high schools are now encouraged to compete against low-fee denominational high schools, which have proliferated over the last decade, as seen below.

A further example of marketization in Australian education is evident in specific attempts by state and federal governments to foster the private schooling sector. In an effort to promote 'choice', state and federal governments have made more public funds available for the purpose of extending the private sector, something that has resulted in a plethora of new, largely low-fee Christian, schools being founded over the past decade, since the Howard Federal Liberal government came to power. (In Australia, the Liberal Party is of conservative persuasion, and can be compared with the Conservatives in the UK or the Republicans in the USA).

The changes indicated in Table 1 were underpinned by specific funding mechanisms, such as the now-notorious Enrolment Benchmark Adjustment (EBA) formula, introduced by the Howard federal government, soon after coming to power in 1996.

Table 1. Number of schools by sector, and percent change, Australia 1984–2004 (From Campbell, 2007: 223)

Year	Government		Catholic		Independent	
	<i>N</i>	% change	<i>N</i>	% change	<i>N</i>	% change
1984	7,544	–	1,705	–	776	–
1994	7,159	–5.3	1,699	–0.4	821	+5.5
2004	6,938	–3.2	1,695	–0.2	982	+16.4

Note: In Australia, the Independent sector embraces a small number of Catholic, non-systemic schools as well as those run by other religious sects (mostly Christian, but also Jewish, Muslim, etc.), and some progressive schools (such as Steiner or Montessori). In fact, the term Independent is something of a misnomer, and might be better termed ‘state subsidized’. Fees range from moderate to highly exclusive.

The formula transferred significant federal government funds to any private school, from a public school, for each pupil that transferred his or her enrolment from the latter to the former. The parallel deregulation of the establishment of new private schools (that previously had to establish a case based on need, and insufficient educational resources existing in the area) allowed 76 new schools to be established within four years, in the most populous state alone (Welch, 2007a: 27). In the face of widespread criticism, the EBA was abandoned, in favour of the so-called Socio-Economic Status (SES) formula, introduced in 2000, that has also been widely criticized for failing to take into account the actual wealth of parents who subscribe to such schools, but just depending on the blind law of SES averages for that community (Welch, 2003). In this way, for example, wealthy rural parents, may well have the enrolments of their children at high-fee, socially exclusive private secondary schools, effectively subsidized.

The actual logic behind this creation of an educational market by the federal government is illustrated in a revealing comment by the federal minister of education of the time:

We have to realize... that parents who send their children to non-government schools are saving taxpayers a vast amount of money – about two billion dollars a year, more than that... and that money is then available for the funding of government schools. (Welch, 2003: 276)

The parallel introduction of the federal schemes sketched above to divert funds from public schools to private ones, without increasing the size of the budget in real terms, ensured that the monies ‘saved’ by the taxpayers, did not extend support of public schools.

An example of the insistent use of managerialist performance indicators was seen in the actions of an Australian Federal Minister of Education, who, in 2005, used the threat of withholding funding to state governments as a means to introduce compulsory reports on performance by schools across the country. At the same time, the same federal minister pushed strongly for teacher attendance and productivity records, and the return to an ‘A, B, C, D, E’ grading system. Three billion dollars was at risk in

the most populous state (New South Wales) alone, until the state government finally relented, demanding that their schools ‘tell it like it is’ (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 2005a, b). While parents may well appreciate more information from schools about their children’s performance, the introduction of the machinery of testing, and grading, can end up distorting, rather than strengthening, the core education and mission of better quality teaching and learning, as was seen in the historical examples illustrated above. The arbitrary use of such indicators as the number of pupils at a school that achieve in the top 10% of literacy or numeracy tests, represents another example (Welch, 2007a: 14). Assumed in this ideology of managerialism is that success in meeting such performance targets, equates to improved quality of education, something that the historical examples treated above show to be at best dubious. Nonetheless, by such measures is the performance of educational managers (school principals, heads of department, Faculty Deans) often now measured.

Markets and Managerialism in Chinese Education

While profound differences exist between Chinese culture, society, and polity, and that of Australia, China has not proved immune to the effects of marketization and managerialism, including in education. While the effects can be seen at school level, the contemporary world of Chinese higher education presents clear illustration of its effects.

In China, too, the last decade or two has seen the development of educational markets. Once again, governments have driven this reform, as part of a wider agenda to reform education, and use it to bolster economic growth and scientific development. While Chinese families have, since Confucian times, valued education highly, and sacrificed a good deal to provide the best possible educational opportunities for their children, now families are increasingly becoming enmeshed in an often intense competition to get their child into a more selective school, that will in turn assist transition into a more reputable university, among the 1,600 or more degree-granting institutions across China. The result is a widening of the gap between ‘haves’ (those in the wealthier East of China, especially in major cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Hangzhou, and Guangzhou), and the ‘have-nots’ (those in China’s West, minorities, rural peasantry) (Welch & Yang, 2007) This has been deliberately fostered by government policies, notably the 211 Project that selected certain universities for substantial additional funding, and the 985 Project, which was even more selective, and was scheduled to invest a total of some US\$4 billion, particularly in the nation’s leading universities, such as Peking University, Tsinghua, Fudan, and others.

Stimulated both by the effects of the regional economic crisis of the late 1990s, internal advice by key economists, and external advice by the World Bank (1999), which argued that ongoing restrictions to higher education access would pose a threat to the continuation of China’s high economic growth rates (almost 10% per annum during the 1990s), the emergence of a new market in Chinese higher education is seen in specific reforms of the past two decades (Mok, 1999, 2001, 2007). These notably included the creation of university-related companies (somewhat similar to the corporate

entities established by universities in the West, that are designed to commercialize specific products or technologies, based on research discoveries at that institution). Other examples include the development of a vigorous private sector of *minban* (the preferred term, within a socialist market economy is ‘people’s colleges’), that are rarely associated with a major public university, and that charge substantial fees, with lower entry criteria. This growth of the private sector was enabled by the passage of key pieces of legislation, titled ‘The Law on the Promulgation of Non-Governmental Education’, and regulations that governed forms of cooperation between Chinese and foreign interests in education (OECD, 2003; Huang, 2003a, 2003b). The latter arm of the market strategies in higher education insisted, for example, on reputable partners, detailed documentation, a Board comprised at least 50% by Chinese citizens, and a Chinese director (Huang, 2003a, b).

Erji xueyuan (second-tier colleges, always associated with a ‘mother’ university), *duli xueyuan* (independent colleges), and *fenxiao* (branch campuses) are other initiatives that are further segmenting the market. Supported by government, they are effectively profit-making arms of public universities (Yang, 2007), sometimes in association with local business personalities, who for the use of the public university’s name return part of the profits to the university. In some cases, the deals are part of a much larger exercise in land speculation, with the business person acquiring substantial land for development purposes.

Managerialism became part of a wider agenda aimed at promoting rapid expansion of higher education, which as early as the Fifteenth Party Congress (1997), was seen as critical to the development of China’s science and technology capacity. Influenced also by World Bank research that showed that restrictions to higher education acted as a brake on economic development, the Chinese government acted to rapidly expand higher education enrolments, but without commensurate increases in levels of staff or other resources. Table 2 shows the dramatic rise of enrolments, in absolute and percentage terms.

The effects of this massive tide of enrolments were predictable, of course – a substantial rise in the productivity of universities, as measured in strictly economic terms. Clearly, many more students were entering and proceeding to graduation, but with much-reduced levels of staff and other resources than had been available previously.

Table 2. Number of Public HEIs and Enrolments, China, 1990–2002 (Partly adapted from Yang and Ngok, 1990 to 1999 figures *China Statistical Yearbook 2000*; 2000 to 2002 figures from <http://www.moe.edu.cn/stat/tjgongbao/4.htm>)

Year	Number of institutions	New students	Graduates	Student enrolments	Percent increase
1990	1,075	609,000	614,000	1,206,300	–
1995	1,054	926,000	805,000	2,906,000	140.9
1998	1,022	1,084,000	930,000	3,409,000	17.3
1999	1,071	1,597,000	848,000	4,134,000	21.2
2000	1,041	2,206,072	949,767	5,560,900	34.5
2001	1,225	2,682,800	1,036,300	7,190,700	29.3
2002	1,396	3,205,800	1,337,300	9,033,600	25.6

One index of decline consisted of staff/student ratios, which worsened dramatically in the late 1990s and early part of the new century. From 1:5.22 in 1990, the ratio had reached 1:13.5 by 2001. (It should be pointed out that it is customary in China to include the rather numerous university administrative staff in such calculations.) Ongoing laments about declining quality and increased work-related stress by Chinese colleagues are paralleled by reported difficulties of accommodating students in dormitories and the lack of other resources with which to teach this huge swell of students effectively.

Conclusion: A New Cult of Efficiency in Education?

What is evident from the previous analysis? Perhaps the first point is that little has changed. A depressing failure to pay heed to the evidence of earlier instances that show that attempts to foist educational markets and business concepts of administrative efficiency upon educational institutions, in the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, led to a decline in both quality and morale within the institutions, as well as a reduced capacity to deal with difference effectively, has meant that much the same mistakes are being repeated at the end of the twentieth century, and the beginning of the next.

Secondly, despite profound differences between China and Australia, markets and managerialism have triumphed in each at the end of the twentieth century, underlining the capacity of this ideology to transcend political and cultural differences. Indeed, the rise of these ideologies parallels wider trends in the Asia-Pacific region (Welch, 2005; Welch, 2007b), notwithstanding significant differences in the responses to this agenda, by individual states (Weiss, 1998; Welch & Mok, 2003). While the diversity of response forms a useful cautionary tale for the hyper-globalists, the widespread rise of current ideologies of markets and managerialism is both impressive, and worrying. The coalescence of mammon, markets, and managerialism has been shown, above, to have reduced the quality and effectiveness of education, as well as the morale of educationists, in institutions that are increasingly subjected to associated technologies of regulation. The underlying goal of increasing productivity, as measured in economic terms, leaves education poorer in every sense.

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LIFELONG LEARNING AND GLOBALISATION: TOWARDS A STRUCTURAL COMPARATIVE MODEL¹

Peter Jarvis

Any comparative study of lifelong learning in a globalised world runs into a number of major problems since lifelong learning is not a structural system like other sectors of education but once we raise this question it follows naturally that we can ask to what extent is it possible to study lifelong learning comparatively. Before that question can be answered, however, it is necessary to clarify what precisely is lifelong learning and so that constitutes the first part of this chapter. In this section we will argue that a major element of lifelong learning occurs, in its present form, as a result of the process of globalisation and so the second part explores the idea of globalisation and we will endeavour to show that the dominant social forces that are exerted on all aspects of most societies stem from this process, but we will argue in the third section that there are social forces that reinforce these social pressures whilst others seek to mitigate them so that the effects of globalisation do not necessarily result in standardisation. Finally, we will produce a model that allows us to understand how different manifestations of lifelong learning occur and this might form the basis of comparative studies of lifelong learning policies, if not of lifelong learning itself.

Lifelong Learning

Adult educators had long advocated systems of lifelong education (Yeaxlee, 1929) but it only became a dominant issue when the substructures of society needed new knowledge to produce more commodities cheaply and efficiently for the capitalist market. This dominant need has led to the global knowledge economy: countries have been forced to introduce lifelong learning policies and, as a result, there have been massive changes in their education systems. Lifelong learning arrived. Many countries have been forced to change their approach to education which have also been colonised by the global capitalist system – even the most traditional of educational institutions – the universities – have had to change (Bok, 2003; Lucas, 1996; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

In analysing lifelong learning, however, we are confronted with a conceptual problem: learning is both an individual process and an institutional provision. Consequently,

we see two different approaches to lifelong learning emerging. Field and Leicester (2000: xvi–xix) pose this issue quite nicely when they ask the question about whether we are dealing with the question of lifelong learning or permanent schooling, although the idea of recurrent might be more accurate than permanent schooling. However, they do not go on to develop the ambiguity that they focus upon in the title of their paper since their chapter is the introduction to their edited book, but other chapters do so. But, it is also a question hidden from the debate by the traditional definition of the concept, such as the one given by the European Commission (2001: 9):

all learning activity undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective.

This is an individualistic definition which is open to question on its instrumental aims, amongst other things. But it is an individualistic interpretation of learning itself and infers the lifelong learner. In this sense, learning is an existential phenomenon which is almost co-terminal with conscious living, i.e. learning is lifelong because it occurs whenever we are conscious and it needs to have no aim in itself, although it frequently does have a purpose. In a sense it is neither incidental to living nor instrumental in itself, it is an intrinsic part of the process of living. It can be defined as:

The combination of processes throughout a life time whereby the whole person – body (genetic, physical and biological) and mind (knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, beliefs and senses) – experiences social situations, the perceived content of which is then transformed cognitively, emotively or practically (or through any combination) and integrated into the individual person's biography resulting in a continually changing (or more experienced) person. (Jarvis, 2006:134)

This definition has been fully discussed elsewhere (Jarvis, 2006) and so it requires no further elaboration here. However, lifelong learning has a second meaning as indicated above – it is also institutional, a form of recurrent education, which was a popular concept with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and other institutions in the 1970s. But the EU definition also goes beyond this because it allows for the inclusion of initial education, although EC policy documents never really included schooling within its lifelong learning policies. Lifelong learning, therefore, includes formal and non-formal, as well as informal learning. Consequently, we need to recognise this combination of learning and recurrent schooling is another way of understanding lifelong learning and so it may also be defined as:

Every opportunity made available by any social institution for, and every process by which, an individual can acquire knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, beliefs and senses within global society. (Jarvis, 2007: 99)

Both definitions refer to different approaches to lifelong learning and in a sense they are two sides of the same coin. Learning is always personal but is broader than education

since some of the opportunities to learn throughout our lifetime are provided by social institutions, such as the State and employers in the form of recurrent education. However, one of the major problems with much of the literature on lifelong learning is that it generally refers to work-life learning and it omits all forms of formal and non-formal learning which occur after retirement since they are leisure time pursuits. However, seniors learning is itself a major element in lifelong learning and, significantly, it also began at about the same time that work-life learning was becoming a significant issue.

The first form of institutional provision for seniors began in 1962 in New York, but in 1972 the University of the Third Age was founded in France and by 1982 it was established in the UK but with a different structural form to that on the continent of Europe. By 1988 the Elderhostel Institute Network was formed which included lifelong learning institutes. Consequently, this one non-vocational element of lifelong learning which is large and growing rapidly as the world ages, is open to comparative analyses, and this has grown because of demographics rather than market needs.

In contrast, vocational lifelong learning developed during the same period under a number of different guises such as adult education, continuing education, continuing professional development and human development. It was not until the 1990s that the term lifelong learning came to the fore and this was facilitated by the European White Paper on teaching and learning (European Commission, 1995). The European paper both reflected ideas that were already occurring in some countries in Europe but which were not occurring in less developed countries. Indeed, it was the matter of development that made this change in education so significant, as we will show below, but significantly, work-life lifelong learning did not assume the same terminology in the USA because it had for many years practised a form of adult education which was both vocational and non-vocational, whereas in UK and many other countries adult education was regarded as a leisure time pursuit – which, interesting enough lifelong learning has become in the USA!

However, our concern here is with vocal education for adults, called lifelong learning in Europe but called adult education in the USA, although it is very interesting to note that at about the same time as this chapter was being written a European policy document on adult learning, as opposed to lifelong learning, appeared (European Commission, 2006). Consequently, we now have three different terms: lifelong learning, adult learning and adult education and they each refer to the vocational education of adults. It is the first of these that still has predominance in many countries of the world but it is the phenomenon that, it is argued, has occurred as a result of globalisation and it is to this phenomenon that we now turn.

Globalisation

Many theories of globalisation exist; Sklair (1991: 27–36), for instance, classified the theories of globalisation into five:

- Imperialist and neo-imperialist
- Modernization and neo-evolutionist
- Neo-Marxist (including dependency theories)

- World system (and the new international division of labour theory)
- Modes of production theory

Basically, the imperialist theory argues that the major powers have struggled for new markets and opportunities to extend their political, cultural and economic influence (see Galtung, 1971). The modernisation approach suggests that those underdeveloped societies are constrained by their traditions whereas modern societies are able to reach beyond the tradition; consequently, the modern societies are able to grow and develop since they are led by innovators, usually those whose cultural heritage stems from the Protestant ethic (see Weber, 1930). The most prominent form of neo-Marxist theory is dependency theory. Sklair suggests that there are also theories of dependent underdevelopment, dependent development and dependency reversal, and the work of Bornschier (1980) reflects this position: these theories are closely linked to the imperialist theories. However, other neo-Marxist perspectives would not lay quite so much emphasis on dependency. In Wallenstein's (1974) world system he argued for an international division of labour based upon a centre-periphery model of the world, but like the modernisation theory the significance of power is played down. Finally, the mode of production theories argue that the reasons for underdevelopment lie in the countries themselves rather than the position that the countries are in relation to the global structures. All these recognise the centrality of the economic institution of society although it is only the imperialist and Marxist models that focus on the power in any major way. In themselves all the theories throw some light on globalisation but none explain it fully and only by combining and modifying them can globalisation in contemporary society be explained.

In classical Marxist analysis, the substructure of society was the economic institution – that is, the foundation and framework upon which everything else in society is constructed. In Marx's analysis the economic institution was distinct, but dominant, in each society and so its activities, to some extent, influenced the remainder of society, but they were curtailed by the territorial boundaries of individual states. However, three major things have occurred since that analysis which, while in my opinion does not invalidate the structural approach, actually changes the detail. First, this substructure has now incorporated technology, especially information technology, which has enabled the realignment of space and time, so that, when this is combined with rapid transport systems, the world has been changed into a global village, although the term 'village' is also a little misleading since the world cultures are far less homogeneous than those of a single village, although some theorists are beginning to see it in this manner – a process of standardisation (Beck, 1992) or McDonaldisation (Ritzer, 1993). But secondly, the global village now has this common substructure rather than individual states, so that while the countries still remain separate the substructure is united and its elements can act as single entities across the globe. But this means that the imperialist approach has even more validity. Thirdly, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, there is now only one superpower – the USA – which has exerted itself as the single global imperial power and which has supported the global substructure to such an extent that it is often difficult to distinguish its influence from that of the substructure itself, so that it might be regarded as an element in the substructure at

this moment in time (Pilger, 2003). Since the substructure is supported and defended by the political and military might of the USA, it is predominantly Western so that it is hardly surprising that the idea of Americanisation is often closely associated with that of globalisation. However, this might be only a temporary phase in the development of the world since China and India might soon be the major players. Nevertheless, the capitalist system and the international division of labour do affect a great many of the countries of the world and, therefore, their educational systems. Consequently, the concept of globalisation might best be understood as a socio-economic and political phenomenon having profound cultural implications throughout the globe.

Globalisation has at least two main elements: the first is the way that those who have control of the substructure in the countries of the dominant West, especially America, have been enabled to extend their control over the substructures of almost all the other countries in the world and consequently over their structures and resources; the second is the effects that these substructural changes are having on the superstructure of each society since the common substructure means that similar forces are being exerted on each people and society despite each having different histories, cultures, languages, and so on, but these forces do not exist unopposed since different cultural groups seek to retain their own ways of life. In addition, individual States and national governments are still powerful and they also seek to oppose or modify the forces of globalisation. I have called this mitigation while Habermas (2006: 81) refers to it as cushioning, but the fact that governmental policies can mitigate the effects of globalisation gives rise to both convergence and difference, and this is as true for lifelong learning policies and practices as it is for other social phenomena.

Globalisation can thus be depicted by Figures 1 and 2.

The significance of this model is that there is a global substructure represented here by the core running through all the different countries – it exercises a centralised power over each of the countries and, in this sense, it is a force for convergence between the different countries of the world. The large downward pointing arrows illustrate that there is a relationship of power between the 203 countries of the world (this is the number recorded by UNESCO, 2006), while the two small black upward pointing arrows depict the resistance to the forces of globalisation. In the above diagram each stratum represents a country which is penetrated through the centre by the substructure, and each country can now be represented in the following manner.

The concept of a multilayered society was first utilised by Held *et al.* (1999: 62–77) and the layers are depicted hierarchically in order to illustrate that it is not merely a geographical matter but that it is also one of power stemming from the core to the periphery, although it has to be recognised that power is not a one-way process since, by the nature of democracy the ‘lower orders’ can and should be proactive as well, but there is for a variety of reasons a degree of passivity amongst individuals to the pressures coming from the hierarchy since many enjoy comfortable lifestyles. Neither individuals nor organisations are depicted here but they can exercise influence and power in any one of the layers of society.

The first thing to note about Figures 1 and 2 is that the substructure is united and runs through all the different countries, and so the two layers in Figure 1 depict only two

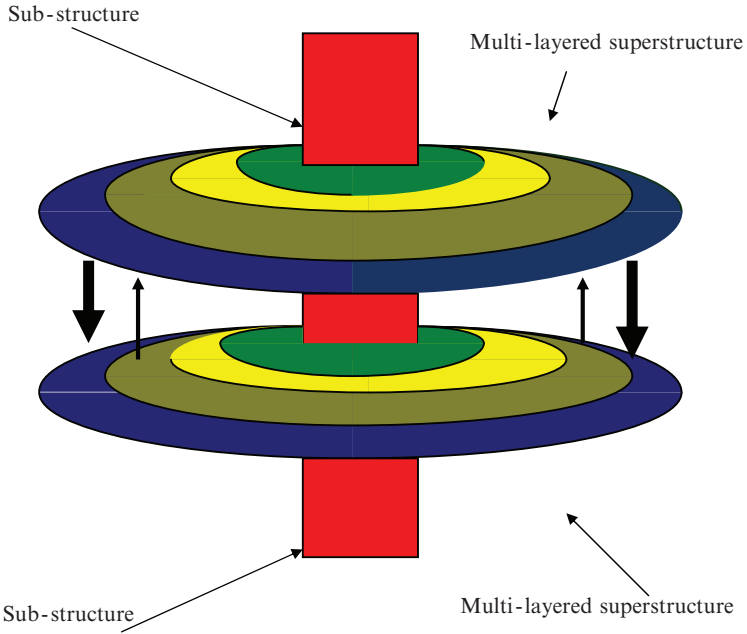


Figure 1. A global model of societies

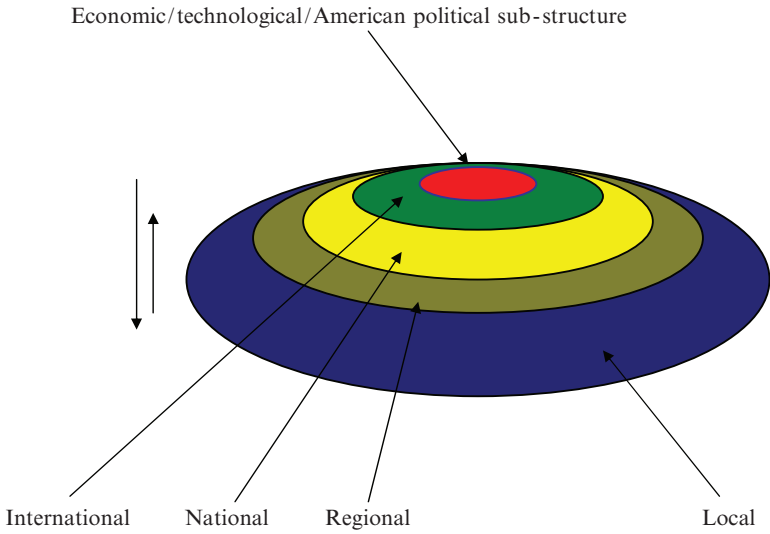


Figure 2. A multilayered model of society

of the many countries that we could have included and they have to negotiate between themselves in order to cooperate. The development of information technology, rapid travel, and so on means that people throughout the world are much more aware of what occurs elsewhere and are much more able to affect it. It is possible, therefore, for people at different levels in the hierarchy to communicate across national boundaries electronically, to travel rapidly and cheaply between different countries, so that there is intercultural sharing, but they are still separate politically and culturally. The external arrows represent the unequal relationships between each country; for instance, the dominant downwardly pointing arrow represents trade, aid, consultations, and so on. There is certainly more giving by the more powerful to the less powerful countries, so that the arrows still depict a hegemonic relationship in which the dominant cultures of the West still export their culture and commodities but through a different mechanism.

By contrast, the united substructure runs through each country making similar demands on each, as Beck (2000) suggests, it criss-crosses national boundaries since its constituent members agree on the aims and functions of the centre, but there is also internal competition within the core since each constituent company is competing with many others in order to produce commodities that can be marketed throughout the world more successfully than their rivals. The fact that there is internal competition means that the speed of change within the core is fast, driven by the demands of the market, which it is both a creating force and one to which all strands of the core are seeking to respond. It is, therefore, changing faster than those aspects of the global system that are not so market-driven and so it produces a force for change in each country. Additionally, it is necessary to recognise that change is neither gradual nor even, since new discoveries tend to generate change unevenly. The significance of this fact is that for new commodities to be produced and marketed, both new knowledge and an educated workforce are necessary and so the educational system has to change to keep abreast with these changes, including the fact that in some ways education has to be skewed towards the workforce and so vocational education has to become lifelong. The last thing that is necessary to note here is that there are in both diagrams arrows indicating that there are forces opposing the dominant globalising forces and that these influence different states and their policies differently, so that standardisation is not the outcome of globalisation although there are strong pressures towards it. There are many other effects of globalisation and these have been elaborated elsewhere (Jarvis, 2007) but discussion about them is unnecessary to the argument of this chapter.

The substructure (or core), then, is the driving force of each society, but within the national and local cultures there are both wider interests and concerns than those to be found in the core and also in some instances a degree of resistance to the changes that are occurring and these are to be found at every level, including the international. It is the substructure of global society that not only drives change but also creates change in the educational system. Education has been incorporated into the wider political and economic system, and as early as 1973, Kerr *et al.* (1973: 47) noted that education was the handmaiden to industry and that:

The higher educational of industrial society stresses the natural sciences, engineering, medicine, managerial training – whether private or public – and

administrative law. It must steadily adapt to new disciplines and new fields of specialization. There is a relatively smaller place for the humanities and the arts, while the social sciences are strongly related to the training of managerial groups and technicians for the enterprise and the government. The increased leisure time of industrialism, however, can afford a broader public appreciation of the humanities and the arts.

Of course, they were wrong about the nature of society but they were right about the emphasis being placed on scientific and useful subjects, albeit in the post-industrial society. Stehr (1994: 10–11) suggests that there has been an advance of science in the knowledge economy. Naturally, the dominant educational discourse in the knowledge societies is about the precedence of practical, scientific and relevant social science knowledge. Other forms of knowledge can be relegated to leisure time pursuits and so lifelong learning became equated with work-life learning in Europe but with leisure time pursuits in the USA! But in the latter work-life learning is included within adult education. It must be made clear here that the European concept of lifelong learning is used hereafter, and especially the distinction that I have drawn between lifelong learning and lifelong (or recurrent) education.

However the forces of change have not gone unchallenged and lifelong learning does not appear in every country in the same form: it is this that is important for comparative education.

Towards a Model for Comparative Lifelong Learning

From the argument presented above, we are in a position to see that the dominant forces are the ones which have shaped lifelong education in most countries of the world – but that there are other forces at international, national and even regional and local levels that either reinforce, seek to modify or even oppose these dominant forces and Figure 3 below depicts the argument thus far.

If the above model has validity, it should provide a theoretical framework for understanding the different pressures being exerted on the state and other providers of education generated by the forces of globalisation. It should therefore be indicative of the form that lifelong learning takes in different societies of the world. It should be noted, however, that since the core has no power of state that it can only generate pressures while the international can both generate pressures and formulate policies; the national and regional can generate pressures, formulate policies and initiate practices. In this way it is possible for all the layers to cushion the population from the harshest pressures of global capitalism or to reinforce them. There are, therefore, five brief subsections to this part: global and international pressures, national and regional policies and resisters to change.

Global Pressures

Emanating from the centre, the global pressures are the forces for change. For instance, the aims of global capitalism are to produce new commodities as cheaply and efficiently as possible and to sell them at the maximum profit on the market. In order to produce

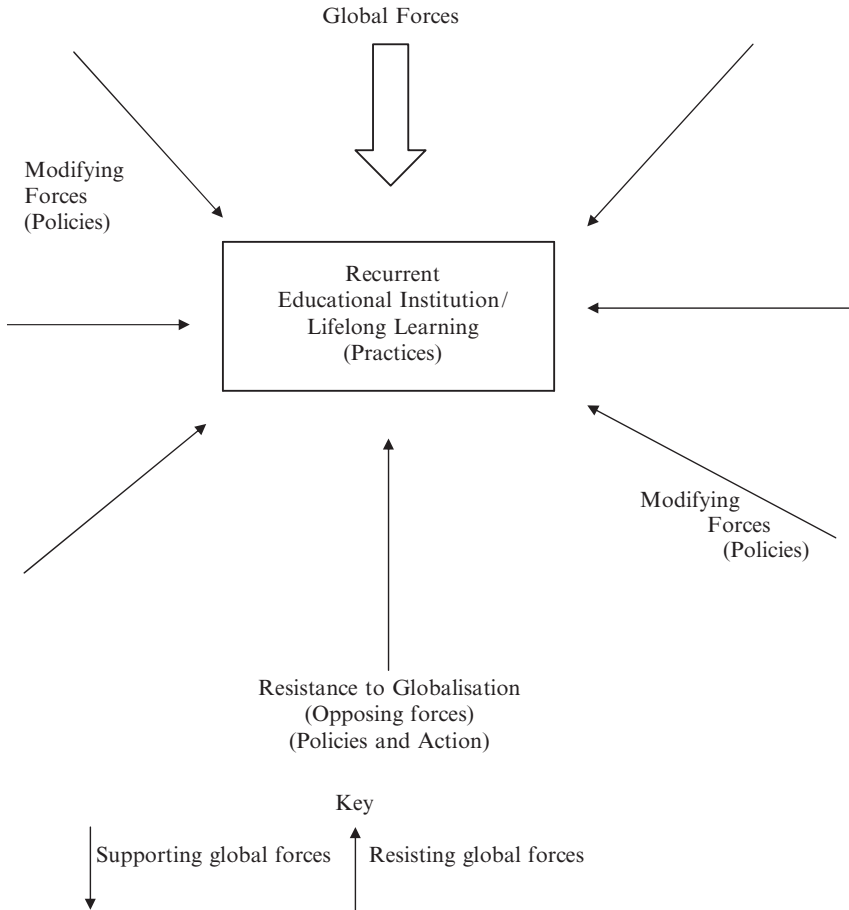


Figure 3. The educational institution in social context in a globalising world

new commodities or even to produce old ones more efficiently, it is necessary to have new knowledge which is practically orientated and an employable workforce, i.e. an educated one. Consequently, some forms of knowledge take precedence over others: Scheler (1980), as early as 1926, argued that some forms of knowledge – scientific and technological – are artificial since they change so quickly that they never become incorporated in culture whereas cultural knowledge changes very slowly. These forms of knowledge change as rapidly as the market demands and so workers and potential employees need first an initial education that makes them employable and then continuing occupational development so that they can remain employable. If they do not have it, then they are excluded from the workplace, so that the global forces demand certain emphases in the curriculum and lifelong learning and if they do not get it, then the corporations either relocate their production to cheaper and more malleable places and/or they start their own corporate universities (Meister, 2000; Jarvis, 2001). These forces operate in each country of the world but to varying degrees.

International

The international agencies also exert pressures throughout the world in a variable manner: all three forms – support, modification and resistance are noted here. There is also an almost complete spectrum of approaches to lifelong learning at this level – we will briefly refer to four – World Bank, UNESCO, OECD, and the European Union.

Within the framework, therefore, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, as neo-liberal economic institutions, exert social pressures on governments that reinforce the pressures of the substructure and therefore serve to reproduce the social and cultural conditions of global society (see Pilger, 2003). This pressure is even greater on those countries to which the World Bank has loaned or supported the loan of money, since it can place conditions on the developing countries to conform to its own understanding of global economics, even if such economics do not appear beneficial to the countries concerned: they are certainly beneficial to the developed world, and the large corporations, which invest in them the corporations' profit. Indeed, Joseph Stiglitz (2002) the World Bank's former chief economist and Nobel Laureate in Economics has recently claimed that the time has come for major changes in the World Bank's economic policy and the values – he (2002: 252) writes that 'development is not about helping a few rich people get rich . . . it is about transforming societies, improving the lives of the poor, enabling everyone to have a chance at success and access to health care and education' (cited from Bawden, 2006: 113). He makes the same criticism of the International Monetary Fund. At the same time, it has to be acknowledged that in many instances loans are a way of kick-starting an initiative for some of those who are autonomous, strong-willed and entrepreneurial.

In contrast, we find in UNESCO a completely different picture: a champion of lifelong education having adopted the term long before it gained popularity, it has both led the way in developing the concept but, at the same time, always presenting it within a humanistic perspective. From its first major report, Faure Report (UNESCO, 1972) and the publication of the background papers (OISE-UNESCO, 1973) to the present day we see the same concerns. Produced before global capitalism became such a dominant force, the Faure Report is the outcome of a UNESCO Commission on the Development of Education, and yet its conclusions are still relevant today. In order to give a flavour of this report, we find a different emphasis since the whole of the person is constantly emphasised:

The physical, intellectual, emotional and ethical integration of the individual into the complete man is a broad definition of the fundamental aim of education. (italics in original; Faure, 1972: 156)

In Faure's Preamble (pp. xix–xxxiv) the nature of the human being is clearly specified:

- Uniting *Homo sapiens* and *Homo faber* is not enough – such a man must also feel in harmony with himself and with others: *Homo concors*.
- This is the age total *man*: that is to say, man entire and all of man.

This was a far-sighted and radical Report which has left its mark on the world of education but the extent to which its concerns have been taken on board is another matter. But UNESCO has been consistent as some of its later publications demonstrate (UNESCO, 1990; 2000; 2005, *inter alia*)

Unlike the World Bank, these UNESCO documents are liberal utopian, full of the significance of humankind, and how humankind as a whole needs to enjoy the fruits of the world in which we live. It is liberal utopian, ethical but also political seeking to modify and redirect the forces of social change emanating from the substructure of global society. But there are many other important organisations offering their own solutions to these problems and we need to examine some of these. We will now examine the OECD.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development was established in December 1960 to achieve the highest possible economic growth and employment and increase the standard of living in member countries, to contribute to economic expansion in both member and non-member countries and to increase world trade. Whilst the reference to non-member countries occurs here, it is perhaps notable throughout the OECD literature, naturally enough, that the focus is upon OECD member countries so that many of the major issues of globalisation are not addressed since most of the member countries are wealthy, industrialised societies but there is a major concern for equality of opportunity within these societies running through all the documents.

The OECD's establishment preceded the widespread acceptance of neo-liberal economics a few years later, although its establishment was perhaps an early sign of economic globalisation. From its earliest days it was concerned with the place of education and it pioneered the concept of recurrent education as a strategy for lifelong learning (OECD, 1973) which it claimed to be a different approach to education since it argued that 'education opportunities should be spread over the individual's lifetime, *as an alternative* (underlining in origin) to the ever-lengthening period of continuing education for youth (OECD, 1973: 5). It is significant that from the outset OECD did not propose a system of formal education that was parallel to adult education since that would create another binary system. There was a genuine concern for equality of opportunity behind the OECD proposals since it focused from the outset on lower skilled people having the right to paid educational leave, as well as those who were more highly skilled.

By 1977, however, the term 'recurrent education' had disappeared: this maybe because there was a growing sense that it would be very costly to implement systems of paid educational leave as an entitlement, or even to see post-school education as an educational system, but the idea of the 'education of adults' assumed some prominence (OECD, 1977: 5). Moreover, the key concept became learning and it was suggested that there are five sets of learning needs: (1) remedial; (2) vocational, technical and professional competences; (3) health, welfare and family life; (4) civic, political and community competence; (5) self-fulfilment (OECD, 1977 vol. 1: 23–24). Thereafter there were further four volumes examining new structures, programmes and methods; non-participation; participation; and widening access for the disadvantaged (OECD, 1977–1981). Consequently, it can be seen that while the early publications of OECD on lifelong learning were work-orientated, they were genuinely engaged in all the issues of general adult education and many of the authors of specific chapters in these

volumes were well-known adult educators. As globalisation became more significant, so the concerns of OECD became more focused on the knowledge economy, and yet there was recognition that globalisation itself brought vulnerability (OECD, 1996: 30). Indeed, lifelong learning for all was the theme of an OECD Ministers' Conference and while the broader adult education issues are still apparent in the discussion documents, it is clear that the relationship between learning and work is the prevalent issue. Indeed, the first argument for lifelong learning provided is the learning economy. Both in placing this as the prime reason for lifelong learning and the introduction of the language of the global capitalism indicate how OECD has been affected by, and has in turn affected, the dominant economic policies of the period. Thereafter, the speed of change due to technology is considered as the second reason for lifelong learning, followed by discussion about education throughout the life cycle; the formation of human capital and social well-being of individuals is the fourth reason given and, finally, the issues of social cohesion are addressed as it is recognised that the wealth gap is widening (OECD, 1996: 90–92).

The European Union has deliberately responded to the social forces of globalisation in all three of its educational branches: education and training, higher education and lifelong (adult) learning. The policies in each can be seen both as a response to the global pressures and as a deliberate attempt to modify them. Enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty are Articles 149 and 150: the first seeks to develop a European dimension of education and the second focuses on the need for a vocational training policy. Without analysing the vast array of policy documents that have appeared since then, we can see that in EC 1995 White Paper on education and training appeared as *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* (European Commission, 1995) specified three aims:

- Social integration
- Enhancement of employability
- Personal fulfilment

The latest document on lifelong learning (European Commission, 2001) specified four:

- Active citizenship
- Personal fulfilment
- Social inclusion
- Employment related aspects

In these cases the international pressures on European countries are modifying forces since they are as concerned with the integration of Europe as they are with the success of global capitalism. An example of this is the Bologna Declaration (2005) of 19th June, 1999, which indicates how European higher education should develop in order to make it compatible across the whole of Europe – this is part of the Europeanisation process, and lifelong in as much as it is still a response to the vocational demands on education and both education and training.

Two types of social pressure emanate from international agencies – those which would modify the global forces to some degree or other and those which reinforce the

global pressures. Significantly, those countries least able to fend for themselves are the most exposed to the international agencies that reinforce global pressures.

National

Two types of national responses to the global situation can be detected: those which seek to modify the global forces and those which seek to prevent them having any effect in their countries. However, differences can be found in national policy documents and using lifelong learning as an example, policy documents can be compared. In the UK, for example, *The Learning Age* (DfEE, 1998) was quite orientated to the economic needs of the nation and proposed such innovations as the University for Industry and Learn Direct – a national information service. This report certainly reflected the neo-liberal principles of the New Labour government and with it its desire to introduce lifelong learning, although in the first instance it made little reference to those other EU-specified aims of lifelong learning, although there is the one reference in the Minister's Foreword that says 'learning offers excitement and the opportunity for discovery. It stimulates enquiring minds and nourishes our souls' (DfEE, 1998: 10). A neo-liberal agenda had been set, and the UK became a leading country in Europe in implementing this agenda that is in accord with the demands of the global substructure. Significantly, citizenship does not play quite such a leading role in the UK as it does in the European documents, but the UK has been less concerned with Europeanisation than the Commission, although British citizenship – and the learning required from it – has become an issue as a result of the problems of migration which itself, in many cases can be traced back to the globalising forces and the wealth of the West. Economic migration is perfectly understandable in an unequal world.

One reason why the UK policies are more orientated to the global forces is because in the 1980s, during Mrs Thatcher's time as prime minister, it adopted a minimal state neo-liberal approach to government whereas most other EU countries did not. However, it is significant that as more countries are being forced to adopt more of the global pressures, many countries in Europe now appear to regard UK as a country that is leading the way.

In contrast to the emphasis of the UK government, similar documents from two other industrialised societies – one inside the European Community and the other in South-East Asia – reveal different emphases. The Finnish government's policy document had its own vision:

By the year 2004 Finland will be one of the leading knowledge and interaction societies. Success will be based on citizens' equal opportunities to study and develop their own knowledge and extensively utilise information resources and educational opportunities. A high-quality, ethically and economically sustainable mode of operation in network-based teaching and research will have been established. (Ministry of Education, 1999: 29)

As the Finnish vision is based on the citizens' opportunities rather than economic success and Hong Kong's vision is based on the learner's all-round development, and so the aims

of education in the twenty-first century are threefold: enabling students to enjoy learning; enhancing student's effectiveness and communication and developing a sense of creativity and commitment (Education Commission, 2000: 30). This will be achieved by following the following principles: student focused, 'no-losers'; quality; life-long learning; society-wide mobilisation (Education Commission, 2000: 36–42). While the UK vision has been driven much more by neo-liberal economic policies from both the global substructure and the political ideology of New Labour, more humanistic approaches are evident from both Finland and Hong Kong. These also reflect the prevailing culture of the countries. This brief comment on three countries' policies on lifelong learning does indicate one way that comparative studies of lifelong learning might develop and certainly one way in which comparative policy analysis might be conducted.

In contrast to these statements, national policies in Muslim countries are in varying degrees opposed to the global forces, with societies such as Turkey being more exposed to the West and therefore much more likely to be affected by the global pressures than is Iran which is much more resistant to such forces.

Regional

At the local level, it is more possible to examine practices that occur within education, at all levels, and to see the extent to which the private–public partnership has emerged: the following are but examples. Increasingly, locally based state education is being influenced by business and industry – this occurs not only in the way that the curriculum is devised and implemented, but in sponsorship of school activities and even to sponsoring whole schools. Businessmen are frequently appointed to governorships and advisory boards and schools arrange business placements, and so on, for their students. The extent to which this occurs throughout the world is an interesting and important research question.

In the same way, the development of learning regions/cities/towns is another example of the way that public and private are brought together in anticipation of enriching the community. Learning community policies and networks exist throughout the world (Longworth, 2006) with the interaction of formal and non-formal learning. Since many, but not all, policy statements on learning regions are as much concerned with the cultural factors as economic ones, they also tend to cushion the global pressures at local levels.

At organisational level the emphasis, naturally, is on the job, on the learning organisation and human resource development (Pedlar *et al.*, 1997), so that workplace learning is growing in significance throughout the world. Having said this, a number of employing organisations do release staff for other forms of education.

Resistance to Globalisation

Social pressure does not all operate in the one direction as the reference to the Muslim religion shows. In precisely the same way other non-Christian faiths, such as the Hindu religion in some countries such as Nepal (Laksamba, 2005), also operate in a similar manner. But resistance to globalisation is being seen more widely, not only through open demonstrations against it but also in such things as environmental education (O'Sullivan, 1999), wider political and academic debate, and lifestyle.

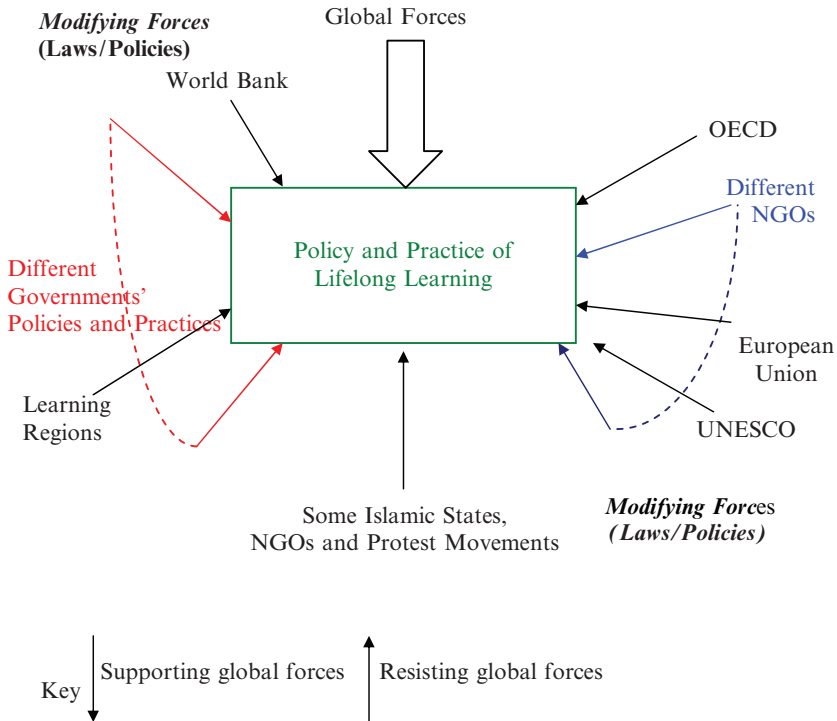


Figure 4. Forces of national institutions in the social context in a globalising world

It is possible, therefore, to detect three types of pressure operating on educational practice as a result of globalisation: the globalising forces seeking to create the form of lifelong learning that makes it the handmaiden of industry, those forces which seek through policies and practices to mitigate those forces and to produce forms of lifelong learning that are more balanced between the global capitalist and the humanistic seeking to enrich human life and preserve the environment and those which seek to resist globalisation which are currently embodied in social movements, non-governmental organisations and some religious movements. This is depicted in Figure 4 above.

Conclusion

Lifelong learning, then, presents a challenge to comparative education because it occurs in almost every country of the world as a result of similar pressures from the global core but it manifests itself in different ways. At the one end of the spectrum, both the policy and practice of lifelong learning can be seen as both the handmaiden of the global substructure as also seeking to reproduce its culture throughout the world (Bourdieu, 1973) whereas at the other it might be seen as having diametrically opposed aims.

As we pointed out earlier, the corporations that control the substructure are extremely powerful but they do not have the power to create international policies or laws and so they cannot enforce their agenda by this means. Nevertheless, some scholars (Korten, 1995; Pilger, 2003 *inter alia*) consider their power so great that they perceive them as ruling the world and if this were the case, then lifelong learning would be entirely vocational. In contrast, we are suggesting that while international, state and regional governments are exposed to these global pressures, they are in varying degrees seeking to cushion these effects and to use lifelong learning as one instrument in this process. Consequently, both the policy and practice of lifelong learning throughout the world has many similarities and considerable differences based upon the way in which they are able to respond to these global forces. For instance, the European Union has two distinct agendas: the first, of creating of competitive Europe within the global economy and so a great deal of support is given to foster the neo-liberal processes and in this sense it might be argued that its lifelong learning policy is supportive of the global pressures, but with its agenda of creating a united Europe a great deal of support is being given to lifelong learning and citizenship education, and this might ultimately be seen as a form of education that will undermine the capitalist global forces. Consequently, we can see ambivalence to the global forces in the European policy documents and practices which has its knock-on effects on the policies and practices of all twenty-seven member states – although each of these is individual, and so on. The comparative study of these policies is one approach to the comparative study of lifelong learning but it is not a comparison of its practices in different countries of the world. But without a single major provider or national structure in each country for what is generally called lifelong learning, the comparative study of its practice becomes much more problematic. Paradoxically, the less significant in national and international terms non-vocational lifelong learning of older people is much more conducive to comparative study because of its international and national structures and similar aims.

Note

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EDUCATION IN NETWORK SOCIETY: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

Eva Gamarnikow

Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to raise a number of key questions about the current ‘education and globalisation’ policy discourse. This discussion is contextualised in critical reflections on how the thesis underpinning Castells’ (2000) *Network Society* has been appropriated as a claim about the knowledge society and its significance in the era of globalisation. The main argument of the chapter is that *Network Society* is a treatise focusing primarily on changes in the economy, technology and work, and on the importance of the nation state, of the sphere of politics, in mediating economic and social changes. The focus of *Network Society* requires educational researchers to address issues which tend to be elided in discussions about education, namely the nature of the link between education and economy, technology and work. There is a tendency in policy sociology to treat economy, technology and work as taken-for-granted givens, occasionally under the conceptual umbrella of globalisation, whose main role is to act as a source of policy imperatives for expanding or otherwise intervening in education. The aim of this chapter is to explore the discourses constituting these sites of the policy trajectory, namely, the context of influence (Ball, 2006) of the contours and shape of education policy.

The chapter is organised in six main parts. The first three engage with the themes of *Network Society* which articulate with education policy. The following three sections are concerned with employment, education as human capital development and social mobility as key elements in policy discourses. The main focus of the argument is on the policy tensions which arise from the failure of current education policy to address the central theme identified in *Network Society*, namely its capitalist form.

Network Society

Castells’ *Network Society* is a key text in a field of sociological inquiry which is almost invisible today – a Marxist contribution to the sociology of work, critically engaging with long-forgotten debates about the relationship between technology, work and social structure. For those of us concerned about education systems and policies in the

current policy era, which places great emphasis on education as human capital development, Castells' main thesis is worth looking at in some detail.

In *Network Society* Castells develops his analysis of the current transformations in the capitalist mode of production, from its post-war, social democratic, statist, industrial society model to the current neo-liberal, global, informational form, organised around:

deepening the capitalist logic of profit-seeking in capital-labor relationships; enhancing the productivity of labor and capital; globalizing production, circulation, and markets...and marshalling the state's support for productivity gains and competitiveness of national economies, often to the detriment of social protection and public interest regulation. (Castells, 2000: 19)

What Castells is talking about is a new emergent form of capitalism, aptly described by Hutton, citing Luttwack (1998), as 'turbo-capitalism':

It is a very particular kind of capitalism that has emerged victorious from its competition with communism. It's a capitalism that is much harder, more mobile, more ruthless and more certain about what it needs to make it tick. (Giddens & Hutton, 2000: 9)

Network society is definitely not a non-capitalist economy. Its organisational and structural form has changed to informational, network capitalism, made possible by the introjection of ICT into the production, organisation and trading of goods and services, a significant portion of which is informational. What this means is that analysis of the impact of network society on education has to begin with changes in the capitalist economy and the complex relationships between economy and education.

Network Society, Technology and Education Policy

While Guile (2006) and others have noted that Castells himself speaks little of the relationship between education and informational capitalism, education policy discourses at national and international levels (Lingard, 2000; Ozga & Lingard, 2007) appear to operate with very specific, prescriptive assumptions about the educational 'needs' of globalisation. Castells' carefully crafted arguments about the complex relationships between the key features of informational capitalism – economy, technology, society and the (nation) state – are virtually absent in these education policy discourses. Here the complexities discussed by Castells tend to be reduced to variants of Blair's famous formula, 'education, education, education'. Thus the knowledge society discourse, the education policy perspective on the informational capitalism of *Network Society*, tends to focus on an abstracted argument about the role of education in globalisation, often articulated as a rather simplistic teleological claim about the 'need' for education produced by technological change. This knowledge society discourse, unlike *Network Society*, propounds a profoundly technologically determinist view. In other words,

national and international education policy silences the tensions and contradictions of Castells' informational capitalism, such as national and global uneven development, poverty, inequality and exclusion, and the importance of nation states in managing economic and social change. By linking the knowledge society to the rhetoric of globalisation, education policy tends to reproduce hegemonic, common-sense functionalist assumptions concerning technological change and employment, and immanent imperatives for more education.

There is, therefore, a sense in which the arguments of *Network Society* about informational capitalism have been appropriated by education policy and collapsed to conform to a familiar tradition of conceptualising and theorising modern societies as driven by knowledge and technology (e.g. Galbraith (1969) or Bell (1973)), and thus requiring more education. Many of these accounts are fundamentally determinist, arguing that changes in technology 'cause' changes in social organisation and mode of production. Thus because technology is identified both as a prime mover of social change and an integral aspect of the world of work, and because technology is equated with knowledge and its applications, skilling the nation by means of extending education becomes a logical policy solution.

By contrast with the deterministic discourses of education policy, *Network Society* is not only concerned with exploring both the logic of informational capitalism and/in its national 'real-world' contexts. It also explores the organic articulation of informational capitalism and globalisation, expressed in ICT technologies as symbiotically both productive and informational. In other words, ICT is both embedded in a range of computer-centred work technologies (whether the personal computer of professionals or the computerised assembly line of manufacturing), and a key mechanism for informational flows, facilitating coordination and control. ICT is thus both a feature of the work in the globalised capitalist economy as well as the technology which has made the global reach of capitalism possible, through time-space compression.

Education Policy and the Globalisation Discourse

There are significant parallels and overlaps between the ingredients of *Network Society* and globalisation, namely the crucial role of ICT and informational workers and/in the globalised economy. However, in *Network Society* the policies adopted by the nation state are significant in managing the impact on populations, making decisions about national economic strategies and priorities (such as the choice between flexibility versus social protection). By contrast, globalisation and knowledge society discourses tend to present a less optimistic view of the capacity of the nation state to influence the economic and social impact of globalisation. Here the sphere of competence of national polities tends to be reduced to education.

This fatalistic education policy discourse constructs turbo-capitalist globalisation as inevitable and unstoppable and decentres the agentic nation state, marginalising its capacity to act effectively in the economic sphere. Instead of 'protecting' against global turbo-capitalism, the government (Foucault, 1977) of the nation state claims powerlessness in the face of globalisation. This powerlessness is both external,

making anti-globalisation interventions impossible, and internal, instituting a variety of changes in and through national social institutions, especially education, by reference to the imperatives of globalisation.

Thus, education policy discourses concerning the education–globalisation link constitute education as the essential and only strategy available for nation states to cope with the challenges, demands even, of globalisation, present and future. Education becomes the main ‘insurance policy’ for individuals, families, communities, countries and regions in the era of globalisation, which is invoked in terms of known (technology and skills) and unknown (the vagaries of markets) risks and insecurities. The nation state’s government is thus reduced to educational formation of citizens for self-protection. The globalisation discourse of national and international education policy thus constructs the knowledge society as both problem and solution, with education advocated as the global ‘vaccination’.

However, the claims that education can resolve the problems of global informational societies, identified by Castells as inequality, exclusion and identity politics, is, at best, somewhat optimistic. For this to be the case, education would have to become an oxymoron – a socially neutral institution in terms of access and outcomes, but socially powerful, in order to exert influence on national and global companies, financiers and labour markets.

To assess critically the claims made for the efficacy of education as a form of protection in the global economy it is essential to explore both employment and education.

Education Policy and the Globalisation Discourse: Employment

The education policy argument about globalisation and employment is concerned with wider changes in the occupational structure and, thus, the labour market. Here the claim is that de-industrialisation in developed countries (and the concomitant expansion of manufacturing in low-wage developing countries) has reduced manual employment in the manufacturing sector, and increased non-manual employment in the service sector. These changes have resulted in an increased requirement for higher educational levels in the labour force, appropriate to the growth in higher-skill, non-manual occupations. This section explores this claim from two perspectives, firstly, the nature of the link between education and employment, and secondly, changes in the occupational structure.

There is a long-standing tradition in education policy analysis of ambiguity and opacity with respect to explicating the complex relationship between education and employment. There is a wide spectrum of positions, ranging from the optimistic ‘educational determinism’ of the 1960s, where employment opportunities are viewed as a function of the educational levels of the labour force:

There can be little doubt that the driving force behind automation is the fact that people who have been exposed to formal schooling for twelve or sixteen years have expectations in respect to work and jobs. . . . They increasingly demand jobs

in which in which they can apply what they have learned, to work with their minds. (Drucker, 1961: 19)

to Bell's new educated, scientific elite changing societal power structures:

The rise of the new elites based on skills derives from the simple fact that knowledge and planning... have become the basic requisites for organised action in modern society. (Bell, 1973: 362)

to more circumspect current arguments which see the economy as wielding greater influence:

The power shift in the direction of knowledge workers has been greatly exaggerated. Most 'knowledge' workers are only able to capitalise on their knowledge within employment. Power remains decisively with the employers. (Brown, 2006: 388)

to arguments, such as those represented in UK government policy on higher education argues for expansion on the grounds of the 'needs' of the economy:

Society is changing. Our economy is becoming ever more knowledge-based... These trends demand a more highly skilled workforce. (Department for Education and Skills, 2003: para 5.1)

In order to make sense of these different accounts of the relationship between education and employment, let us turn first to exploring employment in relation to education. The central factor here is that employment is organised and determined by specific macro- and micro-level requirements of employers, not education (Hussain, 1976). The existence of skill shortages, such as 'sub-degree... associate professional and higher technician' identified in *The Future of Higher Education* (Department for Education and Skills, 2003: para 5.12) is evidence of mismatch between employer 'needs' and the types of educated workers 'produced' by education. More importantly, however, the existence of skill shortages demonstrates that logics other than a simple availability of skills dominate decisions about employment. Thus, how employers organise and divide up discrete labour processes, how they link these subdivisions with technological capacity, and how they integrate discrete chunks of labour processes and technology with employment strategies, is dependent on the inherent logic of the capitalist economy more generally. That is the logic of turbo-capitalism. How work is performed, what the nature of the technological input is and who will do the work are factors which are dependent on profitability in the first instance, and not on educational levels. A key case in point here is the shift of ICT work to India, where similar computer skills are available at a lower cost than in developed countries. Thus employment practices are driven by employers, not by education, and these follow traditional capitalist forms – a concern with reducing labour costs.

Additionally, far from being a form of ‘insurance’ against the dangers of global informational capitalism, education and educational expansion contribute more generally to the possibility, if not likelihood, of labour-cost reduction. Education has many ‘faces’; one of these is ongoing universalisation of skills, contributing to increasing the supply of skills in the labour force. In simple economic terms, this means that education is continually devaluing its own products. Thus, mass literacy means that literacy is no longer a scarce skill. Instead it is reduced to a skill of ‘general labour’, a *sine qua non* of entry into the labour market, rather than a prized asset. The greater the supply of skills, the lower their value. ICT skills are no exception.

Moreover, this devaluation of skills operates in a pincer movement. So in addition to devaluation by ‘supply side’ education policies, the quest for profitability results in further devaluation through deskilling. This happens in two main ways. The first is when skilled labour processes are hierarchically divided by skill levels, such as educational work in schools being separated into the work of teachers and that of teaching assistants, or nurses and health-care assistants in hospitals. This changes employment patterns, substituting cheaper for more expensive labour. The second way this occurs is through routinisation: the development of protocols which reduce decision-making in skill deployment by prescribing sets of practices or ‘operations’, such as technicising clinical treatment options by the National Institute for Clinical Excellence, set up by New Labour ‘to promote clinical and cost effectiveness and the production and dissemination of clinical guidelines’ (Department of Health, 1997: 84), or the micro-level detailing and sequencing of pedagogic practices in the ‘Literacy Hour’ in English primary education (Moss, 2007). Ironically, both forms of deskilling, universalisation and massification of skills and managerial control of the labour process, are more characteristic of Fordism (Braverman, 1974) rather than post-Fordism (Harvey, 1989).

Another difficulty with the education policy narrative about the ‘need’ for education arising from changes in the type of jobs created in developed countries lies in the images of occupational reconstruction it invokes – a shift from an overwhelmingly industrial manual labour force to an overwhelmingly non-industrial, non-manual, educated labour force. While there is resemblance between actual changes in the occupational structure and the representations of these changes in the globalisation and employment narrative, they are by no means as extreme and precipitous as the narrative seems to imply. Table 1 is an attempt to provide a ‘broad brush’ mapping of the non-manual/manual divide in employment patterns in the labour force between 1921 and 2006.

Table 1 is to be read with all the usual *caveats* concerning methodological difficulties of combining different data sets, comparing over time, and so on. Identifying and charting changes over time is notoriously difficult, because differences in measurement and classification make successive data sets difficult to compare (ONS, 2003; 2006, 2007b; Marshall, 1997; Reid, 1989). However, the aim here is not to delve into the minutiae of the debates about social class and occupational ranking, but to attempt to draw a broader picture of the changes in occupational distribution. The focus here is on overall patterns, rather than specific details of classification.

The overall patterns of occupational change are highly significant in relation to the employability narrative. Thus Table 1 depicts two interrelated patterns. The first is the

Table 1. Percentage of the UK labour force employed in non-manual and manual occupations, 1921–2006

	Non-manual (%)	Manual (%)
1921 ^a	28	72
1951 ^b	37	63
1961 ^a	42	58
1971 ^a	46	54
1981 ^c	48	52
1991 ^d	57	43
2001 ^e	58	42
2006 ^e	60	40

(Sources: ^a Westergaard & Resler, 1975, pp. 293, 295; ^b Abercrombie & Warde, 1994, p. 124; ^c Reid, 1989, p. 92; ^d Kirby *et al.*, 1997, p. 121; ^e ONS, 2007a: Table 19)

shrinking of manual employment from just over 70% of the working population in 1921 to 40% in 2006, and the concomitant expansion of education-based occupations, non-manual employment. This pattern conforms to the globalisation and employment discourse. The second pattern which emerges is that this decline in manual employment and increase in non-manual employment is not a recent phenomenon, linked specifically and uniquely to the post-industrial informational economy. The occupational change from manual to non-manual employment appears to be a fairly steady, ongoing feature of the occupational structure throughout the entire period. This second pattern of continuity, rather than (the discursively implied) radical discontinuity, undermines the discursive claims that current economic forms have engendered drastic changes in the occupational structure which necessitate specific and immediate educational policy interventions.

What can one conclude about the claims made concerning the nature of employment in education policy discourses? It is clear from the argument thus far that education policy discourses which locate the need for education in the logic of globalisation, the knowledge society and so on are, at best, overstating the case, and/or, constructing a hegemonic, regulatory ‘imaginary’, at worst.

Education Policy and the Globalisation Discourse: Education as Human Capital Formation

In the previous section I argued that employment in globalised capitalist societies conforms, perhaps not surprisingly, to capitalist logic of skill devalorisation. Thus, the more educated the labour force, the less valuable educational skills become in the labour market, a key feature of which appears to be a steady increase in skilled occupations. These tensions between employment, occupations and skills are explored in this section from the other side of the equation in education policy discourses, the construction of education as human capital development.

The sociology of education policy literature has provided a vast array of work on education policy in the context of globalisation (see, for example, Burbules & Torres, 2000;

Lauder *et al.*, 2006; Lingard & Ozga, 2007), making it unnecessary to rehearse the arguments in detail. For the purpose of this chapter, the key shift identified parallels Castells' *Network Society*, namely the radical shift from the Keynesian, social democratic welfare state to the neo-liberal, post-welfarist, market-dominated and market-driven model. Thus while the previous section on capitalist employment emphasised important continuities, this part of the argument concentrates on the discontinuities.

Here, the most significant of the discontinuities in the changing policy regimes lies in the role attributed to education. In the social democratic era, education was constructed as a public good and a collective form of welfare provision, a key element of Marshall's social citizenship (Marshall, 1950). In the current neo-liberal era, by contrast, policy discourses construct education as a positional good for individuals, and as the site for human capital formation for the globalised economy. What has not changed is the importance ascribed to education.

Neo-liberal education policy discourse thus reduces education to skill formation for employability, drawing on human capital theory:

This is the 'age of human capital' in the sense that human capital is by far the most important form of capital in modern economies. The economic successes of individuals, and also of whole economies, depends [*sic*] on how extensively and effectively people invest in themselves. (Becker, 2006: 292)

Unlike in the social democratic era, when the benefits of education were more collectively appropriated and distributed, for instance through the institutions of social citizenship, neo-liberal policy discourses focus on two aspects of education: education for individual employability and for economic growth. The economic growth argument has been extensively researched (e.g. see Wolf, 2000) and suggests that links between increases in education and increases in productivity are tenuous in the extreme. Government policy (Department for Education and Skills, 2003, para 5.3), by contrast, maintains that 'there is compelling evidence that education increases productivity'. These diametrically opposed conclusions are indicative of a seriously contested ideological terrain. For if, as argued earlier, the globalisation discourse denies the nation state any real capacity for independent economic policy, then the role of the state appears to be reduced to promulgating educational opportunity to citizens. In this context, negating the efficacy of human capital development for productivity can be profoundly counter-hegemonic, undermining the legitimacy of government through education.

However, human capital development has another, more popular/populist dimension, namely the promise of individual formation for employability. From the perspective of current post-welfarist, 'Third Way' policy discourses of state and education and educational expansion represent a political reorientation of the nature and direction of welfare expenditure from social insurance to employability. Educational expansion is, firstly, an extension of compulsory education, hence a reduction in the overall labour force and a consequent reduction in visible and financially supported unemployment. So education reclassifies individuals as educational subjects and welfare expenditure as investment in employability. Secondly, employability through education also represents a shift in values. Neo-liberal education policy constructs individuals as responsible

for developing employability through education. The onus of welfare shifts from the state as the dispenser of the collective provision of Marshall's social citizenship to the neo-liberal subject who is obligated to self-improve through education. The role of the state is to facilitate the educational formation of citizens; that is its new welfare role. Thirdly, the ideological justification for this reorientation of welfare lies in the combination of policy narratives about globalisation, education and the knowledge society. In these narratives, as discussed earlier, the economic role of the nation state is constructed as limited by globalisation and free markets over which the state has no control. The main economic lever available to the individual nation state is educational formation of a desirable labour force which will attract investment and jobs. The role of education for employability is to stimulate expansion in the higher-skill end of the global labour market, since low-skill work has tended to move to low-wage economies. Thus education is both the new welfare and the new economic policy.

In view of the apparent elevation of education to such policy significance in the current era, it is vital to point to the paradox of neo-liberal educational expansion: when education is constructed as a positional good, acquired by individuals to enhance their competitive position with regard to employability, education's reproductive tendencies are enhanced. So while education policy creates 'opportunities' for self-improvement by increasing educational participation, the outcomes of neo-liberal choice policies in compulsory education are growing polarisation of achievement, and deepening exclusion and poverty.

The overall outcomes continue to be problematic for social justice and equity. Although it is still early days, it would appear that the policies have been relatively successful in increasing overall educational achievement, i.e. raising the achievement floor. Measured levels of literacy and numeracy among primary pupils have risen, as have the numbers achieving the gold standard of 5 GCSEs A*-C: in 2006, 56.3% achieved 5 A*-C, compared with around 45% in 1997 (Department for Education and Skills, 2005; Fabian Commission on Life Chances and Child Poverty, 2006). What these overall positive results hide, however, is continuing educational polarisation: underachievement is complex and diverse, but broadly reproductive. Links between social class and/or other forms of social disadvantage and educational (under)achievement have not been broken.

Thus, although the size of the educational pie has increased, there has not been a concomitant redistribution of educational opportunities. Moreover, neo-liberal choice is reproducing a social geography of successful and failing schools which reflects the social geography of poverty, social exclusion and inequality: successful schools tend to be located in wealthier areas, while failing schools tend to be located in areas of poverty and social exclusion. The current high-stakes, marketised system of education is not inclusive in its human capital formation, but polarising (Fitz *et al.*, 2007; Tomlinson, 2005).

Social and educational polarisation in compulsory education has clear implications for opportunities in the post-compulsory phase. Here, too, social and educational inequality are a key feature of UK's expanded educational provision.

Participation in post-compulsory education is socially and ethnically skewed. In 2002 young people aged 16-19 from higher-social-class backgrounds were almost 1.5 times

more likely to be in full-time education (87%) than young people from working class backgrounds (60%) (Fabian Commission on Life Chances and Child Poverty, 2006). There are further social-class inequalities evident in the type of post-compulsory education attended: overall, the lower the status of the institution, the higher the proportion of working class and ethnic minority students (Wolf, 2002). Thus Oxbridge continues to recruit very heavily from the 7% who attend private education, while ethnic minority children and those from working class backgrounds are more likely to study at the new universities (the former polytechnics) or to attend Further Education Colleges. Interestingly, ethnic minority students are more likely than whites to continue their education post-16 years, probably to counteract the ‘ethnic penalty’ of a racist labour market (Fabian Commission on Life Chances and Child Poverty, 2006; Modood *et al.*, 1997).

These social inequalities in access, participation and achievement are most evident in higher education (HE). HE developed from an elite into a mass system in the expansion which took place in the 1990s after the abolition of the binary divide, the concomitant increase in the number of universities, and government policy aimed at increasing student numbers. Currently around 45% of the age cohort attend HE, and the government target is 50%.

In addition to overall expansion, current HE funding policy is linked to government demands for the HE sector to widen participation by increasing the proportion of first-generation undergraduates from so-called non-traditional backgrounds (Department for Education and Skills, 2003). In 2000, for instance, 72% of young people from the highest socio-economic group went to HE, as against 17% from the lowest.

However, there are some important tensions in the possibilities for greater educational equality in the widening participation agenda. A key issue is the myopic focus in the employability narrative on the non-manual sector of employment and skills, and its significance for economic growth. Thus, there is very little discussion in the human capital formation narrative about the 40% or so of the labour force engaged in manual occupations (see Table 1). It would appear that the employability narrative operates within the parameters of knowledge society discourses, with their stigmatisation and marginalisation of the two fifths of the population working in the low-skill, low-wage sectors of the economy.

This marginalisation is clearly visible in government HE policy (Department for Education and Skills, 2003). Here, as mentioned, the strategy is to raise HE enrolments to 50% by 2010 from the 43% of 2003. Irrespective of the success or otherwise of the widening participation agenda, it remains the case that half of the population will be excluded from HE. This group is directed to vocational and technical courses, intended for either manual or lower-status non-manual employment. The presence of the 50% of the population, destined to never attend HE in the knowledge society thus remains highly ambivalent – included through employment but excluded by education.

Education Policy and the Globalisation Discourse: Education and Social Mobility

Enhanced opportunity for social mobility in the meritocratic knowledge society is the last element in educational policy discourse. The challenges, risks and insecurities of capitalist globalisation appear to be redeemed by the promises of human capital

formation, not just for employability, but, more importantly, for social betterment. Acquisition of skills and qualifications carries the promise of social mobility as a reward for ‘ability plus effort’ (Young, 1958).

New Labour education policy discourse focuses on equality of opportunity and ‘meritocracy’, not to equality. This perspective regards equity as the fair distribution of inequality, and identifies education as the key mechanism. Upward and downward social mobility are the indexical signs of the success of education-based meritocracy: people enter the occupational hierarchy on the basis of their own achievement and merit, expressed in educational qualifications, and not on the basis of social origins. Thus social mobility is significant site for mobilising the consent of citizens to skill formation and employability.

However, the social mobility evidence shows quite clearly that educational expansion is not having the desired, predicted effects (Breen & Goldthorpe, 2001; Goldthorpe, 2003; Aldridge, 2004). Additionally, the research indicates, damningly, that social mobility is lower now compared to the social democratic era, when political commitment to full employment and structural changes in the labour market (reduction in manual employment and expansion of white collar employment in an expanding labour market) enabled a significant amount of upward social mobility. By contrast, neo-liberalism has embraced the free market ‘flexibility’ of labour, in the context of increasingly insecure employment in an ever-deepening occupational hierarchy. Thus labour market conditions are not propitious for ensuring social mobility. In fact, it is the main features of the neo-liberal economy, socio-economic polarisation and polarised educational expansion which are identified as the two main reasons for currently stagnant social mobility:

Income inequality has risen very rapidly in Britain since the 1970s. Consequently, the number of pounds sterling separating people on each rung of the social ladder, making the ladder that much harder to climb... Second,... the expansion of higher education... disproportionately benefited people from richer families. (Van Reenen & Machin, 2007: 17)

There is, however, also a third reason for social immobility, namely the networks of *Network Society*. Educational expansion has undermined the value of educational qualifications, as previously argued, and at the higher levels of the occupational structure (and educational achievement), non-educational qualifications and attributes, as well as the social capital of networks, have become increasingly important in access to high-status occupations. At lower levels, where educational qualifications are sparser, educational qualifications continue to be more important, thereby excluding many poor and disadvantaged young people from labour market participation. This complex coupling of educational qualifications and occupational structure, together with broadly reproductive education, means that social and economic inequalities have become increasingly polarised. Thus educational policy, embedded in notions of the knowledge society as the only realistic alternative in the face of capitalist globalisation, has, thus far, failed to deliver the promised opportunities. Instead, human capital formation in neo-liberal globalised economies creates ‘the opportunity trap’ (Brown, 2006) – continuing and entrenched social and educational inequalities, with blame

deflected from the nation state by the apparent expanding openness of the educational system, where educational failure is firmly located in the individual.

Conclusion

These critical reflections on the educational policy implications of *Network Society* paint a somewhat gloomy picture of education policy in the UK. I have argued that the themes and issues raised by Castells in the idea of informational capitalism are related, in certain respects, to the education policy discourses of the knowledge society and globalisation. Unlike Castells, however, who recognises the capitalist features inherent in *Network Society*, UK education policy discourse identifies education, in the guise of human capital development, as solution, insurance and new form of welfare in the era of the knowledge society and globalisation.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that education policy has failed to live up to these promises. The promises are too many, and too burdensome for education, which has become an ‘over-determined’ (Althusser, 1969) policy site for prevention and cure of social exclusion, disadvantage and social inequality, for economic growth, for meritocratic modernity and social mobility, for insurance from the challenges and risks of globalisation through human capital formation, for. . . The list goes on.

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EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: EVALUATIONS AND IDEOLOGIES

Eleni Karatzia-Stavlioti and Haris Lambropoulos

Introduction

This chapter investigates the relationship of education and economic development by reviewing the evolution of the relevant research field. Economic considerations regarding the value of education to human development have appeared since the ancient times (Mace *et al.*, 2000a: 2). However, there are considerable differences in the ideologies, the evaluations and the ways these considerations have been put forward at different times and by different societies (Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2005: 140–142).

After the Second World War a rapid expansion of education systems took place. There were discussions of the contribution of education to economic development. Firstly, convergence theories stressed the need for the societies to respond to the challenges of the new technological improvements (Ingels & Sirowy, 1983: 335). Then neo-Marxist approaches highlighted neo-colonialism (Wallerstein, 1974; Altbach, 1971; Carnoy, 1974). Thirdly, there were the theories of neo-institutionalism, which focused on world education culture; world culture became very important as a policy legitimization framework (Meyer *et al.*, 1997; McNeely, 1995).

During this post-war period, international organizations were strengthened by the need for world peace and social development and they contributed to the creation of a major international education discourse. Politicians invited experts from international agencies to advise on educational reforms and on how to borrow and invest money in education in order to achieve social and economic development (Wolf, 2004: 317; Resnic, 2006: 174; Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 2).

From the 1960s, human capital theory has been important (Schultz, 1961, 1963, 1993; Becker, 1964, 1993, 1995; Cohn & Geske, 1998: 30–35; Johnes, 1993: 15–18). The concept of human capital stresses the skills and attributes embodied in people and assumes that the skills may be improved through education and training.

In this chapter the link between education and economic development is reviewed and the theoretical arguments are critically discussed in an evaluative framework. Finally, how the education–economic development discourse became the basis of educational reforms and policies throughout the world is noted.

Education and Economic Development: Theories

This section investigates the ways that education was related to economic development and presents the underlying theoretical arguments. At the heart of these theoretical considerations lies the concept of human capital that was mainly treated by economists of education. The vocabulary used in the relevant works is rather specialized and technical; on this basis, any review of the field cannot avoid being to a certain degree technical.

Adam Smith (1937) in his historic book *The Wealth of Nations* is the first to identify, among the four types of capital he recognizes, the human capital; he defined it as skills, dexterity (physical, intellectual, psychological), and judgement. The use of the term in the neoclassical economic literature dates back to Mincer's article 'Investment in Human Capital and Income distribution' in 1958 (Mincer, 1974). According to Becker (1964), human capital is similar to physical means of production like factories and machines as (a) one can invest in human capital (via education, training, medical treatment) and (b) one's outputs depend partly on the rate of return of the human capital one owns. Thus, human capital is a means of production into which additional investment yields additional output. Human capital is substitutable, but not transferable like land, labour or fixed capital. While economists use the term human capital, non-economists tend to talk about the importance of the 'skills' of the workforce (Wolf, 2002, 2004: 317).

Schultz examines two related ideas in human capital theory and they need to be distinguished carefully. The first has to do with the motives for spending money on education and the other is related to human capital-creating activities (such as health). Blaug (1972: 29) believes that the concept of human capital is the idea that people spend on themselves in diverse ways, not for the sake of present enjoyment, but for the sake of future pecuniary and non-pecuniary returns. It is this notion that was attacked by Shaffer (1961).

The second idea of human capital theory is that through education and training people acquire attributes that make them more productive in the labour market. The value of this human capital embodied in them (and in societies) can be measured and can help to explain economic growth. In other words, those with more schooling or on-the-job training have incurred a cost in the form of foregone earnings. In addition, their productivity has increased which in turn results in higher earnings, assuming that workers are paid according to their marginal product. In this sense the theory produces explanations of the individual earning differences in a competitive labour market.

Since the 1960s a legitimization discourse for policies towards education advancement has been constructed on the basis of its economic value for individuals and societies. It is important to present the arguments used in the relevant debate. These may be grouped as follows:

1. *Rate of return analysis*: It is based on aspects of the human capital theory by which education is treated as an investment which might enhance productivity and yield monetary and non-monetary returns.
2. *Human resource approach*: It used the idea that through education and training specific future needs for educated workers might be planned and satisfied towards economic development.

3. *Education and economic growth analyses*: It is based on the idea that education has got a major multiplier role in economic analysis growth.

Rate of Return Analysis

It assumes that it is education that is mainly responsible for the fact that the more educated earn more than the less educated. The question of why education and earnings are so closely correlated and the other explanations offered are discussed in the relevant literature under headings such as the ‘alpha-coefficient’, the ‘screening hypothesis’ and the ‘diploma disease’ (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985: 34–39; Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 23–30).

Rate-of-return analysis is a particular type of cost–benefit analysis. It is a technique in which the costs of an educational investment and the benefits of this investment are related to each other. The rate of return of any investment project is simply the rate of interest that equates the discounted present value of expected benefits and the present value of the costs of the project. The private rate of return might be a factor that will influence pupils in their decisions as to whether to stay in education or to enter the labour market. A number of objections have been made to the technique and their importance in evaluating the work in the field is quite high. These objections fall into categories such as data constraints, cross-sectional profiles, consumption benefits, uncertainty, and whether it is education alone that causes higher earnings (the alpha-coefficient) (Wolf, 2002; Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 24–30).

The first practical problem of calculating rates of return, particularly in developing countries, is one of data constraints since the data requirements in ideal circumstances are enormous. In practice, no country has such detailed information, but it is perfectly possible to obtain enough data even by making assumptions.

Data on earnings used are usually based on a snapshot, or are cross-sectional. They, therefore, do not represent the progress of the earnings of the individual, or group of individuals, over the course of their working lives. For the near future, and in particular the period of full-time higher education, this probably does not make much difference. But for more distant periods and especially in the changing contemporary society, the difference may be considerable (Karatzia-Stavlioti & Lambropoulos, 2006: 21–30).

Consumption benefits are an important issue and whatever the proportion of spending that is incurred for consumption reasons, it should not be included in the measure of costs for rate of return calculations. In addition, spending on education may result in future consumption benefits, such as a feeling of well-being, or a feeling that the quality of life has been improved. These future consumption benefits are obviously not going to be captured in rate-of-return calculations which measure benefits in terms of additions to salary.

The uncertainty factor is becoming very important in the knowledge society (EU, 1996; Council of Europe, 2003). The expectation of being able to work or work in the same field throughout one’s lifetime is also subject to increasing uncertainty in the contemporary world. Individuals may be expected to react to uncertainty and risk in different ways, a fact that must be taken into consideration in evaluative empirical estimates.

In comparing average streams of income, it has to be assumed that the whole of the difference between average earnings is due to additional education. A moment's reflection will show that this is not necessarily the case. A number of characteristics of an individual may lead her or him higher in education and earnings. Such characteristics could be: belonging to the higher socio-economic class, having greater-than-average intelligence and ability, or possessing stronger-than-average ambition and drive. The proportion of the increased earnings of the more educated that is directly attributed to education is called the alpha-coefficient. The actual value of the alpha-coefficient is a matter for debate (Denison, 1962). It has been suggested that the effects of natural ability may be stronger at some ages, or for some categories of educated workers, than others. In this sense different values should be attached to the alpha-coefficient for different calculations (Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 25).

Apart from the above, some other problems of more technical nature exist. They are related to the use of the earnings functions in any model of cost–benefit analysis. However, the constructive criticisms to these problems have resulted in further refinements and complicated extensions of the basic mathematical model. The relative literature refers to these in the sections on ‘extended earnings functions’ (Monk, 1990; Karatzia-Stavlioti & Lambropoulos, 2006: 150–157). In these extended models a great deal of sensitivity to the human capital analyses was added.

With the social rate of returns we are measuring the profitability of society's spending on education. The social rate of return to education spending has been used as a guide to the allocation of resources, between the education sector and other sectors of the economy, and also within the education sector itself. The problems that apply to the social-rate-of-return analysis are related to the ones of the private-rate-of-return analysis. For example, the problem of data limitations will loom larger in developing countries than in developed countries. The additional problems of social rate of returns are: education as a filter, whether earnings reflect productivity, and the externalities associated with education.

The problem titled ‘education as a filter’ is related to the question of the size of the alpha-coefficient discussed earlier. Though the notion is complex, it is simply explained as the situation in which education ‘does not directly improve workers' skills and productivity’ as human capital theory argues, but merely identifies ‘workers with superior abilities and personal attributes’ (Dore, 1976: 79–99; Johnes, 1993: 18–26; Psacharopoulos, 1994: 45).

For social-rate-of-return analysis to be more valid the earnings used for this calculation must reflect the workers' contribution to output, that is their productivity. This question is concerned with the imperfections of the labour market. Certain types of labour can influence their earnings by controlling entry into the occupation (as with monopoly power in, for example, entry into the medical profession). Some employers have considerable control over buying labour (e.g. entry into the Civil Service – especially in countries such as Greece where the civil servants constitute a large proportion) (Magoula & Psacharopoulos, 1999). Also, knowledge of the labour market is not always perfect; many employers do not know how their profits will be affected by employing more qualified labour, and employees are often not well informed about job opportunities.

It can be argued that the question of the earnings–productivity relationship can only be answered by examining the operation of the specific labour market. This will obviously differ enormously between countries. If labour markets are sufficiently competitive to suggest that earnings do move up and down to reflect market forces then rate-of-return analysis will prove a valuable and valid. If earnings are not determined in this way, rate-of-return analysis is theoretically flawed and the anticipated relationship between education and earnings is not the real one (Mace *et al.*, 2000b).

It is important to distinguish the monetary and non-monetary indirect benefit (Psacharopoulos, 1994) or the externalities of education. The main point is that the evaluations of the external benefits of education would add to the estimations of the net social benefits of investment in education. What is really important is not whether education as a whole produces benefits that spill over in the society. It is clear that it does (Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 40).

The point is whether the externalities for some levels or types of education are greater than others, or whether the externalities of education are more or less significant than they are for other types of investment. Another important question is whether investment in education may help to make social investment more productive and, generally, individuals more effective in the contemporary world (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985: 54; Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006: 140–145).

Following the description made by Dore (1976: 81), there are three groups of such explanations: (i) investment mechanisms which imply that schooling does, indeed, transform people in some useful and productive way; (ii) common-cause mechanisms – ways in which the correlation between education and earnings can be traced to other factors which are the underlying cause of both, like, for example the ability of the individuals; and (iii) institutional mechanisms – ways in which the correlation can be ascribed to certain established practices (i.e. recruitment practices based on credentials), which may or may not be based on beliefs about the efficacy of the other two mechanisms (Dore, 1997).

Human Resource Approach to Educational Planning

Under the human resource approach (HRA) the factor determining educational planning is the desired growth rate for the national economy or sector of the economy. This is then translated into an educational/occupational requirement and this requirement is itself determined by technological rather than economic factors. The merit of this planning method is twofold: it enables long-term educational planning and it yields exact numbers of human power/resource required. Given these two advantages of the human resource-requirements approach (HRA) it is hardly surprising that the approach has, according to Mark Blaug (1972: 137), become ‘the leading method throughout the world for integrating educational and economic planning’. And, as Youdi and Hinchliffe (1985: 249) made clear, it continues to hold this pre-eminent position. Cohn and Geske (1998: 211) believe that the human power forecasting approach is particularly important because it has been employed so widely in the international arena,

especially by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) that used HRA analyses for investment purposes.

The whole question of time lags and their importance in educational planning is illustrated in the discussion of the 'cobweb cycle' (Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 42). It means that the time lag between a decision to expand the supply of human power and the time when the new graduates are ready for employment is too long. In this way changes in 'price', or in earnings, may cause graduates or employers to overreact, and earnings will fluctuate widely without necessarily leading to equilibrium.

The point at issue is mainly not whether there are time lags, or whether these are significant. The basic disagreement is about whether the market is capable of eliminating shortage or surpluses reasonably quickly; even whether there is a need to do human power planning and to establish equilibrium in the labour market. HRA to planning comes in a number of forms according to the techniques used in the evaluating procedures (Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 41–48; Karatzia-Stavlioti & Lambropoulos, 2006: 158–166).

A synthetic method was used in the Mediterranean Regional Project (MRP). This method was applied for nine countries of the Mediterranean region; it combines aspects of other approaches and it is considered as the most deliberate and comprehensive attempt to formalize the link between educational provision and economic growth. The method proceeds through six stages. Firstly, the calculation is made of educational requirements for all sectors of the economy. The next stage is to compare this with the anticipated supply of workers with each type of educational qualification that will become available on the basis of the current outflow of the education system. The difference between what is required to reach the growth target and what will be supplied indicates the increase in education enrolments necessary to achieve the target growth rate. This calculation leads to estimates of the required increase in teachers, school buildings, educational equipment, etc.

Although there are different HRA forms they all share the characteristic of assuming that labour and the economy are linked in a rigid way that is determined by the technology of production. They also assume that wages, prices and costs are irrelevant to these links. The criticisms of the approach have been of two types. First, it has been argued that the data and techniques used have been too crude to achieve their objectives. The second form of criticism argues that better data and refinements of techniques will not produce more reliable forecasts, since the basic concepts of the approach are founded on false perceptions of the structure and workings of labour markets (Youdi & Hinchliffe, 1985: 249).

It is the latter type of criticism that needs comment here. The criticisms of the HRA, about planning, concern the assumptions made about the production function, productivity changes, occupational changes, occupational definitions, the influences of price and costs, supply effects, employer plans, and international comparisons. These assumptions are quite contrary to the ones made at the rate-of-return studies. They represent a different view of the world in terms of the specifications of the production function. Proponents of the HRA assume that it is valid to lump together all the inputs in the economy – land, labour, capital – and to work out a relationship between these

inputs and output (usually gross national product – GNP). From these calculations it is possible to say how many engineers, for example, are needed to produce a given GNP. There is, however, no theoretical justification for the use of such a production function that assumes no substitution of inputs.

The evidence available suggests there is absolutely no reason to accept the HRA assumptions of zero or near-zero substitution possibilities (Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 41–42). Technological change is difficult to predict in the contemporary world (Council of Europe, 2003). It is very important in determining the occupational distribution of the labour force; on this basis it should be taken into consideration seriously. Technological change may cause substitution of capital for labour or one kind of human power for another.

Additionally, productivity changes should be taken into consideration in any human resource forecast. The evidence available suggests that it is impossible to accurately predict future productivity changes. The occupation must be defined in terms of the tasks that are performed on the job; that is, it is necessary to have a ‘job description’ and a ‘job specification’. Questions about substitutability become questions about occupational mobility. Recent evidence given by the European Union suggests that individuals will change occupational careers more than four times in their life in the near future (EU, 1996).

The changes in prices and costs are usually ignored in drawing up human power plans; they are assumed not to influence either the demand for factors of production (e.g. labour and capital) or the supply of factors of production. It has been shown that the elasticity of substitution is greater than zero and that substitution has taken place as relative prices have changed. Additionally, there is a general agreement among economists that more fully specified models are needed for more realistic results; these models will take into consideration both supply and demand forces (Johnes, 1993; Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 42).

A common practice in human power planning is to use employers’ opinions and forecasts of future requirements. Sometimes precise figures are calculated, at other times the aggregation of employers’ opinions rather than precise estimates gives rise to claims of ‘need’. In both cases it is assumed that firms forecast their future need and have human power plans; their plans are based on detailed information for their future share of the market and for the future relative process and wages including a precise definition of occupations.

Many forecasts of future requirements for educated manpower make use of international comparisons, the assumption being that educational planners can learn from the experience of other countries about the relationship between education and economic growth. Underlying this notion is the idea that there is some international human power growth path; it accepts all the assumptions of the HRA discussed above and, furthermore, that these assumptions are equally valid for all countries. It seems hardly surprising that the empirical evidence lends so little support for the validity of this approach when it is so obviously conceptually invalid (Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 46). Yet despite all the empirical and conceptual work on this planning method, it continues to be used around the world by both international organizations and governments.

Education and Economic Growth

This section is intended to critically present the methods that have been used to establish a causal link between education investment and economic growth. The main methods used have been the production function method (Denison, 1964) as well as international comparisons and the estimates derived mainly from rate-of-return studies. The production function methods are within the ‘growth accounting’ framework as they seek to explain and quantify the contribution of the different factors of production to economic growth. The question that was explored by the economists of education is the extent of education’s contribution to growth. Of course, economic growth is a complex procedure that involves more than physical capital formation alone. Education, human skills, innovative knowledge and human resource mobility are also important factors.

The basic production equation of orthodox growth theory posits that levels of output can be explained by levels of certain key inputs (merely the physical inputs of capital and labour); it also assumes that raising the quantity of any of those will (*ceteris paribus*) raise total output (Solow, 1956; Lucas, 1988; Lee, 1998). Non-economic variables such as human capital variables have no function in the early models. Under the law of diminishing returns to scale the neoclassical models carry some implications for the economy: particularly that as the capital stock increases growth of the economy slows down. In order to keep the economy growing it must capitalize from incessant infusions of technological progress, which is ‘exogenous’ to the system. Reality implied that it is not only technology accountable for high performance outside the realm of neoclassical growth model, but other factors as well. Addressing these issues, a new paradigm was developed in the 1980s, known as ‘endogenous growth models’. This was done by broadening the concept of capital to include human capital and technology as endogenous to the system. In this sense the new paradigm is not following the law of diminishing returns and producing externalities.

This model can and has been amended in order to take account of labour force quality and technical progress (Scott, 1998; Wolf, 2004: 330). The way this equation is expressed encourages people to equate growth with the accumulation of discrete inputs. However, growth is dependent not only on quantities, but on how things are combined and interact. It is true that international organizations and, notably, politicians respond to straightforward ideas; also they prefer policies which they can implement from the centre, in a top-down, cumulative way with no intensive dealings with the complexities with which education deals (Pritchett, 1996; Wolf, 2004: 330; Cowen, 2006: 571).

Although there is research evidence (Psacharopoulos, 1994: 24) that education makes both a direct and an indirect contribution to economic growth, the chicken-and-egg-relationship between education and growth can never be fully established. Nonetheless, strong support can be found for the notion that the most likely causal link is from education to economic growth, rather than the other way around (Appleton & Teal, 1998: 1).

This latter conclusion has led to a policy of investing in education that was very strongly undertaken by international organizations and institutions today (World Bank,

1996, 1999; OECD, 1998b; EU, 2003). In a revision of the implications that investment in education has had on economic growth around the world, it is argued by the World Bank that: 'Increased understanding of the relationships among education, nutrition, health, and fertility warrants greater attention to education. . . . Education is thus more important for economic development and poverty reduction than it used to be or was understood to be' (World Bank, 1996: 92).

The Approaches and the Research

The main comparisons between countries, using either of the above approaches and the relevant empirical data are reported in this section. This review shows how such comparisons confounded the idea that more education translates into more growth and economic development, although the degree of criticisms varies among researchers.

In the 40-plus year history of estimates of returns to investment in education, there have been several reviews of the empirical results; attempts have been made to establish patterns or to draw principles (from these micro-level studies) that could be used in all countries (Johnes, 1993; Psacharopoulos, 1994; Cohn & Geske, 1998; Mace *et al.*, 2000b). After the first decade of huge investment in education, faith in economic growth began to fade in early 1970s when the oil crisis influenced established educational discourse dealing with school autonomy, decentralization and managerialism. Countries were advised to manage their resources more efficiently and effectively (Mattheou, 2002: 20; Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2005: 140).

In recent reviews (CERI, 1998; Heath, 1998; Asplund & Pereira, 1999; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002; Petrakis & Stamatakis, 2002) the classic patterns of falling returns to education by level of economic development and level of education are maintained. However, the detailed results seem to be inconclusive in terms of establishing any causal and concrete evidence on the link of education to economic development. The findings of these review studies are summarized below in order to reveal the variations that exist in both the theoretical arguments and the empirical applications. These variations are closely related to the criticisms of the theoretical approaches described in the previous section.

Firstly, there is evidence that education is a profitable social as well as a private investment. Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2002) used six new evaluative studies and updated estimates for 23 countries showing that the private returns to higher education are increasing. They are generally found to be higher than 'social' returns. However, the evidence was based on the assumption that the higher earnings of the more educated reflect their higher productivity. This increased productivity is due to the increased education (human capital) they had acquired – that is the rather controversial issue identified in the previous section.

The average rate of return in developing countries has been found to be (Psacharopoulos, 1994; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002) considerably higher for primary education than for secondary or higher education. This suggests that top priority should be given to primary education as a form of investment in human resources. In the relevant debate it is widely accepted, even by those generally critical, that investment in

compulsory education has led developing countries to economic development (Wolf, 2004: 320). It is usually noted that, overall, the average rate of return on another year of schooling is 10 percent and varies by level of country income. The highest returns are recorded for low- and middle-income countries, but, still, they are not identical. New country estimates and updated estimates for 42 countries (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002) show average returns to schooling to be highest in the Latin American and Caribbean region and for the sub-Saharan Africa region. Returns to schooling for Asia are at about the world average. These comparisons, however, are being made crudely, because of data limitations (see previous section).

As can be seen in the tables in the Appendix, the returns are lower in the high-income countries of the OECD. Average returns to schooling are lowest for the non-OECD European, Middle East and North African group of countries. During the last 12 years, average returns to schooling were found to have declined by 0.6 percentage points (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002). At the same time, average schooling levels have increased. This should be seriously and carefully investigated and taken into consideration especially in country comparisons. Also, it is generally supported by the aforementioned estimated evaluations that women receive higher returns to their schooling investments. But the returns to primary education are much higher for men (20 percent) than for women (13 percent). Women, however, experience higher returns to secondary education (18 versus 14 percent).

Most of these views, that are similar to the ones presented by Psacharopoulos in 1994, have been challenged, especially in the 1990s, by researchers that dealt with sub-Saharan Africa. Bennell (1996) makes two points. First, the original sources do not support Psacharopoulos's (1994: 195) estimates. Second, that in so far as it ever was true, 'the conventional rate of return on education patterns almost certainly do not prevail in sub-Saharan Africa under current labour market conditions'. The second objection is also suggested by the survey of the returns to education in sub-Saharan Africa in Appleton, Hoddinott and Mackinnon (1996). In this study the average (private) returns to education suggested are substantially below those presented in Psacharopoulos (1994). This was the case for both primary and post-primary schooling, although the latter still appears to have substantial returns.

The issues addressed in similar studies (Kingdon, 1997; Behrman *et al.*, 1996) are related to the questions and problems on the specification of the earnings function (on the inclusion of cognitive skills and parental background) and on the labour market operations. The conclusion we would draw from the evidence suggests that the education variable may overstate the returns to human capital, but not by very much. It also suggests that the major influence of years of education on earnings is through its effects of cognitive skills and not, as the signalling explanation would imply, indirectly through signalling ability.

Appleton and Teal (1998) provide evidence about a pattern they find similar across all the sub-Saharan African countries and which is different from the one reported by Psacharopoulos (1994), that the rate of return falls with the level of education. They make the claim that this decline has occurred in the context of the rapid expansion of education and very low growth rates of physical capital. In such a context low rates of return on education might be expected.

The method of international comparisons with reference to human resource development and economic growth presumes that there exist world human power growth paths. This notion underlay the Mediterranean Regional Project (MRP) in which countries like Portugal, Spain and Greece participated in the late 1960s aiming at economic development through educational planning. Finally, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece reformed their education systems with economic development in view taking advantage of their participation in the MRP which was funded by the OECD and the World Bank (Mace *et al.*, 2000b: 43; Karatzia-Stavlioti & Lambropoulos, 2006: 166–180).

Greece, for example, pursued specific educational reforms mainly in vocational education in order to meet the requirements set by the MRA project (OECD, 1965; Psacharopoulos & Kazamias, 1985). However, years after the publication of the MRA report, researchers in Greece pointed out the ‘asymptotic’ nature of the relationship between education and economic growth because the country had not met the levels of economic growth it was expected to through the undertaken educational reforms (Pesmazoglou, 1987).

Apparently, the current policy situation in Greece continues to be driven in similar paths. The policy discourse, however, is being carefully adjusted to the one used in the contemporary international policies. In a recent report by the OECD (2003: 31) on the promotion of lifelong learning it is written that Greece has to confront the technological development and the transition from the information society to the knowledge society. Also, it is reported that the financial assistance provided to Greece for education from the European Structural Fund (EPEAEK I and EPEAEK II) since the 1990s has been a major financial instrument for the development of human resources and employment positions. The role of both institutions, the OECD and the European Union, has been important in promoting a discourse that calls for the adaptation of the human resources to the constantly changing needs of the market (Tsakloglou & Cholezas, 2005). The quantitative targets set by the Ministry of Education plans are based on promoting economic development through education, as growth will depend on mobilizing all human resources and, more importantly, on the availability of a highly qualified workforce with the skills needed to master advanced technologies and adapt to change (Tsagloglou & Cholezas, 2005: 30).

Related to the ideas that underlie the basis of the human resource development approach is the use of the setting of quantitative goals for education (OECD, 1998b; 2005; EU, 2004) and the use of international surveys to establish patterns for educational planning. For example in Greece the Ministry of Education set the following target by 2008: access of all young people from 15 to 20 years to education and vocational training (Ministry of Education, 2001).

The issue of relating literacy to economic growth started in the 1960s. In the 1980s Hicks (Mace *et al.*, 2000b) examined the relationship between growth and literacy as a measure of educational development, and life expectancy in 83 developing countries during the period 1960–1977. He found that the 12 developing countries with the fastest growth rate had well above average levels of literacy and life expectancy. According to these results, not only do literacy levels rise with the level of national income, but the examined 12 countries have higher levels of literacy and life expectancy than would be predicted for countries of that income level on the basis of the regression between

literacy and per capita income. Further analysis by Hicks appears to confirm the existence of a relationship between economic growth and human resource development, as measured by literacy and life expectancy.

Given the radical changes that take place in the contemporary labour markets deeper investigation of the factors that are likely to influence economic growth is needed. For example, when Easterlin in 1981 (Mace *et al.*, 2000b) examined the relationship between education and economic growth in 25 of the largest countries in the world, he concluded that the spread of the technology of modern economic growth depended on the greater learning potential and motivation arising from the qualitative development of formal schooling (Guena & Elgar, 1999; OECD, 2006, Cuhna & Heckman, 2007).

A study carried out in the United States by Ishikawa and Ryan (2002) uses data from the National Adult Literacy Survey to examine the relationship between schooling and earnings. Basic skills are divided between those acquired through schooling and those acquired elsewhere. The study finds that, for the most part, it is the substance of learning in school – the accumulated human capital – that counts. However, these studies did not go any further to investigate which parameters of schooling are the most effective in human capital investment and in which way. Nowadays, the Program of International Student Achievement (PISA) of OECD (2005) evaluates literacy across countries. Comparisons based on the PISA results are used in discussions on the effectiveness of the various educational systems sometimes in a quite uncritical way (Wolf, 2004: 320; Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2005: 145).

The effect of human capital in the growth of countries that exhibit significantly different levels of development was recently reviewed in a study by Petrakis and Stamatakis (2002). The authors discussed prior research and concluded that overall most of the growth literature and the empirical work about human capital would lead firstly to the fact that economies with a larger stock of human capital experience faster growth and, secondly, that investing in schooling is a prerequisite for the creation of human capital which, in turn, generates ideas and promotes development of new products (Romer, 1992; McMahon, 1998).

The empirical work by Petrakis and Stamatakis (2002) attempts to uncover differences between OECD developed market economies and less developed countries (LDC). The empirical findings of the cross country data sets suggest that the link between education and growth varies as a result of different economic development. They also suggest that primary and secondary education seem to be more important in LDC nations, while growth in OECD economies depends mainly on higher education. Their findings indicate the structural differences in the way that educational investment relates to growth between OECD and LDC. This finding is consistent with the points made earlier on the need to investigate the specific labor market before applying any kind of human capital analysis and evaluation.

Evaluation, Discussion and Reflections

In this section the discussion focuses mainly on the ways in which the link between education and economic development was used and supported empirically. Additionally, reflections are offered on the applications of the specific link made by the politicians

and the international organizations and institutions on relations between education and economic development. In this way the effectiveness of the work undertaken in the field is evaluated and the underlying ideologies may more easily be identified and reflected upon.

After the initial outburst of human capital studies in the 1960s and the crisis identified in the 1970s, in the 1980s a rise in earnings inequality was experienced in many countries. This crisis led to renewed interest in estimates of returns to schooling that usually relate to other social benefits of education such as the promotion of equity issues (Becker, 1993; OECD, 2004; Tsagloglou & Cholezas, 2005). Theories tended to capitalize the individual characteristics that relate to education under headings such as ‘social capital’ (Coleman *et al.*, 1966) and ‘cultural capital’ (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

In this framework, education is no longer considered simply an engine of economic growth. It has become a means of reducing poverty and promoting sustainable development. Such initiatives have been undertaken by the European Union. They stress the role of education in making of Europe into a competitive market space with social cohesion (EU, 2003; Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2005). It is clear that education could be found at the basis of any economic, social or cultural initiative or goal (UNESCO, 1996; Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006: 140–145). However, those who use this kind of discourse do not refer with precise evidence to the need for promoting the quality of learning in classrooms and schools – learning of the kind that would assist individuals to maximize all their gains from education. More precisely, they do not offer institution-based analyses on how to ‘educate individual personalities for (any kind of) growth’.

Research, as reported in the previous section, indicated that the stock of human capital varies widely among countries and the means used to measure it are not necessarily correlated. For example, some countries with high aggregate attainment have low literacy rate and vice versa. Therefore, it appears that different countries’ educational systems vary in the degree to which they give their students the tools for life. Looking at the empirical studies it is obvious that there is little variability in the findings regarding the beginning levels of education; there is a wide dispersion in investment in higher levels of education. In particular, the mix of public and private investments in education fluctuates widely across countries (World Bank, 1996, Petrakis & Stamatakis, 2002); also there is evidence that the large discrepancy between the private and social returns to investment in higher education has some bearing on financing policy (Hasan, 2004; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002). Evidence on the rate of return suggests that a shift of part of the cost burden from the state to individuals and their families is not likely to be a disincentive to investing in higher education, given its present high private margin of profitability.

In all countries, educational opportunities seem to be concentrated among the younger, more economically advantaged of the populations (Tsagloglou & Cholezas, 2005; Argy, 2006). This means that social and equity considerations in policymaking which relate to education cannot be easily separated from economic ones. This is obviously related to the ways that education promotes economic development as well as to the quality of such education; a point that may influence the ways investment in education should be made.

The problem related to the limitations in the existing data used in human capital evaluations needs to be faced more systematically in the future so that empirical work could become more reliable. Firstly, broader measures of the stock of human capital need to be developed, allowing research to move beyond using educational attainment as a proxy. Using other measures such as life skills fluency or competencies that could include the cultural and behavioural results of education would allow a more inclusive and holistic measure of productivity and personality gains. In such a case researchers from various disciplines need to cooperate. Secondly, the aggregate and macro-level data need to be supplemented by micro-level data in order to gain a better understanding of private costs and returns. At the same time the mechanisms by which education contributes to economic prosperity and social welfare in general will be revealed. Also, improvements in data collection and design will allow governments and researchers to investigate more fully the differential impact of policy initiatives on various groups within their populations.

A large body of literature as described in the previous section suggests that systematic changes in the production process in the contemporary economies have led to changes in the demand for certain types of labour that acquire certain types of skills and competencies. This question has often led to decisions regarding the vocationalization of the curriculum, adult education, and lifelong learning. Such changes in the labour market demands are associated with knowledge-based societies. In such societies, knowledge is considered the most important input to economic development in two ways: (a) in the general sense (general basic education) as a basis for any further specialized productive academic or vocational training and (b) in the specific sense (university and upper vocational and technical education) as generating new knowledge and promoting science and technological interventions that create economic growth. These arguments are widely used nowadays by national policymakers and international institutions.

Summarizing the above review, it could be stressed that the policy issues surrounding human capital accumulation are important because human capital investments account for a large share of national outcomes. There are considerable social returns to this type of investment mainly related to the externalities of education. The findings of the aforementioned studies show that human capital is not distributed equally among or within countries. These observations lead to future research issues that should be taken into consideration.

More specifically, there is a need for defining and achieving 'adequate' levels of human capital investment. Also there is a need for deciding upon the appropriate distribution of costs between the private and public sector, especially in the case of vocational education and adult education. Careful consideration should be made in allocating resources relative to these costs in a way that could be considered socially and economically 'right'. Deeper investigation must be carried out towards achieving equitable distribution of investment spending. It is important to focus on investigating the ways by which a specific education system may contribute to economic development. Also there is a need for developing a system whereby education investment outcomes (economic, social, cultural) are accurately defined and (if possible) assessed in a combined and holistic way.

A very important area that deserves more research attention is the relationship between human and social capital and, even cultural capital. Questions also arise as to why these different capitals should be separated, as if individuals were not whole personalities. These questions are more important today than research in various fields, even neuroscience, claims that we should hold a holistic approach to human behaviour and consequently to learning.

The questions that future research would address should move further from just measuring human capital stocks and education's contribution to economic growth; they should address issues that relate to the complexity of education as well as to the variety of its outcomes. Such issues could be whether societies characterized by a greater level of social cohesion have a greater rate of return of human capital accumulation than less cohesive societies or a question could be asked about the relationship of democratic values acquisition and practice to education – including what kind of education.

To conclude, if education is to achieve all the cognitive, behavioural and social goals it has, more applied research work is needed with the cooperation of researchers from different fields. Education and its outcomes are complex and complexities cannot be understood in a simple and single way. Theoretical issues of an interdisciplinary nature and more complex empirical works are very important and cannot be ignored. Research in this important field must be planned, applied and followed up in a holistic and more systematic way.

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Elaine Unterhalter

The chapters in this section all engage with issues of postcolonialism and education illuminating some of the contestations that have marked the emergence of postcolonial theorising.

At least three meanings of postcolonial are suggested. Firstly, the term invokes the analysis of states and societies that have emerged from colonial pasts and that are struggling with these legacies to mould new forms of education. The chapters by Chisholm and Leyendecker on sub-Saharan Africa and by Ramachandran on India are both examples of work that considers some of the limits on the achievement of postcolonial aspirations in education.

A second meaning sees postcolonialism less as a historical moment and more as a condition of understanding. It is concerned with subaltern voices, with invisibilities and with silences and the ways in which the experience of postcoloniality may or may not be known. In this work education is a process of fragmentation, mixing, negation and affirmation. It entails struggling to find new languages and new forms for school knowledge. The chapters by Sharma on hybrid experiences of education, Rampal on indigenous knowledge, Bhana/Morrell/Pattman on gender, Parkes on researching children's experiences of education and violence, and Carrim on subaltern insights on the discourse of rights all consider postcoloniality as a process of negotiating identities in and through education.

A third meaning considers postcolonialism as an affirmation of a particular view of citizenship that enhances meanings of equality and justice. The chapters by McCowan/Gandin on Brazil and Unterhalter on development theory consider issues of citizenship and equality.

A number of the chapters in this section exemplify some of the features of new forms of knowledge construction associated with writing in a postcolonial frame. Thus a number of writers (Ramachandran, Rampal, Sharma) take their own personal experience as an important resource for the analysis they make. Many (Ramachandran, Carrim, McCowan/Gandin, Bhana/Morrell/Pattman, Unterhalter) make clear a commitment to normative ideas about equality or rights, while others (Chisholm/Leyendecker, Parkes) explore the limitations of existing bodies of literature in their field. The diverse positionings of the authors in relation to the theories they review and their analysis of data are also typical of this area of inquiry where the boundaries of a new paradigm are not firmly set and there are no orthodoxies regarding epistemologies and methodology.

The mutability of meanings of postcolonialism used in this section is intertwined with a range of views with regard to postcolonial theorising. Thus Sharma and Carrim work very closely with some of the canonical ideas regarding subaltern voices and hybrid identities examining their salience in education settings. Other writers take elements from postcolonial discussions, such as descriptions of the state or of subjectivity, and weave them into a multifaceted analysis, which is sometimes critical of postcolonial positions.

Many of the writers working with postcolonial theory in literary studies and history come from a background marked by migrations, most notably Gayatri Spivak, Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha. The authors in this section are no exception. Their autobiographies are marked by migrations between countries for work (Unterhalter, Sharma, Pattman, McCowan), between attachments to universities in different countries (Bhana, Rampal, Gandin, Parkes) and between multiple sites for intellectual work. Thus Chisholm, Rampal, Ramachandran, Morrell and Unterhalter have all worked both in universities and as advisers to governments and multilateral agencies.

The complexity of professional experience of writers working with postcolonialism was a feature of the work entailed in generating the texts in this section. While some have been written in a clear academic voice drawing on conventions of the genre, others have been developed from discussions or personal narratives. In editing the chapters I have tried to keep some of the texture of the genre in which they were initially developed.

The concerns which are central to postcolonial framings of education are those of identity and language, the formation and reformation of postcolonial politics and polities, postcolonial terms of discursive contestation, shifts in the nature of the State and new theories of rights. The perspective on education notes violence, inequalities, and unfulfilled aspirations. Nonetheless, many of the chapters posit research agendas, conceptual openings and pointers to political strategies for educational change that express high levels of aspiration for a postcolonial project, not currently realised, but somehow immanent in ideas, social relations and contestations currently underway.

REFLECTING ON POSTCOLONIALISM AND EDUCATION: TENSIONS AND DILEMMAS OF AN INSIDER

Vinathe Sharma-Brymer

Introduction

We were not using English language anywhere around us except for school. So I faced this dilemma – why were they forcing us to learn this language which was not practically used in my life. I was told that English would be the medium of instruction in college. But I asked myself can't we continue our education in our own language? Why are these people forcing us to learn this language? I developed an aversion towards English language from the beginning. I also had this inferiority complex about this language. Even today I hesitate to speak in English. (Nirmala, 38-year-old Indian woman)

Two very different perspectives are evident in contemporary educational goals. One focuses on creating a trained workforce to adapt to the needs of industrialisation; here education links with economy. Another seeks to enrich a learner's quest in relation to self and identity. Both create tensions and dilemmas in a learner in a postcolonial society. Understanding and addressing the educational experiences of these learners in present times demand a particular sensitivity towards 'educated hybrids' and 'dislocated migrants'. With particular reference to gender and feminism, Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003) places the onus on creating sensitivity through pedagogy to understand these complexities:

My recurring question is how pedagogies can supplement, consolidate, or resist the dominant logic of globalization. How do students learn about the inequities among women and men around the world? For instance, traditional liberal and liberal feminist pedagogies disallow historical and comparative thinking, radical feminist pedagogies often singularize gender, and Marxist pedagogy silences race and gender in its focus on capitalism. I look to create pedagogies that allow students to see the complexities, singularities, and interconnections between communities of women such that power, privilege, agency, and dissent can be made visible and engaged with. (Mohanty, 2003, p. 523)

Her views have resonance for thinking about education and postcoloniality generally, reaching beyond questions of gender.

Postcolonial approaches to education have an emphasis on exploring complexity, dissent and hybrid strands of the learner's experiences. They encourage educational theorists and practitioners to view a wide canvas and urge them to pay particular attention to the nuances. The theorist and practitioner must thus use a different set of lenses to expose diversities in the learner's experience of power, control, identity, self-awareness and the complexities involved.

In this chapter, firstly, I discuss postcolonial theory and education considering how to address, approach, study and understand the voice of the learner as the Other. The Other is all around us – she is an educated, university graduate from Sri Lanka struggling to express her thoughts in English language in an Australian university; he is an Indian IT consultant living in California, making his best effort to find a 'place' in the white community; he may be an African youth struggling with a dilemma about following his parents' cultural habits at home. In my discussion I illuminate some of the tensions showing how they are woven in with any approach to considering postcolonialism and education. These tensions are heightened by the diverse effects of globalisation. My main focus throughout this chapter is on presenting the voice of the Other. In my concern to reveal the 'postcolonial' Other (Tikly, 1999), I present ideas about what is lost and what is gained in the process of becoming a hybrid in globalised times; how 'hybrids' are trying to relocate themselves (or maybe have already had it done for them) in a third space at 'home' and 'abroad' where neither is stable or given; the tensions and contradictions in experiencing that third space of dislocation and search for connection is a challenging education project (Bhabha, 1994; Das Gupta, 1999).

In the next section I narrate the story of a marginalised person whose lived experience is etched with the influences of postcolonialism and globalisation. This is an insider's story that registers the achievements, yet also the anguish, of educated transition. It is the achievement and anguish of a third-world, middle-class woman who has benefited from her formal education, yet is aware of the conflicts and contradictions intertwined with this and its impact upon her identity. This narration is concerned with commenting on the continuing impact of issues of culture and language in Eurocentric educational systems. I will draw on narratives from Indian educated women's experiences of education collected in Sharma-Brymer (2007).

An Insider's Understanding on Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism "addresses the effects of colonization" (Hickling-Hudson, Matthews & Woods, 2004, p. 2); it is a process that reviews and explores the "structure of inequality" (Loomba, 1998, p. 18), also implying that the effects of colonialism that are continuing even in the present could be explained by pointing out the dilemmas and conflicts involved. Exclusion, domination and resistance have shaped the relationship of power and knowledge and influenced understandings and representations of the world (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1978). Postcolonialism is deeply engaged with reflecting on the work entailed in the construction of the Orient as discussed by Edward Said (1978).

He showed how the Orient was constituted by Orientalist knowledge systems which entailed political and economic supremacy. The construction and representation of the Orient maintained Western ideas, imagery and words, thus reflecting a particular set of beliefs associated with a particular formation of power.

The new formations of power associated with globalisation generate contrasting assessments. Some researchers mention many positive aspects of new technologies (Crossley & Watson, 2003; Tikly, 2001). Writers on adult education report that international adult educators are “comfortable in transcending boundaries of race and class ... knowing that their identities are never stable” (English, 2003, p. 68). But critics of globalisation point out negative effects including the dislocation of peoples through migration, exclusion and discrimination, misinformation, and the way in which capitalist empires are selectively ignorant of cultures (e.g., Roy, 2004). Development of dams, bridges and the expansion of cities lead to mass dislocation of people. The owners of giant corporations often ignore the existing cultural wealth of people and distort their rich local knowledge. In ‘developing’ populations using Eurocentric education seems to silence their inner voice. Gayatri Spivak (1996, p. 293) states:

It seems to me that finding subaltern is not so hard, but actually entering into a responsibility structure with the subaltern, with responses flowing both ways: learning to learn without this quick-fix frenzy of doing good with an implicit assumption of cultural supremacy which is legitimized by unexamined romanticisation, that’s the hard part.

A postcolonial approach to education considers how aspects of education, irrespective of levels of literacy and outcome, affect the learner’s self-awareness and growth. It illuminates an individual’s lived experience. This offers a rich arena to analyse the location of the individual in a past and present social, historical and cultural context. It allows the theorist/practitioner to reflect critically on such phenomena and to interrogate the dilemmas that power and empowerment webs create. Interrogating critical aspects allows the theorist/practitioner to illuminate voices. In conditions of globalisation commitment is needed to listen to marginalised voices (Spivak, 1999).

For a person like me, experiencing both the positive and negative effects of postcolonialism and globalisation, these processes are both an anguish and an achievement. I affirm the importance of listening to the Other and responding to increasing complexities. The contexts of economic exploitation, social marginalisation and cultural domination have undergone huge changes in the last decade. For some, change has been positive, enabling them to realise dreams that were suppressed in their parents’ generation. For others, dreams have led to dilemmas and conflicts. An analysis of postcolonialism is enriched by stories of many Others. Stories register their anguish and achievement; they reveal contradictions in being an educated citizen and a participant in a traditional system. Addressing this moves a researcher beyond boundaries and borders, dichotomies and preconceptions (Parekh, 2000). Postcolonial analysis no longer needs to be restricted only to exploitation and powerlessness (Hall, 1996), rather it needs to unravel how

economic, political, social and cultural processes of exploitation are perpetuated alongside efforts striving to dismantle colonialism (Loomba, 1998).

A number of critiques hold that colonisation is not solely Western or the outcome of imperialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995). For example the numerous political and cultural invasions which have taken place in the Indian subcontinent have repeatedly colonised indigenous communities. India, although at present, politically unified and democratic, is still a boiling pot of many internal conflicts. For example, the tribal communities in the north-east Indian states experience exclusion, separation and acute exploitation of many forms (Devi, 1995). A postcolonial analysis probes into issues of dominance, power and control among and within non-European elites. It looks at how they discriminate against other groups, deploying caste, class, gender and ethnicity. Dominance and power are often related to control over education systems. But postcolonial analysis is also concerned with Western domination, its global spread, complexity and capitalist influences on the value systems of colonised societies. However, once again, the dilemma of a postcolonial insider is whether to keep traditional values or to compromise and adapt to the changing ways of the contemporary, multicultural world (Parekh, 2000).

These dilemmas point at another critique sometimes levelled at postcolonial theorising: how can generalisations that arise from discourse analysis do justice to the experiences associated with different cultures, geographical regions and different languages? For example, can India, Africa and Australia be approached using the same analytical lens? Any attempt to classify these very different postcolonial countries will be inaccurate. The experiences of peoples from postcolonial countries are as diverse as the effects of postcolonialism. Thus, researching effects, exploring commonalities and engaging with specific stories are a more generative approach for a postcolonial researcher than developing generalisations. The effects of postcolonialism in African countries in terms of inequities of power, poverty, geographical dislocations and disruptions in social relations are widespread, as are the effects of modern education on local cultures in India, Sri Lanka, Australia, Africa and Southeast Asia. Yet, despite these similarities there is a need to listen to the Other in each country. Stories of complex experiences may be unique but they reveal deeper layers and give voice to hidden concerns with class, caste, gender and race (Pieterse & Parekh, 1995).

A postcolonial perspective takes interest in studying socio-economic divisions and inequities associated with control over knowledge, constraint on access to education, and the dominance/power resulting from such controls. Thus dissemination of work where science is written as the history of Western advance and history is seen as an account of the successful rise of capitalism and colonialism is associated with discrimination and oppression of the Other (Said, 1978). This is evident in recent writing on environmental conservation and awareness where indigenous communities' multiple literacies and concepts of harmonious living have been little understood (Devi, 1995; Sharma, 2002; Smith, 1999). Postcolonial approaches suggest we have to examine diverse factors in the past and the present to analyse how knowledge is appropriated and denied. Thus a postcolonial researcher exposes tensions, dilemmas and contradictions with regard to education and change.

Postcolonialism and Education: Tensions, Contradictions and Dilemmas

One dilemma for a person from a third-world country is finding the 'proper' ethical way of appropriating the knowledge acquired from the Western educational model. Is he or she to celebrate formal educational qualifications and an upward mobility or to reflect on what has been lost in that process? If they reject the Western model what other choice is available? How good is this choice for a person who wants to cross the border of states, provinces and nations or even to move beyond the language boundary of their local language to access information presented in the global language of English? Do we need to feel enraged about the injustices committed by the colonial rulers against our country or do we swim with modern education and its benefits? Must we respond to the internationalisation of education or remain excluded from better material opportunities that modern Western education leads to? Dilemmas are intertwined with everyday life for educated people in low-income countries leading to several layers of contradiction.

The framework of social power relations and resource control mechanisms which colonialism reinforced has resulted in continued discrimination against people of certain classes, caste, ethnicity and women with the denial of their basic rights. Researchers have analysed racial dominance and gender issues, illuminating the postcolonial voice, with observations on globalisation and internationalisation and considerations of how to interrogate and respond to 'development' (e.g., Mohanty, 1990, 2003; Sharpe, 2003; Spivak, 1999).

Women within patriarchal structures have been subjected to multiple layers of subjugation. Their struggles, inner tensions, conformity and resistance, conflicts and contradictions are related to multiple identities. Their experiences, when interpreted through a postcolonial lens, reveal the movement of minds, person, self and identities. The 'in-between' moment reveals the influence of modern education on tradition and culture. The struggle of a person receiving education, standing at the confluence of a colonial education system, their own culture and globalisation illuminates how hybridity is created and how identity migrates from local to global.

In the following section I elaborate on educated women's experiences, taking these as the focal point to discuss aspects of education in postcolonial times. I draw on educated Indian women's narratives taken from a broader phenomenological study I conducted (Sharma-Brymer, 2007). My intention is to use the lens of a postcolonial 'insider' to interpret the hybrid educated woman, expected to receive an education and thereby become 'eyes for her family'. There are positive shifts in her movement to the public sphere. However, a shift in her location does not mean she is empowered, an effective decision-maker or a person in control of her life. What is evident is the nature of her multilayered experience associated both with improvements in material conditions and increased conflicts.

Women, Education and Participation in Postcolonial Societies

While many argue that modern, Western education is needed for women's voices to be heard, often linking this with calls for concerted work on women's and human rights

(e.g., Afshar, 1998; Fox, 1999; Ghosh & Talbani, 1996; Heward & Bunwaree, 1998; Howell, Carter & Schied, 2002; Kabeer, 1999; Stromquist, 1998; Unterhalter, 2000; Wazir, 2000), the claim is also made that education makes no difference, to change women's life conditions (e.g., Bhasin, 1994; Longwe, 2001). Sarah Longwe (2001) is a strong voice from Africa discussing the outcomes of modern education in women's lives. She observes that educated women conform to and benefit from patriarchal systems. In taking senior positions in government they reinforce female subordination. She calls them the 'honorary members of a male club', showing how they discriminate against grassroots women activists:

The purpose of schooling is to inculcate girls' acceptance of the 'normality' of male supremacy ... to believe it is 'traditional' and 'natural' for their role to be confined to rearing children, looking after the home, and supporting their husbands. (Longwe, 2001, p. 68)

The striking demarcation between schooling and education, as Longwe notes from her studies of adult education in Zambia, is what is believed and practised. Calling for a change, Longwe underlines that "women's education for democratic governance needs to be concerned with *unlearning* (my italics) all the undemocratic and oppressive messages that were implicit within the beliefs and attitudes inculcated during schooling" (Longwe, 2001, p. 71). This call for *unlearning* contrasts with demands for an expansion of education.

Two questions flow from Longwe's critique. First, are there forms of education that have the potential to raise awareness and knowledge levels, even if this is not always realised in practice? Second, can basic literacy or basic education empower women to participate better and be equal citizens? There is no agreement on these points. Thus Nelly Stromquist (1990, 1996, 2005) emphasises the outcome of literacy in advancing awareness and knowledge levels; but many activists such as Bhasin (1994) show this is not uniformly the case. Further research is needed to explore what knowledge educated women gain from their schooling and what meaning they are making from their education as adults. This exploration coincides with Elaine Unterhalter's concern to listen to the personal accounts of individual women (Unterhalter, 2005).

Two educated Indian women's accounts show up these contrasts. One woman supported the view that education has enhanced her life. Another pointed out the influential role of tradition and limitations on her agency:

We can do everything, whatever we want to ... we have the courage, confidence ... this courage comes from education. If you don't have education, you don't go out, you sit indoors all the time. (Rani, 36-year-old lecturer in Physics)

So I was a bit over-conscious of our life, hardships.

There was contentment, satisfaction ... I was proud, happy.

I became determined to do something more in my life and alter my life style, get education, get a job, become somebody noticeable...

Yes, I did oppose. I opposed, said I didn't want this marriage. I didn't want to marry my own brother-in-law. But I had to respect elders.

You know, the saying is why worry about spilt milk?

I am not demanding, don't expect him to fulfil any of my desires ... I have learnt to laugh away my miseries. (Vinoda old high school teacher)

The outcomes of education are very diverse and aspirations from education are not uniform. In an earlier study looking at mothers in a rural area in India it was evident that most felt their daughters needed to be educated. However for various personal, economic and social reasons these girls could not go beyond upper primary or secondary school leaving certificate level (Sharma, 2001). Their interest in schooling their daughters was linked with gaining social prestige or negotiating a groom from a better-placed family. But economically disadvantaged families, living in semi-urban and urban areas, encouraged their girls to achieve at least the secondary school leaving certificate in order to get jobs in factories with better payment compared to the low daily wages that people receive in rural areas. Economically more prosperous families tend to encourage further education, including university degrees, to enhance their girls' status in society and to widen their opportunities, particularly with regard to marriage (Chanana, 2001). Thus urban and semi-urban people tend to view education for girls as positive for employment and marriage prospects, rather than for empowerment in psychological or cognitive areas of development as discussed by Stromquist (1996).

But examining what is gained through schooling and what is internalised as opposed to the proclaimed outcomes of education (personal development, formal subject knowledge, world view and equality) seems to be necessary for any studies that interrogate women's experiences of being educated.

Some of the voices of postcolonial educated women confirm this. Nirmala reveals how conflicted her own educational experience was, and how she is now trying to ensure a better learning experience for her daughter. Contrastingly, Rani and Vinoda talk about the positive outcomes from their own education:

Whatever was lacking in my education, in my life, I am trying to fill those gaps, improve myself and give my daughter whatever she needs for her development. What I came to know in my degree days, she knows all that even in her Class 2 and 3. (Nirmala)

... whatever you read you learn something from that ... I am satisfied that I am using what I studied for the good of my life. (Rani)

See, all this knowledge, awareness about women's condition, history ... all this came from my education. (Vinoda)

But Rani in another extract narrates her subjugated position:

If a woman is unmarried that becomes the biggest failure in her life. My own brothers don't give me respect because I am not married yet. When I bought my two wheeler they said why did I want a vehicle, what would I do with it ... I didn't have a husband or children. These are the only times when I feel very sad and think why did I get so much education. (Rani)

There is not a consensus on how women's knowledge has or has not been addressed through education. Extracts from two narratives reveal different perspectives:

I think of my children and husband first and go according to their needs; hardly an hour or so I keep for myself, for my own things. That is life's reality. (Nirmala, non-working woman)

He said, 'Do whatever you want to. I will give you complete freedom. But only after you have fulfilled your duties at home. Look after my parents well, you don't need to go to a job.' I have learnt a lot from him. I am happy that with my education I can stand up to his expectations. (Deepa, non-working woman)

These different perspectives are echoed in the literature. A group of writers reviewing women's and gender studies in English-speaking sub-Saharan Africa, Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Nijambi and Osirim (2004) state that African feminist scholars and activists are sensitive to the impact of imposed formal educational systems under colonialism. However, they also note the effects of gender discrimination at various levels of schooling in current times such as access, retention and completion; curriculum content; the feminisation of certain fields of employment; and issues of sexual harassment. They point out that some researchers studying women and gender issues "argue that with the development of state-coordinated initiatives to promote gender and development, these programs might lose their political force and end up servicing mainstream or conservative gender training and advocacy" (p. 698). Even with affirmative programmes, "education does not translate into equitable positions for women in the labour market" (p. 698). In other words, education does not necessarily improve women's chances in the public sphere.

On the other hand, writing about the Universal Basic Education programme in Nigeria, Okiy (2004) emphasises the positive link between education and greater female participation in national development. She states that the poor attitude of society to the educational development of female children is the causal factor of their poor participation in national development. She concludes, "the programme will produce educated women who have imbibed the reading culture through their use of school libraries ... thereby creating the necessary vehicle for accelerated national development" (p. 48). This statement seems to support the widely used public slogan in India, that an educated woman enhances a country's well-being. An interesting issue that emerges from reading the above observations is the confusion between what girls and women are expected to experience and what they actually experience.

To make women's experiences important and significant and to retain their distinctiveness in postcolonial societies is a challenging task. Gail Kelly (1992, 1980) stressed the need to explore the particularities of women's educational experiences rather than generalisations. Researchers such as Mohanty (1991, 2003) have questioned the hegemony of Western feminist scholarship with regard to the lives of third-world women (also see Afshar, 1998; Heward & Bunwaree, 1998; Jayawardena, 1986; Thiruchandran, 1999), while Bell Hooks stresses the significance of the intersections of race, gender and class in researching women's lives (Hooks, 1994).

While education in postcolonial times is seen to bring reforms in public life, there are arguments that education does not change women's second-class status (Bhasin, 1994; Ghosh & Talbani, 1996; Ghosh & Zachariah, 1987; Longwe, 2001; Reddy, 1991; Singh, 2002; Talbani, 2001). Yet an educated woman, when she is employed, is viewed as an asset to a family. An educated woman's multiple roles as a wife, mother, employee, good family manager/builder can be appreciated. This image of an educated woman is contradictory, which raises critical questions about agency and self-expression:

They wanted a girl to be a housewife. If a wife is good, if she is educated, adjustable, peace is maintained, harmony is there. These are important. Something for a job, a lot for our family, children, very less for us ... that is what I am as an educated woman! (Kanaka, 42-year-old school teacher)

In contemporary India, a promotional slogan related to girls' and women's education is 'a learned woman is the community's eyes'; she is a wealth for her family and nation. National educational policies have introduced positive changes for enhanced participation of girls and women. Nevertheless, it is commonly argued that female education which contributes to national progress has still not been achieved (Guha, 1974; PROBE, 1999; Sen, 1999, 2005; Wazir, 2000). Gender equality in education remains elusive; even educated women occupying high positions in universities have less power than their male counterparts, and they operate in an environment that restricts their authority (Chanana, 2001, 2003). Deepa's narrative points out some of the problem and suggests the remedies:

However much the girl learns, gets educated, or performs equally with boys in education and work area with equal talents, there is this feeling that she is a girl so she is second. See, she may be earning better or more than him or be more intelligent than him, she is always the second.

This preference for boys has come a long way. In a family this girl child is doing 100% well in everything like curriculum, other activities everything, and that boy is achieving low compared to this 100%. People say that he should perform like the girl and more than her, they don't encourage her anymore. Even if she gets an admission to an engineering course, parents say that their son must be enrolled in engineering. They don't have plans for their girl.

I am trying to create better gender sensitivity in my son. That he should respect girls. There should be an overall change in education from the beginning. Like for example making her economically independent ... I want to say here it is not just education, totally there should be a change in the attitude. (Deepa, non-working woman)

Indian women are uniquely positioned in an intersection of class, caste, gender, race, ethnicity and nationality (Jeffery & Basu, 1998; Mankekar, 1999; Mohanty, 1991, 2003). Middle-class women are often expected to be the preservers of their tradition and culture (Tharu & Lalita, 1993). Although cultural influences are still strong, democratisation, modernisation, women's participation and educational inclusiveness affect women's lives

in many ways (Cranney, 2001; Ganguly-Scrase, 2002; Hancock, 1999; Taber, 2007). Thus education and citizenship in a postcolonial environment poses many challenges. In India, where a decentralised local governance system (the local village *panchayat*) is in operation, there has been only a limited change in women's involvement and expression of agency (Vijayalakshmi & Chandrashekar, 2001). A study conducted by Sooryamoorthy & Renjini (2000) found that at the village level women are enthusiastic about holding the reins of power in local, decentralised, administrative organisations. However, men tend to intervene and act as decision-makers. Vijayalakshmi and Chandrashekar (2002) observe that although women representatives in local governance possess authority, it has not resulted in a shift in power. They emphasise that "an alternative conception of power which is centred not on the position but on the individual" is required (Vijayalakshmi & Chandrashekar, 2002, p. 1). Kanaka's narrative aptly illuminates how tradition suppresses the intentions of formal education for a girl:

She can achieve something only if her husband, children, family members share her dreams ... if they don't cooperate she is at a loss. Even if there is a slight lapse somewhere, then it is her lapse, she cannot achieve.

In our society a girl has boundaries from her birth. She is under her father's control as a girl, she belongs to her husband on being married and later she is a subordinate to her son. We women construct our lives within four walls.

Issues of power and control are strongly visible even in an educated woman's life irrespective of her being employed. Modern formal education and a career do not result in equity and control. Kanaka makes this clear:

One of my classes has about 15 girls and 25 boys and there is this boy. His parents come to me and say, 'look madam, my daughter is ok. She is in that class. All we have to do is pay some dowry and get her married off. But my boy here, in his case we are particularly attentive. He has to be educated highly and sent off to America. So pay more attention to my boy.' But the reality I know as a teacher is that boy is lacking capacity to perform well, but the girl is very sharp, intelligent. She is performing well. But our management forces us teachers, to pass these boys compulsorily to higher classes even though they lack the ability. See, with management pressurising us, even though we have all the awareness, we cannot say anything. We cannot practise our awareness.

Empowering women with literacy that makes them better negotiators in the male-dominated world is very important and needful (Ramachandran, 2000). However, has education enabled women to negotiate equity and achieve agency? Educated women's image of their private life reflects that of their public life. The "housekeepers of the emotions" (Benhabib, 1987) may not be positioned as "critical knowledge-keepers" in a traditional society. Is education in these conditions transforming the learner's life circumstances through critical conscientisation? Or is the reality of the social expectations of women's subordination a greater influence? Are the two diametrically opposed? Or can women find a third space?

Conclusion: An Insider's Tensions and Contradictions

Educated women in postcolonial countries seem to live on the border between the world of formal educational goals, achievements and professional identities, and an 'under the surface' confusion as to 'why did I get so much education?' or 'what is the purpose of being an educated woman in this traditional society?' Without having any support from a male family member, Vinathe had to leave her family and their traditional lifestyle after her bachelor's degree and struggle to make use of her education and find an alternative life quality. In the course of those changes she underwent a series of personal conflicts and experiences of being torn apart with shifts in her cultural locations and a clash between tradition and modernity. Hers was a struggle that strengthened individual agency in choosing alternatives.

Girls' and women's education has been a contentious topic within the local cultures of many postcolonial countries. Sen (1999) observes that only through greater achievement in female education can a country progress. Questions arise around this progress: Progress in terms of what? Is progress economic or social? These questions reflect the everyday tensions and conflicts of 'being an educated woman'. Being educated also means being informed, being a more participative citizen and being more empowered to take decisions in everyday life. However, in the present times an educated and informed person is pushed towards becoming suitable for a job and career market. A woman getting work "outside the home" and "standing on her own" does not guarantee that she expresses herself as a "free human mind" (Sen, 2005; Tagore, c1961) celebrating her individual agency and identity. In everyday life, in most postcolonial societies, people tend to place a significant amount of importance on formal education, but separate education from everyday culture. The in-between location created from being educated is a postcolonial space of many conflicts, constant tensions and contradictions. It will remain so amidst the effects of globalisation.

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DEMOCRATIC INEQUALITIES: THE DILEMMA OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN INDIA

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Citizenship, Participation and Education

When asked to write a paper on democracy and education in India, I started off by speculating about the link between the two. India has witnessed over 20 national general elections and innumerable state and local government elections. Women and men come out in large numbers to cast their vote. Every few years the largely semi-literate and illiterate electorate votes governments out of power and makes its voice heard. This is no mean achievement. If this is indeed the case, what is the relationship between education and democracy? Philosopher John Dewey posits a positive correlation between the two and argues that education is a central requirement for a democratic and inclusive polity. But India's experience with electoral politics could lead one to argue that the classic doctrine does not apply to India. Is this really so? How does education or the lack of it and inherent inequality in quality and access impact on democratic practice? I begin with a personal journey and move on to explore the twists and turns in the discourse of education, equity and democracy.

I started working with women convinced that women as individuals have little voice in our democracy and that coming together as a group, a collective, would enable them to negotiate the world around them from a position of strength – whether they are literate or illiterate, educated or uneducated. So I worked with like-minded people in a government programme (Mahila Samakhya: Education for Women's Equality) that facilitated the formation of women's groups, engaged them in processes that helped them reflect on their life experience, share personal struggles and discern patterns of oppression. This, I believed would create opportunities to transcend their personal life situation and look at oppression, discrimination and violence as a social phenomenon as a product of social and gender relations in society, caste and class dynamics that frame the lives of people. I was convinced this would initiate a process of real education – develop ability for critical thinking, the confidence to articulate problems and issues and make more informed choices.

Yet, as we went ahead with our agenda of empowerment, we came to a roadblock. The very fact that most women we worked with were either illiterate or barely literate inhibited their ability to take control of the institutions that they had created, affecting their ability to participate as equals. Leadership of groups and federation of women's groups invariably passed on to people who were educated – those who could deal with

the written word, read and write and comprehend the complex matrix of social and political institutions – whether it was the self-help groups working towards sustainable livelihoods or social groups striving for participation in local self-government institutions or development groups trying to access resources for their community. The very fact that poor women did not attend school or went to schools that taught them little emerged as a barrier to participation in institutional processes. This phenomenon was palpable where women fought and won Panchayat elections – illiteracy or being semi-literate was clearly a barrier to effective functioning. Even more disturbing was that their children and grandchildren were also being denied access to meaningful education. The inter-generational cycle of poor education/illiteracy and poverty kept them at the bottom of the layer. Their caste, location, community and economic situation determined whether they participated.

What Has All This to Do with Democracy?

We all know that Indian voters vote in large numbers and throw out governments that do not meet their expectations. We also know that literacy and education has little to do with people's ability to exercise their right to vote (except in places where they are prevented from casting it). Also that given the nature of the political system, they have few choices. Yet, they exercise their choice, however limited.

At a formal level democracy is about exercising choices. It is about franchise and it is about one-person one-vote and one-vote one-value. At a little deeper level we also associate democracy with rule of law and institutions. We expect democratic societies to respect civil liberties and human rights, place great value in an impartial judicial process – a mechanism through which people can aspire for justice. We take great pride in a legislature that makes laws and an executive and administrative system that follows these laws. We give importance to the right to free speech and a media that functions within a competitive environment. Most importantly, we value our right to equality and want to be treated as equals. We recognise that existence of democratic institutions is a prerequisite for a vibrant democracy.

Subsequent stages get a little more complex. The mere existence of democratic institutions does not ensure democratic practice. The Constituent Assembly understood that rights could be realised only if we created a level playing field. Acknowledging the centuries of discrimination based on caste we initiated policies of affirmative action and to counter the historical baggage of social exclusion and economic exploitation, introduced reservations in educational institutions and in government jobs. There was consensus that – at least at the formal level – affirmative action was in keeping with the spirit of democracy and equal opportunity. In this, education was positioned as a central tool for the realisation of the constitutional obligation of equal opportunity. The debates in constitutional assembly dealt with this issue at some length and there was a national consensus on using affirmative action as an effective mechanism to counter centuries of discrimination and exclusion.

An early twist in our tale of democracy and equality came in the failure to make Universal Elementary Education (UEE) a fundamental right of children, instead of relegating it to the Directive Principles – non-justiciable guidelines rather than a judicially enforceable right. Making universal elementary education a fundamental right would have had far-reaching

implications. Firstly (from the point of view of the government at that time), it would have involved enormous investment in schooling infrastructure. Secondly, making it a justiciable right would mean that citizens could take the government to court if access to school was not made available.² As a result, even as UEE was accepted as the minimal non-negotiable requirement for ensuring a substantive practice of democracy, the founding fathers of democratic India did not make it a fundamental right. As a result, five and a half decades after we declared ourselves a sovereign democratic republic, we have still to redeem the pledge made in 1950.

Education may have no direct one-to-one relationship with the formal democracy; however, experience over the last six decades has shown that lack of education has affected the ability of citizens to engage with the institutions associated with the practice of democracy. It affects the ability of people to transcend the situation in which they find themselves at birth, impairs their ability to negotiate the maze of institutions that surround them, robs them of self-esteem and confidence, and silences the voice of the marginalised and the dispossessed. Ultimately, its absence pushes “people without voice” into ghettos – resurrects caste, community, religious and linguistic identities, and creates new forms of social exclusion and social segregation. Education, despite the power to work as an agent of change, to “neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past” (Chapter IV, Page 6, Paragraph 4.2 and 4.3; NPE-1986, Government of India) could not play this role. India today has different kinds of schools catering to different groups of the population. Schools come in different shapes and sizes – vernacular medium vs. English medium; government schools vs. private schools; formal schools vs. transitional schools; single teacher schools vs. schools where each class has one teacher; and so on. Unfortunately this has reinforced existing social and community identities. India’s educational trajectory in many ways seems to confirm Professor Partha Chatterjee’s apprehension about the nature of postcolonial societies – wherein the colonial system of inequality is perpetuated.³

A personal journey that started with women’s mobilisation and empowerment has over time taken me into the arena of primary education – the battleground where the politics of inclusion and exclusion is played out from one generation to the next, reducing those at the margins as silent spectators of the grand theatre of periodic elections that bring about little change in the basic structure of oppression and exclusion.

The relationship between education and democracy is like an invisible spiral that helps those in control remain there and those at the bottom alienated and voiceless. As it has manifested itself in Independent India, education impacts through its potential of enhancing the capability of people, the substantive practice of democracy more than the formal system of elections. Education has the potential of enhancing the capability of people. As Dreze and Sen (2002) convincingly argue: “‘Capability’ refers to the alternative combinations of functioning from which a person can choose. Thus the notion of capability is essentially one of freedom – a range of options a person has in deciding what kind of life to lead. Poverty, in this view, lies not merely in the impoverished state in which the person actually lives, but also in the lack of real opportunities – given by social constraints as well as personal circumstances – to choose other types of living” (Dreze & Sen, 2002, pp. 35–36). Lack of access to education of acceptable

quality actively inhibits the development of the capability of citizens to engage with democratic institutions, thereby denuding the practice of democracy.

This paper explores how our education system has created new hierarchies and forms of social exclusion and inclusion – thereby challenging the very foundations of equality and equal opportunity and leaving an indelible mark on the practice of democracy. As noted in the prophetic words of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:

On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril.

(Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, 1949, quoted in Khilnani, 1997, p. 35)

The Cumulative Burden of Exclusion

In 2003 I was engaged in an interesting multi-sectoral qualitative research project. The object: to explore factors that facilitate or impede successful primary school completion among the lowest economic quartile of the population in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. This study explored different domains – the child, family, community and institutions (specifically the primary school, Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) and other health-related services) that impact on child health, nutrition and education and their interlinkages, both positive and negative (Ramachandran, 2004). We spent considerable time in villages and urban slums, talking to women, interacting with children, observing schools and early childcare centres and interviewing teachers and care givers.

The story was the same everywhere – poor and weak mothers giving birth to children growing up in an environment of extreme deprivation. Given the veritable absence of institutional support, an inter-generational cycle of poor health, nutrition and education is set in motion. Endemic malnutrition, partial or no immunisation, poor sanitation and hygiene, and frequent bouts of illness sap children of energy and affect intellectual development. When children from the poorest communities reach preschool age, their caste, location and economic situation become the defining variables framing their chances to access services such as supplementary nutrition and preschool education. As they reach school-going age, all that they are assured of is that their name will be recorded in a school register as proof of formal enrolment. Their access to a “formal” or “transitional” school is determined by their economic status, place of residence, their caste, community or religion. However, what is not assured is whether they will be able to attend school uninterrupted – not merely because of ill health but also because very little happens in the schools meant for the very poor. Teacher attitudes towards such children are, at best, indifferent, and compounding the problem is the fact that most

of the children, especially girls, work before and after school. There is no guarantee that they will learn to read and write – especially as they go to overcrowded single-teacher schools or where the teacher/pupil ratio is high (reaching up to 1:120). If they live in a remote habitation or come from an impoverished community, the chances are that a local person with little qualification (popularly known as “contract teacher” or “parateachers”) may teach them.

Nevertheless, parents were still eager to send their children to school and the children themselves were full of hope. Their aspirations, however, were tempered by opportunities as they exist or as they do not. The initial enthusiasm to participate gradually turns to resignation and apathy – children become irregular, hang around at home or on the streets and often start pitching into the work of their families – in most cases dropping out without learning anything. A few who can afford it may shift their children to a private school or send them to a tuition class. The inter-generational cycle is perpetuated, with the new generation being (at best) semi-literate, weak and apathetic or in many instances angry at a system that has treated them with such indifference. Some of our more disturbing findings related to the abysmal state of government programmes designed to provide a social safety net for the poorest of the poor.

The cycle of deprivation starts with early marriage. The mean age of marriage is 13 (Uttar Pradesh) and 15 (Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh).⁴ Most young women are anaemic and weak. Most babies from 6 months onwards to about 36 months receive little supplementary nutrition – and an overwhelming proportion of children show signs of severe or moderate malnourishment. They are constantly on the breast, cry a lot and are given a few pieces of *roti* (Indian bread) or some rice to nibble on. Frequent illness, even if only cold and cough, affects the ability of the child to access food on his or her own, feed and absorb the food. Rarely is cooking oil or fat used in most of these households, even for children. A shocking finding in Uttar Pradesh was that most of the children from the poorest households had received only partial immunisation – meaning polio drops. The situation in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh was somewhat better. While nearly all children had received polio drops and approximately 40%, BCG shots, other vaccine-preventable diseases (DPT, Measles) did not seem to be on the priority list of service providers.

Though the flagship ICDS programme is designed to prevent child malnutrition among the poor families, discussions with Aanganwadi workers revealed that there was no system for identifying the severely malnourished for providing double rations. Access was determined by the worker’s caste and location of the centre. As a result most of the families surveyed in Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh did not avail of supplementary nutrition provided by the government. In fact, in Uttar Pradesh the fortified nutrition supplement was supplied to ICDS centres for only about 5 months a year, much of it siphoned off for sale in local shops.

Given such odds, children who do survive and reach the age of 6 are weak, malnourished and listless. Boys and girls, even those as young as 6 years, are engaged in a wide range of chores – grazing, collection of fodder and fuel, domestic work, sibling care and filling water. It may not be possible to make a tangible link between endemic poverty, malnutrition and educational attainment/achievements, but the very fact that children do not receive adequate nutrition and have little access to health care is worrisome.

Health, nutrition and education have a decisive impact on a child's development. The health and nutrition status of both mother and child is clearly more significant in the early years since it affects later cognitive development. Persistent and cumulative neglect ensures a non-attainment of appropriate developmental milestones. Health and nutritional outcomes at each stage are carried on to the next, an inter-generational transfer of handicaps resulting in a downward spiral of poverty, ill health, malnutrition and poor learning outcomes for children.

The point is not about the persistence of abject poverty, but that government schemes meant for the poor rarely reach those who need it the most. Children starting life with a handicap does not auger well for a democracy. It is the cumulative character of social, political and economic exclusion that frames the lives of poor children, influencing their ability to participate in schooling and social and political life in later years.

Children experiencing a cumulative burden of failure on all fronts (health, nutrition and education) enter adulthood with little self-esteem or confidence. They are the ones who end up as daily-wage earners, are often forced to migrate in search of work and continue to live in poverty. They are, for all practical purposes, disenfranchised, not from casting their vote, but from most other aspects of social and political life. They are the ones with no voice.

Unequal Access and New Hierarchies

The 1990s are often hailed as the happening decade – at least in terms of primary education. This decade witnessed an unprecedented jump in literacy levels and in enrolment rates especially among the socially disadvantaged social groups. Female literacy went up from 32.17% in 1991 to 45.84% in 2001 – a 13.67% jump in the decade of the 1990s. Gross Enrolment Ratio at the elementary level for Scheduled Tribes (ST) went up from an abysmal 40.7% in 1991 to 75.76% in 2004 and for Scheduled Castes from 52.3% to 71.86%. The flip side of the scenario is that 53.7% of enrolled children (57.7% for girls) drop out before they reach grade 7. This essentially implies that while a very large number of children enrol in schools, a disturbingly high proportion drop out before they can complete the elementary level. An overwhelming majority of children who drop out are poor (rural and urban), come from socially disadvantaged communities and are first-generation school-goers.

Despite 67,000 new primary schools – this decade also saw the institutionalisation of different categories of schools designed for (catering to) different population groups. As mentioned earlier there are different kinds of government schools – the regular government school essentially services the poor in urban and rural areas, education guarantee scheme schools cater to children who cannot access formal schools either because of physical or social distance, the alternative schools are expected to cater to children who cannot access formal school (e.g., night schools of Rajasthan), residential schools for tribal children and the private and private-aided schools to urban and rural middle class. Recent studies (PROBE, 1999; Ramachandran, 2002, 2004) reveal that schools in different localities in the same village are endowed differently with respect to infrastructure, teacher/pupil ratio and trained teachers. There is also a

significant difference in the quality of schools that come directly under the education department and those managed by the social or tribal welfare departments.

Another important dimension of inequality has to do with teachers. It is common knowledge that remote and inaccessible schools are dysfunctional because of non-availability or rampant absenteeism of teachers. Teachers are a highly organised group and wield considerable political clout – after all they are the returning officers during elections. Appointment, transfer and posting of teachers are highly politicised. So what has the government done to address this problem?

Rajasthan pioneered a new strategy in 1987. The Rajasthan Shiksha Karmi Project (SKP) was designed to address teacher non-availability in remote rural areas. The project provided for local recruitment of a teacher – known as shiksha karmi (education worker) – albeit with lower formal educational qualifications. The accent was on local recruitment in consultation with the village community. She/he was given intensive training for 2 months. This new “teacher” – subsequently renamed “parateacher” – was paid a fraction of the salary of formal government teachers. Though designed to meet specific requirements of dysfunctional schools in remote areas, the model itself caught the imagination of administrators. Here was a low-cost and effective model that could solve two problems in one stroke – reduce the cost of providing additional teachers in an expanding education system (reducing recurring financial liability) and ensure availability of teachers in hitherto dysfunctional schools. This scheme provided an opportunity for career advancement for teachers by enabling shiksha karmis to be regularised as formal teachers if they fulfilled some academic standards.

Madhya Pradesh is credited with the next big innovation – the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS). Panchayats could petition the government demanding a school in a village or habitation provided there were 25 children who did not have access to a primary school within 1 km. The government in turn guaranteed a school within 90 days of receipt of the petition. The panchayat was expected to provide the space for an EGS school and identify a local person who could be appointed “Guruji” – after an interview and intensive training by the education department of the state government.

While it is important to acknowledge that SKP and EGS did enhance access and that remote rural areas finally saw a functioning school – the level of investment in infrastructure, teacher development and teaching learning material varied greatly. In keeping with the spirit of affirmative action enshrined in the Constitution the government should in fact invest far more resources in the education of the most disadvantaged communities. What happened was to the contrary – the per capita investment on education went down in remote rural and tribal areas and even new slum settlements in urban areas. Low-cost models were scaled up and adopted where greater investments were necessary.

A new kind of segregation is clearly discernible at different levels. Children from clearly different social and economic groups attend different types of school. Even within government primary schools, there is evidence of sharp differences in quality – physical facilities, community participation, allocation of funds – as illustrated in the micro-studies as well as other reports and research papers. (Ramachandran & Sethi, 2001; Mazumdar, 2001; Nambissan, 2001). Poorer areas have a higher proportion of single-teacher schools and multi-grade classrooms. Even where different models were

not in operation till recently the rural and remote schools got a larger number of poorly trained contract teachers. As a result, children from disadvantaged groups and from very poor families who have no other options (private schools, tuitions) make do with whatever schooling they get.

This reinforces existing stratification – giving rise to new hierarchies of access. Paradoxically, those who need the support of the state (the most deprived) are the ones who get the least. While the number of schools has definitely gone up, the more remote and difficult areas have a high proportion of single-teacher schools, single-classroom schools and they also have many more parateachers and contract teachers. The democratisation of access to schools is accompanied by a reaffirmation of a child's caste, community and gender in defining which school she or he attends.

Does this augur well for a democracy? At one level we are concerned about an increasingly polarised society where caste, religion and language identities are reinforced in politics. Political parties mobilise along caste and community lines – pitting one group against the other in order to capture votes. At another level, government schools no longer provide a common meeting ground for children of different communities; children today grow up without getting an opportunity to mix with children from other social groups. While this may not be the case in fee-paying private schools – children from middle-class and affluent families have greater access to world media and are thus exposed to different viewpoints – the majority of poor children not only go to schools where they mix with their own kind but also have little access to the media (print and visual). They are the ones who are doubly disadvantaged – poverty and poor quality education.

Inside the School, Evidence of Discrimination

Savitri's family is anything but well off. But when she dropped out of school here in Viraatnagar, it wasn't because of poverty. Her own classmates and teacher made it impossible for the 15-year-old to continue. "The moment I enter the room in school, the other children make faces. They start singing 'bhangi aayee hai, aayee hai, bhangi aayee hai!' (the bhangi has come). The words of the song are foul and insulting." Savitri is from a family of manual scavengers. A group that's among the most vulnerable within Dalits. The official label for them is 'bhangi'. Many here are from the Mehter caste. And quite a few of these groups now call themselves Balmikis. With even other scheduled castes practising untouchability towards them, they end up pretty close to the bottom of the social heap. Women scavengers cleaning dry latrines tend to draw their pallu over the noses and grip it in their teeth. That offers them some protection in their unsanitary work. The children at the school mimic this when Savitri enters. "They bite a side of their collar, push their noses up. Sometimes put a hanky on their faces. I would start crying, but it didn't matter to them".

(Sainath, 1999)

The year was 1999. Well before the bone-chilling Godhara incident and the communal riots that followed in Gujarat I was travelling in Gujarat with members of a Dalit organisation documenting their experience. We interacted with the most disadvantaged

among the Dalits – the Valmiki community engaged as sweepers, to dispose dead animals, clean open toilets and carry the night soil on their heads. During field visits we encountered many situations where the laws of the land were violated. The land adjacent to Dalit localities in many villages was used for dumping cow dung and other garbage. The environment was unhygienic. We encountered social boycott, violence and intimidation. We spoke to people who were forced to work as bonded labour due to indebtedness. We visited areas where the land allocated to Dalits was controlled and cultivated by Patels and Durbars.

The most subtle, yet most devastating blow to the self-esteem of Dalits was visible in primary schools. We met a large number of children who were formally enrolled in the government school but did not attend. When asked why, they talked about the behaviour of the teachers, the physical distance maintained by other children and how they had to sit separately in one corner of the classroom. Girls talked about how their fellow students covered their noses with cloth when they were in close proximity. Children who braved all odds to continue in school talked about how they were invariably asked to sweep the floor or clean up but never asked to fetch water. The relatively better-off Dalits manage to escape to nearby urban areas or to private fee-paying schools where they may be assured of some degree of anonymity. The poor who depend on government schools just stop attending, even if they are formally enrolled. A young man in his early twenties asked what was the use of affirmative action by way of job reservations when majority of Dalit children are denied basic education and when an overwhelming proportion of the poor are those who are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. Another young man asked what the meaning of democracy was: does it only mean voting every 5 years? He asked us whether democracy could genuinely thrive in an unequal society and one that is “racist”. And most troubling of all, he asked if people like him are citizens of the country (Ramachandran & Prasad, 2000).

This situation is not confined to Gujarat alone but is, unfortunately, an all-India phenomenon. The socio-economic profile is a barrier to participation in education. It is well known that Dalit families live in settlements that are distant from the main village. A school or for that matter an ICDS centre is not readily accessible – physical and social distance acts as a deterrent, especially in a situation of heightened social tension. This is more than obvious when we examine macro data on enrolment, retention and completion. Over 50% of Dalit children who enter primary school leave by class 5, with a majority dropping out before they reach class 3 (Nambissan, 2001). The situation in tribal areas is much worse given a large number of single-teacher schools, rampant teacher absenteeism and, worse still, teachers who are posted are unfamiliar with the language spoken by tribal children. The data are quite disturbing – 48.7% of tribal girls and 49% of tribal boys drop out before completing the primary cycle.

Even more tragic – those who brave it and continue learn very little. In the years 2005 and 2006 an independent non-governmental organization (Pratham) facilitated a nationwide sample survey on learning outcomes of children. The results were shocking. In 2005 close to 35% of children in the 7–14 age group could not read a simple paragraph (grade 1 level) and almost 60% of children could not read a simple story (grade 2 level), 65.5% of children in the 7–14 age group could not tackle simple arithmetic problems and more worrying was that 47% of children in the 11–14 age group could

not solve grade 2 level arithmetic problems. In 2006 the survey found that the situation was not very different. Almost half of standard 5 children could not read a standard 2 text. Suman Bhattacharjea points out: “[T]his early inability to ensure that children gain grade-appropriate reading skills obviously intensifies the subsequent burden on both children and teachers ... ASER 2006 data confirms that this is losing battle: in standard VI, after having completed the recommended minimum of 5 years of education fully, one third of all students cannot read at the level established for Standard II.” It is therefore not surprising that over half the children who enter grade 1 drop out before they reach grade 8, with children from the most deprived communities and from rural and remote areas constituting an overwhelming majority of dropouts. Education has meant little to these children – they acquire few skills and little confidence.

The dominant perceptions about mental abilities of Dalit or tribal children coupled with stereotypes about certain communities lead to subtle and sometimes even blatant discrimination against some children, leading to higher dropout rate and incidence of failure.⁵ At one level we recognise that Dalit or tribal or Muslim children studying in “mixed schools” face discrimination, affecting their self-esteem and confidence and more importantly their ability to learn. At another level, we are uncomfortable with the idea of segregated schools not the least because schools meant for tribal or Dalit children are invariably mismanaged.

The answer may lie in ensuring neighbourhood schools which are closely monitored – in particular, to prevent blatant caste, community or gender discrimination. The unfortunate reality is that the majority of our school teachers and educational administrators are upper caste, urban and non-tribal. They do not identify or empathise with their students; most, in fact, send their own children to fee-paying private or private-aided schools. Pre-service and in-service training does not deal with the impact of social prejudices and attitudes of teachers on the self-esteem of children and their ability to learn. Teacher educators are themselves blind to the existential reality of very poor children and are often hostile to issues of gender and social equity. Given this situation Dalit and tribal leaders argue that their children are better off in separate schools – provided the government ensures equal investment and equal quality.

Not all teachers are insensitive and prejudiced. As a researcher who has travelled across the country visiting schools and interacting with teachers, one must admit that there are wide regional variations. At one end of the spectrum are states where the majority of teachers are from politically powerful castes – upper caste and OBC. It is not uncommon to come across administrators and teachers who are hostile to issues of gender and social equity – in particular, to most disadvantaged among Dalit (erstwhile untouchable groups, scavengers), tribal and Muslim communities. Caste- and community-based discrimination is not uncommon – even in urban areas.

The situation in tribal-dominated areas and in predominantly tribal states is different. While such prejudices are not immediately palpable (especially among non-tribal teachers or those from dominant tribal groups) the teachers admit that they lack the skills to manage a multi-grade classroom with children from very diverse backgrounds. Sustained enrolment drives and the introduction of midday meals have brought a large number of children into schools – most of whom are first-generation school-goers speaking several languages/dialects. Absenteeism is endemic and teachers take turns

to come to school. As a result a teacher can end up managing over 75–100 children. Teachers admit that they are perennially lobbying to be transferred to more accessible schools – investing a lot of time and money. The basic problems remain of low motivation, absenteeism and indifferent teacher management.

Rural and urban schools in several educationally forward states tell a similar story. Increased enrolment has changed the texture of the classroom: children from diverse social and educational background come to school. The problem is compounded when they speak different languages or dialects. Teachers complain that they have not been trained to manage so much diversity – that too in a multi-grade situation (where one teacher holding two or three classes simultaneously in the same classroom). And as above, they do not understand the family circumstances of their students. They are at a loss to cope with long absenteeism of children during peak agricultural season or when their families migrate for short periods. We face an overburdened teacher with neither requisite skills nor a reliable academic support structure.

There are no simple or straightforward answers – each state and even each district merits context-specific strategies. The larger point is that while schools could counter social prejudices and become agents of change, they end up doing just the opposite.

In India, democracy was constructed against the grain, both of a society founded upon inequality of the caste order, and of an imperial and authoritarian state. If the initial conditions were unlikely, democracy has had to exist in circumstances that conventional political theories identify as being equally unpropitious: amidst a poor, illiterate and staggeringly diverse citizenry. Not only has it survived, it has succeeded in energizing Indian society in unprecedented ways. Introduced initially by a menacingly legalistic nationalist elite as a form of government, democracy has been extended and deepened to become a principle of society, transforming the possibilities available to Indian. They have embraced it, learning about it not from textbooks but by extemporary practice. Yet the very success of India's democracy also threatens its continued institutional survival. The idea of political equality has engendered the menace of a tyranny of the religious majority, a threat traumatically manifested in 1992 by the destruction of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. (Khilnani, 1997, pp. 9–10)

We discussed three scenarios in the previous sections – first, of children from poor families and disadvantaged social groups who start life with a cumulative burden of exclusion; second, when school entry and quality of education they receive is framed by their social, economic and geographic status; and third, the post-enrolment experience of discrimination and limited learning – both by way of reading and writing skills and content. Schools often reinforce social segregation – thereby extending the burden of exclusion right through schooling till they are adults. This does not stop here. There are few educational opportunities for young adults who may have dropped out of school – they cannot access skill or vocational training (minimum qualification for enrolment being class 10) further constraining choice.

“Human development is the process of widening choices for people to do and be what they value in life” (HDR, 2004). What impact does systematic exclusion from

health, nutrition and education services have on people who live on the margins? Can they overcome the odds and participate as equals in democratic processes? It is well known that it is the very poor who feel most alienated from institutions – be it the local hospital expected to provide basic health care or the panchayat where they can access developmental schemes meant for them (drought relief, food-for-work), child development centres that provide supplementary nutrition and immunisation, schools – the list is fairly long.

Affirmative action in the form of job reservation could make a difference – provided they are able to complete 10 years of schooling with satisfactory skills and cognitive abilities. This is how the cookie crumbles – almost every socially disadvantaged social group has a small number of families that have broken out of the cycle of poverty and exclusion. This group is often referred to as the creamy layer. It is this small, yet vocal and organised group that benefits from affirmative action, leaving the majority out of the loop. Better management of affirmative action by linking social status with economic situation has met with resistance. More and more social groups (including religious minorities) – even those that are not socially disadvantaged – are today demanding reservations in jobs and in institutions of higher education. As a result the constitutional instruments for correcting centuries of social exclusion have become a source of patronage. They have thrown up a manipulative leadership that uses the rhetoric of affirmative action to perpetuate social, economic and educational exclusion.

The more baffling paradox is why leaders of social movements of Dalits, tribal communities, Muslim minorities and most ironically the women's movement have not raised their voice against iniquitous strategies and poor quality education. Dysfunctional rural schools rarely attract the attention of leaders today.

The Government of India made free and compulsory education a fundamental right of all children in the 6–14 age group through the 86th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2002. The new Article 21A reads as follows: “Right to Education – The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, *by law*, determine.” A corresponding “Free and Compulsory Education Bill, 2004” was drafted by the Ministry of Human Resources Development – but it was not tabled in parliament. Instead the central government circulated the draft to all the states asking them to introduce appropriate bills/ordinances for effective implementation of the 86th Constitutional amendment.

While the draft circulated provides safeguards to ensure that formal schools cater to all children and that the transitional arrangements are strictly short-term – the situation on the ground tells a different story. Given the financial situation of most state governments, transitional strategies are becoming the preferred option. Many state governments have also opted for contract teachers to meet the demands of an expanding elementary education system.

While schools managed and controlled by local self-government institutions (panchayats) is a step in the right direction, the question remains why the formal school system – especially teacher cadre management (transfers and posting of teachers) – continues to remain outside the purview of panchayats. The answer does not lie in institutionalising a poor quality and low-cost model for the most disadvantaged – when

they actually merit greater investment of funds, human resources, teaching-learning material and lower teacher/pupil ratios to ensure greater care.

Here is the final twist to the tale! Can all children who enter primary schools actually go up to class 8 or class 10. The most recent data released by Government of India tell a startling story. According to Government of India (2007) there are 7,12,239 recognised primary schools, 2,62,286 upper primary schools, 1,45,962 secondary schools. This implies that out of every 100 children who enter primary schools, only two thirds of them can move on to upper primary and only 20% to secondary school. The education system is so designed that all children cannot access elementary education, leave alone secondary education. The ratio of primary to upper primary schools and sections is 2.57 for India – the worst ratio is in West Bengal (5.28) followed by Jharkhand (3.97), Meghalaya (3.73) and Bihar 3.24). (NUEPA and MRHD, GOI, 2007)

Who are the children who make it through the system? The answer is obvious – children who attend poor quality primary schools and alternative schools are the ones who drop out of the system. An attrition policy – both in terms of numbers as well as in terms of quality is built into the very structure. Only an exceptionally gifted child from a rural remote primary school can hope to make it to secondary school. Inequality is inherent in the system – right from the time a child is born till she/he becomes an adult.

What implication does this have for a democratic society in India? Do growing differences threaten the democratic fabric of our society? Evidence from different parts of the country is extremely disturbing. While the top 20–25% of the population (that too in the industrialised regions of the country) is gung-ho about globalisation and the India growth story – the bottom 25% is struggling to eke out an existence. The social, cultural, regional (location specific), community and the occupation profile of those at the bottom of the pyramid is yet another marker – pushing them from the margins to the wild. Increasing social strife coupled with electoral politics that reaffirms social identities is a cause for concern. Yes, there is a global demand for skilled work force – yet only a small fraction of our children can even dream of accessing education that will enable them to take advantage of the growing demand for skilled people. There is an urgent need to go back to the drawing board and re-image education afresh.

India in the South Asian Region

Most discourses on India invariably start with an invocation of the democratic tradition. After all, India just celebrated 60 years of Independence as a vibrant democracy. Notwithstanding this one fact, India is not very different from the rest of the countries in this region. Poverty, uneven development and historical colonial legacy are not unique to this region. But it is widely acknowledged that South Asia is culturally different, particularly with respect to gender relations. This region has a high population density and per capita income is only higher than sub-Saharan Africa.

Another significant characteristic of this region is that it has an estimated 400 million young people aged 12–24 – accounting for close to 30% of all young people in the developing world. This “demographic dividend” is said to have accounted for a third of East Asia’s economic miracle. “The recent success stories of East and Southeast Asia and Ireland suggest that development requires a combination of factors... Interactions

among the many relevant factors have the potential to set off virtuous development spirals and to halt vicious spirals” (Bloom, 2005). The potential of this dividend is even greater in South Asia. The World Development Report (WDR) of 2007 predicts that this cohort will grow slowly (except in Pakistan) and will peak in the next 25 years. Close to more than 45% of these young people are girls and women. Women’s participation in decision-making is limited not only because of the unique cultural characteristics of this region but also because of high dropout rates after primary school among girls.

In the last few decades rapid economic growth in South Asia has infused a sense of optimism – it could be compared with the economic boom witnessed in East Asia in the 1990s. East Asia has been relatively more stable for several decades now and has experienced rapid economic development as well as good progress in human development indicators. This region has also been seen as being relatively more forward-looking – especially with respect to gender relations, women’s participation in workforce and girls’ participation in education. South Asia, on the other hand, has experienced social and political conflict, natural disasters and internal strife. What places South Asia apart from East Asia is the *persistence of gender inequality*. Yet, *the potential* of exponential economic growth and the promise of accelerated educational development have instilled a sense of optimism and hope. However, as compared to Southeast Asia, this sub-region has a long way to go before attaining higher human development goals as well as greater gender equality.

Clearly, the region faces formidable challenges. But it also holds out the promise of rapid progress and development. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen has pointed out time and again that gender inequality is keeping the region back. He believes that if the countries are able to prioritise education, health, nutrition and overall well-being of girls, the region may see unprecedented change. The big question is whether – given the sociocultural milieu – can the region rise above narrow communal and domestic walls and think big?

Notes

1. This paper was originally prepared under the aegis of the project “State of democracy in South Asia” of Lok Niti Institute for Comparative Democracy, Centre for Studies in Developing Societies, New Delhi in 2005. I would like to thank Peter de Souza and Yogendra Yadav of Lok Niti for giving me a chance to think through this issue and write about it.
2. It is indeed very interesting that these issues continue to dog us in 2007! The bill detailing the implications of making education a fundamental right is yet to be enacted.
3. See Partha Chatterji books – *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1993 and *Nationalist Thought in the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* 1986. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
4. The mean age of marriage for the population as a whole is 19 (Uttar Pradesh), 20 (Karnataka) and 18 (Andhra Pradesh) – NFHS, 1998.
5. P. Sainath has documented the situation of Dalits across the country from 1999 onwards. Articles appearing in *The Hindu* reveal persistent social discrimination inside the school. Certain specific groups among the Dalits, like Valmiki, Rohit, Thoti, Chamar and in tribal areas the non-dominant tribes and denotified tribes (classified as criminal tribes by the British) are not only discriminated against by the forward castes, but by other Dalits, who consider them untouchable.

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CURRICULUM REFORM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: WHEN LOCAL MEETS GLOBAL

Linda Chisholm and Ramon Leyendecker

Introduction

Educational change in sub-Saharan Africa since the 1990s is a diverse and complex issue. Not only are the societies, their socio-economic and political profiles extremely varied, but heterogeneous external and internal forces have also influenced their trajectories of educational change. If anything can be said to bind such diverse contexts, it must include the history and impact of colonial and postcolonial endeavours. On the one hand, the legacies of colonialism continue to hold great power over the imaginary and real lives of states and citizens. On the other hand, the political transitions that swept over many parts of sub-Saharan Africa from the 1960s were accompanied over the successive decades by growing political instability, debt and poverty. The region's real GDP per head fell by 42.5% between 1980 and 1990; its income distribution has become more unequal. Although the growth rate has improved since the mid-1990s, "sub-Saharan Africa has found itself retreating economically while other developing areas of the world are advancing strongly" (Sparks, 2006). The causes are both external and internal and economic and political (see Williams, 2006; Jennings, 2006; Sparks, 2006). New education systems and especially higher education institutions were established in the immediate postcolonial period as key projects of national pride, aspiration and affirmation. These also experienced increasingly serious difficulties as political crisis combined with economic crisis.

In the early 1990s, the seemingly distant event of the fall of the Berlin Wall and gathering pace of globalisation also had distinct implications for Africa. Not immune from world currents, many countries in Africa held multiparty elections in the early to mid-1990s to signal commitment to liberal democracy and market openness consistent with world developments even though authoritarianism remained part of many political systems. These elections legitimated the new market orientation that had begun to take hold in the 1980s and paved the way for educational and curriculum reform, including demands for greater accountability with regard to the spending of development aid on education. They ushered in new processes for educational and curriculum reform. This article examines curricular reform, and specifically learner-centredness, outcomes- and competency-based education and the National Qualifications Framework. The analysis encompasses evidence for sub-Saharan Africa, but provides a specific focus on Southern Africa.

A considerable literature has emerged over the past decade and a half exploring the impact of these new developments through an examination of the relationship between policy and practice. Policy sociology has shown that policy and curriculum implementation does not follow the predictable path of formulation–adoption–implementation–reformulation, but is recontextualised through multiple processes (Ball, 1990, 1994; see also Bernstein, 2004) and mechanisms (Dale, 1999); that most implementation happens with little regard for available capacities or resources (Elmore, 2001); that local, and especially teachers' values, practices and beliefs shape the outcomes of implementation (McLaughlin, 1991, 1998); and that the way to understand implementation is to start with an examination of practice (Sutton & Levinson, 2001). Comparative education has also emphasised the role of globalisation (Carnoy, 2000), processes of discourse formation (Schriewer, 2003) and impact of local contexts in producing asymmetrical patterns (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

Not much of this literature takes account of African contexts, or their considerable diversity. Indeed, they are, for the most part, largely invisible. Here two main approaches to the problem of the relationship between policy and practice can be identified. The first emphasises mainly external and the other mainly internal reasons for policy failure, although neither ignores the other. There are also significant differences within each approach. The first focuses on political economy and the overwhelming and decisive role of donors and multilateral agencies in shaping policy goals in the majority of contexts (Samoff, 1999a, b, 2001, 2005; Tabulawa, 2003; Vavrus, 2003).

The second focuses, on the one hand, on the resilience of distinctively African forms of social organisation, and on the other hand, on the nature of policy and the politics of education. Stambach, for example, has shown how schools on Mount Kilimanjaro mediate collective and individual notions of and identifications with modernity while hardly altering dominant, ritualised call-and-response styles of teaching; these show strong resonances with patrilineal values and hierarchies, and age and gender relations that reinforce male authority. And Tabulawa has argued that failure in attempts to introduce learner-centred education in Botswana has much to do with the strength of agreement between traditional and colonial approaches to learning (Stambach, 2000; Tabulawa, 1997). A sophisticated variation on this theme, which examines the complexity of local educational practices in Ghana, has demonstrated how different international, national and local discourses jostle alongside one another in the same school, where teaching can remain lacklustre and rote-learning-centred, but opportunities can nonetheless be created where students do actually learn from one another (Coe, 2005).

Authors in the South African context have likewise focused on contradictory outcomes. Here, however, policy failure has not been linked specifically or mainly to the imposition of policy from the outside, or to specifically 'African', 'traditional' features. Rather, they have focused on internal politics and contradictions. Thus Jansen (2002) has emphasised the symbolic role of policy in political transition to explain non-change, Harley and Wedekind (2004) and Jansen (2005a) have highlighted the contradictions between pedagogical and political ideals and the great diversity in the context of practice, and Hoadley, Reeves and Muller have underscored the socially reproductive role of schools and the centrality of variations in teacher knowledge and

pedagogy in reproducing historical fault lines of inequality (Hoadley, 2007, 2008; Reeves & Muller, 2005).

These approaches are not mutually exclusive, as the work of Tabulawa illustrates. He (Tabulawa, 2003) has argued that the ascendancy of neo-liberalism as a development paradigm in the 1980s and 1990s elevated political democratisation as a prerequisite for economic development and with it, learner-centred pedagogy. For him, the pedagogy is part of “an ideological outlook, a worldview intended to develop a preferred kind of society and people ... representing a process of Westernisation disguised as quality and effective teaching” (2003, p. 7). The argument here does not however explain the favourable reception of the idea at the local level. In attempting to explain why learner-centred education has been both accepted so easily and implemented with such difficulty, this paper argues that both external and internal reasons need to be taken into account.

The chapter focuses less, however, on African culture as a cause of implementation failure, than on the combined non-relationship of international and national-level discourse to local realities and practices. In so doing, it draws on much existing work. But it argues in addition that local histories of resistance to colonialism incorporated educational ideas that reverberated with learner-centred education. Learner-centred and outcomes-based education found local favour because they were not entirely new ideas, and were ambiguous enough to be seen as key vehicles for achieving not so much educational, as economic, social and political goals. Learner-centred and outcomes-based education, when they emerged in the post-1990s period, appeared to be a (democratic educational) rose by another name. But its implementation faltered in contexts where capacities and requirements for its realisation varied enormously not only amongst one another but also from the contexts in which they were originally developed. The chapter argues for a complex understanding of external and internal dynamics that takes account of the diversity and differences between contexts of implementation.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the ambiguities and differences between learner-centred, child-centred and competency-based education. It then examines the international pressures on sub-Saharan Africa for curriculum change and the local Southern African historical context and alternative educational experience that, it argues, predisposed Southern Africa to adoption of such ideas. It shows how these have not been realised in practice. It attempts to explain this on the basis that reforms have focused less on what is feasible in contexts of implementation than on the economic, social and political goals to be achieved and concludes with implications for research. In so doing, the article is concerned with how history and context shape goals and ideals of reform and contexts of implementation. The article focuses mainly on curriculum reform based on learner-centred education, but also outcomes-based education and the National Qualifications Framework. Although conceptually distinct, learner-centred education, outcomes-based education and the National Qualifications Framework all represent an interrelated set of ideas that have diffused via curriculum reform across sub-Saharan Africa in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The article draws on secondary and primary sources relating to a variety of different sub-Saharan African countries.

Learner-Centred and Outcomes-Based Education

Learner-centred education is one of the most pervasive educational ideas in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere. It is often accompanied by competency-based discourses and official shifts in curriculum and assessment policy designed to lessen the significance of examinations and enhance the importance of continuous assessment as a means of stimulating learner-centred pedagogies. And yet there is overwhelming evidence from very different kinds of sources, that the idea has not taken root in classrooms.

Country profiles developed for sub-Saharan African countries by the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, as part of a larger study on Science, Maths and ICTs in secondary education in sub-Saharan Africa (SMICT, 2005) indicate the prevalence of “traditional” and “outmoded” styles of teaching. “Chalk and talk” teaching strategies, largely aimed at verbal recall of factual information and definitions, are described as characterising pedagogies in Tanzania (Ibid, Country profile, United Republic of Tanzania, p. 13). The *modus operandi* in Uganda is said to revolve around a traditional (predominantly behaviourist) model of curriculum and instruction rather than, for example, one based on the development of meaning. Inquiry-based teaching and practical applications of science to real life are all seen as missing from teachers’ pedagogical strategies, rendering teaching and learning mainly “theoretical” (Ibid, Country profile, Uganda, p. 25). In Botswana, “the read-regurgitate-recite learning cycle” prevails despite a formally sophisticated competency-based and learning-centred curriculum (Ibid, Country profile, Botswana, p. 34). In Ghana, as in other countries, “lessons ... are almost exclusively teacher-centred, and content-driven” (Ibid, Country profile, Ghana, p. 19), even though many educators feel that not even the potential of teacher-centred education is fulfilled. Despite Namibia’s learner-centred curriculum, “a learner-centred pedagogy ... is frequently operationally absent” (Ibid, Country profile, Namibia, p. 31). Nigeria also promotes the learner-centred ideal, “but the implementation ... has often been far from the ... ideal” (Ibid, Country profile, Nigeria, p. 31). Assessment in Senegal, as in the majority of countries, is still examination-driven and led, and focused on recall and memorisation rather than learning and understanding. The gap between policy and practice, as in these West, East and Southern African contexts, are familiar also in South Africa, where the learner-centred goals of outcomes-based education – the educational philosophy here – are proving far harder to achieve in practice than in policy (see, e.g., Harley & Wedekind, 2004).

In order to understand this gap between policy and practice, it is necessary to back-track briefly and understand how learner-centred education has been understood. The idea of learner-centred education derives from the works of mainly Jean Piaget (although Piaget is sometimes interpreted as a stage theorist only), John Dewey (1938) and Lev Vygotsky (1978). Contemporary understandings of learner-centred education are based mainly on Vygotskian cognitive psychology, and differ from pedagogies based on behaviourist psychologies. In constructivism, knowledge about the structure and processes of learning is relevant for learning in general. Learning is understood as a permanent and lifelong process occurring in a variety of social settings, of which formal schooling is just one aspect. Learner-centred education is more specific about

the understanding of the nature of learning, and less specific on the pedagogies and detailed provision of outcomes in formal schooling. Its origin and ambiguities also allow a variety of different understandings that go beyond the classroom.

In spite of the apparent similarities, there are differences between learner-centred, child-centred and outcome-based education. For some writers, child-centred education was a reaction to, and development from, strong behaviourist pedagogies and is based on a different epistemology from learner-centred education (van Harmelen, 1998). In terms of learner-centred and outcome-based education, learner-centred education can be argued to be input-related, whereas outcomes-based education is output-related. Learner-centred education is more focused on teaching and instructional quality, whereas outcomes-based education is more focused on the quality of assessment. Learner-centred education is a pedagogical philosophy about teaching and learning, applicable to learning in general but academic education more specifically. Outcomes-based education primarily provides a framework of outcomes and an approach to knowledge-integration, and is only secondarily concerned with curriculum knowledge, pedagogies and learning-support materials. Outcomes can be behaviourist and achieved by child-centred education. Important for the purposes of this article is the essential ambiguity in the concept and between the different meanings, despite the fundamental differences that are said to underlie them.

The contested meanings of learner-centred education as expressed in outcomes-based education can be illustrated through its application in South Africa's post-1994 curriculum 2005. Outcomes-based education as a philosophy has been differently interpreted by different writers. There are few educationists in South Africa who have not taken a stance either for or against outcomes-based education. Writers such as Mohamed (1998), Malcolm (2000) and Odora-Hoppers (2002) have defended outcomes-based education, whereas others such as Kraak (2001) have been moderately critical, and yet others such as Jansen (1997, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2004), Jansen and Christie (1999), Muller (1998, n.d. c2001), Muller and Taylor (1998) and Unterhalter (1998a) have questioned its foundations. The nature of the debate has also shifted over time. The debate has polarised people who, to all intents and purposes, see themselves as, in one way or another, 'educational progressives'. Thus, it has been possible for some to see outcomes-based education as a narrowing and de-radicalisation of educational goals, and for others to see it as expanding and revolutionising them; for some to see it as permitting the play of difference, and allowing local, hidden knowledges to surface; for others to see it as yet another form of universal knowledge which stamps upon these; for some to see its learner-centred focus as allowing greater possibilities to the poor and others to see it as an educational romanticism which has the effect of denying the poor real learning opportunities (see above).

Its effect in international and comparative context has also been seen, in some cases, as integral to competency-driven, marketised forms of knowledge, and in others as promoting forms of knowing which contest these. For some, outcomes-based education has 'worked'; in others, it has not. Its centrality to South Africa's National Qualifications Framework has been less often debated. Early on, however, the NQF was identified as constraining educational goals to serve narrowly economic ends (Samson & Vally, 1996; Unterhalter, 1998b; Muller, 1998) rather than, as claimed, integrating education and

training. Outcomes-based education is thus the ultimate ‘floating signifier’, meaning different things to different people, who invest it with diametrically opposed qualities. As a construct of social possibility and/or limitation, it speaks to public and private desires and relationships to the emerging social order. But seeing it as this purely symbolic social construct also militates against an understanding of the material effects of the multiple social dynamics, processes and struggles of which it is a part and in which it is finely imbricated (see Chisholm, 2003, for further discussion of this aspect).

External Pressures and Conditions

Learner-centredness, outcomes-based education and the idea of the National Qualifications Framework have both international and local historical roots. We will first examine the international pressures and conditions ensuring take-up in policy discourse and then go on to explore the specific Namibian and South African contexts in more detail.

Since 1990, the goals and purposes of education in sub-Saharan Africa have been reshaped by four interconnected developments: globalisation; the changed focus of international aid agencies towards development assistance; the adaptation of sub-Saharan African countries to the new world order with its new political emphases; and the spilling over of new pedagogical ideas from the USA and Europe into sub-Saharan Africa. The latter resulted from development-export on the part of the Western world, development import from sub-Saharan African countries as well as increased international communications. Independently of the origin, the implementation of both learner-centered and outcomes-based education has, to all intents and purposes, not occurred in the way intended.

Despite differences between them, learner-centred and outcomes-based education is part of a discursive repertoire of international rights and quality education. This amalgam of ideas is broadly shared amongst multilateral and donor agencies. UNICEF, in particular, has vigorously promoted rights-based and child-centred approaches for several decades, as have UNESCO, donor-agencies and international NGOs (see also Tabulawa, 2003). National Qualifications Frameworks are not explicitly part of this body of curriculum ideas, but are nonetheless part of an international discourse that has been appropriated in the African context and that has implications for curriculum and education systems. The majority of sub-Saharan African countries are signatories to a number of conventions on education, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the World Declaration on Education For All (Jomtien, 1990), the Dakar Accord and Millenium Development Goals (April 2000). These spell out collective commitments by nation states and international agencies on the achievement of education development goals and bind sub-Saharan African countries to changing educational policy and practice in order to realise them. In so far as sub-Saharan African countries are bound to quality education, amongst other things, by the Convention of the Rights of the Child, the Jomtien Declaration, the Dakar Accord and Millenium Development Goals, attention is focused on curricular policy and practice.

The Jomtien call for access, equity, quality and democracy in education was accepted with little resistance in sub-Saharan Africa (Chisholm *et al.*, 1998). Its egalitarian thrust

was appealing and its achievement appeared to promise both social and economic development: the undoing of previous social injustices, and the achievement of economic growth that would bring benefits to citizens. Social and economic development, it was believed and continues to be so, requires educational change, and educational change is necessary for social and economic development. Educational change, in turn, is perceived to depend on, amongst other things, changing classroom practices through learner-centred education. The willing adoption of these ideas through top-down pressures and bottom-up desires account in part for the appropriation of ideas current within the international arena. In Southern Africa countries such as Namibia and South Africa in particular, the Jomtien call for equity chimed with the social, political and economic goals of post-apartheid governments.

Improved quality in education was widely perceived on the one hand as a necessary adaptation to the new knowledge requirements of globalisation and on the other, as meeting popular needs for improved schooling (ANC, 1994; Namibia Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993). On the one hand, the progressive appeal of the epistemological idea of learner-centredness seemed to fit well with development ambitions, and found favour amongst a broad array of social-educational interests. On the other hand, the National Qualifications Framework, first implemented in South Africa (1995) and Namibia (1996), appealed because it was thought it would bring social and systemic benefits: A National Qualifications Framework would form the educational 'ladder' out of poverty, low skill and unemployment, and open doors into prosperity, high skill and full employment. The route to this would be the integration of education and training through competency and unit-standards-based curricula (see ANC/COSATU, 1993; ANC, 1994).

In almost all sub-Saharan countries, however, curriculum reform is also mandated through the social sectoral education components of Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facilities' loan conditions. In general, the focus of structural adjustment packages is on cost-containment, reform of the public sector, privatisation and removal of tariff barriers. Poverty reduction strategies are a vital means by which structural adjustment packages are implemented. Educational reform is part of poverty reduction strategies, and entails measures intended to improve access and quality of education. Curriculum reform becomes part of the educational component of the structural adjustment package through the implementation of Universal Primary Education, as in Uganda (IMF, 1998); the Basic Education Master Plan and Secondary Education Master Plan, as in Tanzania (IMF, 1999); the 5-year Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) for primary and secondary education for 1999–2003, as in Mozambique (IMF, 1999) and the improvement of the quality of schooling, as in Malawi (IMF, 1998/99). Malawi's Second Development Plan 1985–1995, for example, stipulated a number of reforms aimed at renewal and reorganisation of the public sector; its educational proposal included a requirement for a shift to 'methodology-centred and competency-based instruction'. Its Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility Policy Framework Paper for 1998/99–2000/01 specifies the review and revision of the curriculum and establishment of exit points from the system (IMF, 1998/99). Significantly, these proposed shifts and changes occurred shortly after similar reforms were introduced in South Africa. Joint IMF-government teams arrive at agreements on the components of the

loans. All major donor agencies and international organisations are centrally involved in implementation of the range of activities for which loans are granted and on which agreement has been achieved.

Internal and External Processes and Conditions

In the southern and eastern African region, new learner-centred ideas were to some extent also a repackaging of ideas that had been in circulation in previous decades, caught up as the region had been in various national liberation and anti-colonial struggles. On the assumption of power, national liberation movements initially made strenuous efforts to overcome the legacies of colonialism. Independence was achieved at different times in the region: Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi and Mauritius in the early and mid-1960s, Angola and Mozambique in 1975, Zimbabwe in 1980, Namibia in 1990 and South Africa in 1994. This staggered process of achieving independence influenced the nature of the regional political economy considerably throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Before the early 1990s and independence in Southern Africa, Namibian and South African liberation movements found homes in neighbouring states such as Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola. Here, in anticipation of future liberation, there was some experimentation with alternative ideas to forms of education developed under colonialism and apartheid. Originating in Botswana, the idea of Education with Production spread through interaction between independent African countries, SWAPO, the ANC, Frelimo. In Tanzania, the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College wrestled with similar ideas. Educational ideas that were to inform post-1990s approaches thus took shape in contexts where "strands of Africanism, social-democratic and various forms of Marxist socialism, and non-racialism" interacted in a complex mix (Morrow *et al.*, 2002, p. 156).

Probably spilling over from international pedagogical discussions, learner-centred education emerged as the driving pedagogical ideal for contemporary curriculum reform in the early 1990s. Learner-centred education was officially adopted in many African countries in the 1990s, and, in spite of national differences in stronger or weaker attachment to reform attempts, implementation (or rather lack of it) has shown similarities in the challenges experienced. In the following we attempt to trace the emergence of learner-centred education in Namibia (and outcomes-based education in South Africa) as the most prominent and widely favoured educational ideal. In tracing the origins, actors and processes of implementation in one specific context, we can begin to understand some of the reasons for the gap between policy and practice.

Learner-centered education as official part of curriculum reform in sub-Saharan Africa seems to have first started with the introduction of the subject of Life Science in the newly independent Namibia in 1990. Although learner-centredness was in hindsight explicitly identified only in 1998 and not at the beginning of the large-scale implementation process in 1991 as the theoretical base of Life Science, it was the vehicle chosen to drive the process of political reform to achieve access to education for all, equity, education for democracy and democracy in education (Leyendecker,

2002; MEC Namibia, 1993, pp. 32–42). The subject Life Science itself was meant to spearhead not only the educational reform process, but also the social reform intended to eliminate the racial inequalities characterising pre-independence education. Life Science in Namibia was based on concepts of social constructivism, or the pedagogical translation of it – learner-centred education.

Historically linked to pre-independence SWAPO exile education in Loudima, Zambia, Danish development aid drove the development and implementation of Life Science in Namibia. The idea of Life Science was strongly influenced by the social-democratic values and philosophies of the Danish advisers, and was based on experiences with Education with Production (EwP) in Zambian schools. It strongly supported the political goals of post-independence SWAPO. The Danish programme advisers and the progressive ideals of the newly developed subject Life Science had an open ear from the then Minister of Education, Nahas Angula.

The idea of Education with Production was popularised in the region by Patrick van Rensburg, a former South African diplomat who renounced his allegiance to apartheid, became a Botswana citizen in 1973, founded the Swaneng Hill School and subsequently two others in association with the Botswana government, as well as the Swaneng Consumers Cooperative and Brigades Movement. Van Rensburg's approach drew on then-popular socialist ideas that aimed to combine Education with Production in order to more effectively link theory with practice, and in so doing, to ensure more effective learning, doing and understanding of production in its social context. As such, it also aimed to break down the social division between mental and manual labour that was seen as characteristic of all elitist, class-based and colonial forms of education.

The brigades curriculum included practical as well as academic subjects such as Development Studies, which encouraged students to apply their knowledge and skills in socially useful productive work. The Brigades were self-help education and training organisations producing goods and services both for themselves and for public sale to help finance teaching and training. The success of the experiment resulted in the establishment of the Foundation for Education with Production in 1980 which sought to spread the idea regionally and internationally through publications and conferences that drew together Ministry officials, liberation movements, non-governmental organisations, teachers' institutions and the "world of work" (<http://www.rightlivelivelihood.org/recipe/van-rensborg.htm> as at 12/12/2005; van Rensburg, 1978; Seidmann, 1985). The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP) was founded in Zimbabwe shortly after its independence in 1980, and followed the same principles (see McLaughlin *et al.*, 2002). After 1994, the Foundation initiated activities in South Africa, but in the new climate of reform, the pedagogical ideas were very much under the shadow of the National Qualifications Framework with its emphasis on competencies and qualifications.

Throughout the 1980s there was a rich exchange of ideas across regional and international boundaries on the concept and its implementation. The journal, *Education with Production*, edited by John Conradie, Patrick van Rensburg and Frank Youngman, and published in Botswana, provided a focus for this critical debate over the decade. It examined the historical, comparative and international dimensions, as well as the theoretical and practical problems involved in its implementation in both capitalist

and socialist countries across the developed and developing worlds. The journal drew contributions on production in schools, education and employment, technical and vocational education and training, and adult education from as far afield as the Soviet Union, Latin America, Africa, Europe and the USA. Authors comprised a 'Who's Who' of the comparative education field: Kazim Bacchus, Joan Simon, Manning Marable, Kenneth King, Wim Hoppers, Fay Chung, Claudio de Mouro Castro and Antonio Cabral de Andrade, Stephen Heyneman, John Middleton, Alan Fowler, Daniel Sifuna, Neil Parsons, David Stern and Julius Nyerere, all appeared in its pages at one time or another. The journal self-consciously promoted articles that drew on conceptual approaches to teaching and learning that were based in the work of Luria and Vygotsky to critique dominant behaviourist approaches to 'learning theory' (see, e.g., Simon, 1986). The approach emphasised the relationship between consciousness and activity, learning and doing, context and practice.

Education with Production or polytechnical education in the African contexts of Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Botswana was "seen as a means of bringing about radical or socialist transformation" (Botha, 1991, p. 207). In none of these countries, however, was EwP universally implemented. As Botha shows, in Zimbabwe there were only eight EwP or ZIMFEP schools, largely based in the rural areas (p. 207). Nonetheless, its conception "assumed considerable importance as the point of departure for education policies in many African countries and, indeed, also in South Africa" (amongst those intellectuals and activists in exile and inside the country striving for an alternative to Bantu Education). EwP was a philosophy "permeating the curriculum". In his critical analysis in 1991 of its prospects for South Africa, Botha contrasts the EwP approach which sees education as an instrument of social transformation with one that recognises the constraints on its ability to achieve such transformation: "curriculum changes in themselves", he says, "cannot play the role that the advocates ... suggest. The social conditions in which these changes are made determine the extent to which they can advance the process of transformation" (Botha, 1991, p. 210). In Zimbabwe, itself, there seems to have been some awareness that "the declaration of the policy does not necessarily go hand in hand with the definition of the fine details needed for implementation". (ZIMFEP, n.d.) It is interesting that despite this awareness amongst analysts and implementors, curriculum still, in the post-1994 Southern African context, came to carry the weight of achieving broader social transformation goals (see, e.g., Harley & Wedekind, 2004).

The trajectory of implementation of learner-centred ideas in Namibia in the early 1990s provides an example of how the EwP ideas altered over time. It also further illustrates the distance between the ideas and their realisation in practice. In the 1980s, notions of EwP were taken up in SWAPO's exile school in Loudima, Zambia. Loudima was influenced by the idea of the Zimbabwe Science (ZimSci) syllabus (see, e.g., CDU, 1987), ZimSci having borrowed the initial idea from the van Rensburg brigades in Botswana. In Zimbabwe, European teachers (and probably NGOs) sympathetic to Zimbabwean independence, like many others, were attracted by the notion of self-help and the idea of EwP. The very idea of EwP is close to ideas of contextualised and culturally relevant learning. Although learner-centredness was only later consciously spelled out as the pedagogy underlying Life Science in Namibia, the link to learner-centredness was a relatively organic one.

The Danish-guided implementation of Life Science in independent Namibia was clearly structured and planned. The implementation process was well resourced and supported over a period of 8 years. In addition, and what probably counted the most during this period, the dedication and motivation of the NGO, the Danish advisers, and Namibian staff was infectious to many in the educational system – that is, if they were supporting the political goals. Those opposed to the political goals in the education system (and who probably still dominated the system) resisted Life Science and learner-centred education because of its close link to the political aims of social transformation. However, when signs emerged that learner-centred education in Namibia was failing, it was not due to this resistance. Nor did it fail because of lack of resources, and probably not even because of capacity shortages. The main obstacle seems to have been the unclear nature of the understanding and the actual application of learner-centred education, and the scope of the intended change that focused on the high pedagogical ideal. As sound as the implementation process was in many places, it failed to transport the understanding of learner-centred education into classrooms.

The signs of poor understanding, subject content and methodological knowledge amongst teachers were many. The idea of contextualised biology teaching was often reduced to gardening, and real-life dissections were conducted at the blackboard, away from where students could see what was going on. When chickens were not available for dissection, no alternatives were found, although they were available. Dissection simply did not happen. Supplies such as chicken mesh and garden tools started to disappear or boxes of chemicals simply remained unpacked in storerooms or were lost, their uses not properly understood. Overlaps in the curriculum were not recognised, and the curriculum consequently modified or built upon; the same thing was simply taught twice. Whether this was culture or context or both, there was little understanding of what was expected to be implemented.

The reasons for its failure to take root were varied. Researchers have argued that instructional methodologies (and partly the syllabus content of Life Science) were not consonant with local, culturally determined classroom practices (Geckler, 1999; Leyendecker, 2003). The gaps that had to be bridged between existing classroom realities, social expectations of education and learner-centred education were simply too wide to be achieved in one step. To a certain extent, the implementation of learner-centred education seems to have been restricted because the Danish ideology of liberated education did not fit the Namibian version of it. In the end, little of the well-meant classroom intentions (and development goals) materialised in practice (IBIS, 2000; Geckler, 1999).

In South Africa, learner-centred education as a pedagogical ideal had already existed during the apartheid years in some progressive independent schools such as Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg, in non-governmental organisations such as SACHED (the South African College of Higher Education), and in the practices of new teacher organisations such as NEUSA (the National Education Union of South Africa), one of the predecessors of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union. Harley and Wedekind argue that it was also promoted in the White Natal Education Department before 1994 (Harley & Wedekind, 2004). In the new South Africa after 1994, learner-centred education together with outcomes-based education and the

National Qualifications Framework was meant to undo the injustices of apartheid education once and for all.

The borrowing and indigenisation process in South Africa followed a different trajectory from that of Namibia. This has been so extensively researched and analysed elsewhere, that only the main outlines will be provided here (see Jansen, 2004, pp. 206, 207; see also Spreen, 2004; Govender, 2004). Close links between the trade union movement, COSATU, the National Training Board and individual curriculum developers in the run-up to elections in 1994 ensured that a mix of ideas linked to integration, competency and outcomes-based education were adopted from Australia and translated into the schooling terrain. Although there was little, if any, initial discussion or consultation with teachers, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union subsequently became advocates of outcomes-based education as the philosophy of a post-apartheid educational dispensation. Although teachers strongly supported the intended direction and goals of curriculum change, mounting criticism led to its review and revision in 2000 and 2002 respectively (Chisholm *et al.*, 2000). This first implementation attempt of the curriculum based on the NQF, OBE, and learner-centred education, encountered so many problems that the curriculum was considered not-implemented (Jansen, 1999). Similarly, the National Qualifications Framework of South Africa was increasingly criticised for not fulfilling its mandate. It, too, was reviewed in 2002. As with the curriculum, there has been some scaling back of ambition, if not the intended goals (McGrath, 2005). As with the curriculum, resistance and criticism has come from intellectuals; amongst implementers and practitioners, there has been resistance, compliance and mimicry (Harley *et al.*, 2000).

In South Africa, the main reasons for the problems faced in indigenising learner-centred education (and OBE) appear to be comparable to those in Namibia: confusion about the meaning and content of the concepts and intended changes, and the consequences of the intended instructional practices not being of-a-piece with local classroom cultures and realities. In the case of the National Qualifications Framework, there also appears to be an incompatibility between goals and realities. In South Africa (as elsewhere), further implementation problems arose with outcomes-based education because of lack of resources and capacity, and shortcomings in the curriculum design. Ironically, former White schools, although probably opposed to the political agenda, initially had fewer problems in implementing learner-centred education since they felt they had been teaching close to the intended instructional methodologies for some years, although many were also adept at giving the appearance of change while maintaining the status quo. Former Black schools, although supporting the political agenda, appeared unable to implement learner-centred education. Where they attempted to do so, the meaning of what was to be achieved in some cases led to a travesty of the intended meaning of it (Jansen, 1998, 1999; Jansen & Christie, 1999; DOE, 2000). This reduction of the understanding of what learner-centred education is and does has also been associated with extremely poor literacy and numeracy achievements in those grades where outcomes-based and learner-centred education have been implemented (Taylor & Vinjevd, 1999; Muller, 2000). A sharp reaction to constructivism and learner-centred education has accordingly characterised many responses to outcomes-based education.

It is clear from the above that one of the legacies of the pre-1990 period and context is a degree of educational and pedagogical experimentation. This did not, however, post-apartheid, appear to have entered the formal schooling systems. One of the possible reasons must be that these experiments of changing practice in classrooms through learner-centred education barely touched the majority of schools. Here the main concerns lay elsewhere.

Both the fact that these ideas are not new and in some isolated instances may even predate independence in sub-Saharan African countries, and that they have seldom penetrated the broader educational system in any significant way, echoes US scholarship on the lack of impact of successive waves of reform on classroom practices over the past century (Cuban, 1990). In sub-Saharan Africa as much as in the USA, as Cuban has shown, dominant social groups have again and again turned to schools and education to solve intractable social and national problems, rather than directly addressing those major social problems themselves. In sub-Saharan Africa, as much as in the USA and probably Western Europe as well, there is also an enduring belief in the ability of schools to promote social mobility, create national harmony and responsible citizenship, a belief that is harnessed during all major periods of social change to the reform of education, despite evidence that schools seldom achieve these goals (Cuban, 1990, p. 9; Vavrus, 2003). The problems of taking progressive educational ideas to scale also appear to be as much an African as an American or European challenge (Elmore, 1996).

In both the Namibian and South African contexts, it has been easier to identify what needs to change and attempt to mandate this change from above, than to identify and ensure the conditions necessary for their successful implementation. Research on these issues is however sparse for sub-Saharan Africa. Much more research is needed on the gap between policy and practice, implementation and what has changed over time, how and why.

Understanding the Challenge

Outside South Africa and Namibia, learner-centred education has dominated contemporary official curriculum reform attempts across sub-Saharan Africa. Learner-centred education is considered to be one of the principal vehicles to drive societies and economies from mainly agricultural bases into modern and knowledge-based societies with attendant economic benefits. Advised and supported by multilateral organisations advocating the need for different and better learning outcomes, learner-centred education is accepted as the pedagogical ideal to facilitate this change.

While the need for different and better learning outcomes are undisputed in all sub-Saharan African educational systems, evidence from Namibia and South Africa suggests that the scope of the change is as underestimated as the differences of understanding of concepts. Local cultural and contextual realities and capacities as much as implementation requirements influence understanding and possibilities. Often learner-centred

education is attractive to policy-makers because of the appeal and promises of the social goals attached. African policy-makers can prescribe learner-centred and competency-based education and invest it with particular meanings that vary from those of their international counterparts. (Samoff, 2005; Leyendecker, 2005) These differing meanings are contested, accounting in part for challenges in implementation. To understand the problems experienced with learner-centred education, it is important to distinguish between the idea of learner-centred education as panacea (see also Vavrus, 2003), and the interlinked approach to implementation. It is also important to note that implementation challenges are not necessarily restricted to learner-centred education, but that they are a general feature of other curricular developments as well. In the case of learner-centred education, OBE and NQF, problems are aggravated by conflicts over meaning.

Two approaches can be identified in understanding what needs to be done. From one perspective, teachers need to understand the underlying idea, be motivated to change practice, adapt and apply appropriate pedagogies, and have the capacity to do it. (Elmore, 2001, p. 16) A sense of ownership is important but on its own, as shown in the South African case, it may not be enough to change practice (see McLaughlin, 1991, for discussion of the idea). From another perspective, more attention needs to be paid to ensuring opportunity to learn in classrooms, especially in working-class and poor schools, through addressing teacher knowledge and pedagogies that militate against learning (Hoadley, 2007, 2008; Reeves & Muller, 2005) or, as Jansen (2005b) has proposed, placing “teachers, texts and time” at the forefront of any strategy for change.

In conclusion, this article has attempted to examine the gap between policy and practice in curriculum change efforts in sub-Saharan Africa and paid specific attention to the Namibian and South African experiences. Far from learner-centredness being imposed, it has shown that the ambiguities of the idea, international pressures and local histories all help to account for local receptiveness to the idea. The article shows that while there is convergence around the ideas and purposes they are intended to serve, there is also evidence of divergence in practice in the extent to which they are able to meet the goals attributed to them. In practice there is considerable convergence in the divergence: ideas are recontextualised and displaced, unable in the majority of instances to meet the social development goals demanded of them. In most instances, dominant modes of teaching and learning in practice appear to converge in ways that affirm complex cultural practices as well as multifaceted contexts (Stambach, 2000; Vavrus, 2003; Crossley & Watson, 2003; Watson, 2001; Carnoy, 2000; Samoff 1999a, b, 2001; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Tikly, 2004; Coe, 2005). What this suggests is the need for a great deal more research on the local responses and sources of receptiveness and resistance to global ideas.

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GENDER AND EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING CONTEXTS: POSTCOLONIAL REFLECTIONS ON AFRICA

Deevia Bhana, Robert Morrell, and Rob Pattman

Introduction

Two of the most pressing educational concerns in sub-Saharan Africa – violence and HIV/AIDS – are directly related to the ways in which gender is socially constructed. In developing contexts gender has stubbornly remained a one-sided topic with the focus firmly (and justifiably) on the plight of girls in schools. In the African context where girls have often been marginalized, the benefits of education including increased economic opportunities, smaller families and its role as a “social vaccine” against HIV are well documented. Yet, in many African countries, access to education is curtailed by lack of resources and the question of quality of education has been raised as an important reason why girls continually lack the skills and confidence to make appropriate choices in environments that are plagued by unemployment, poverty, violence, conflict and HIV/AIDS. Schools are not safe places for girls and most of the gender analyses focus on the ways in which sexual violence manifests in school sites hindering and harming the education of girls. The focus on boys on the other hand and the construction of masculinities as a gendered construct has been largely absent from the literature on gender and education in development discourse. Where the focus has been present the construction of violent masculinities has received attention (Morrell, 2001). In industrialized and developed economies, research on gender and education has focused on boys, with a great deal of attention being given to the crisis of masculinity and feminist gains at the expense of boys. In this writing, boys have been presented as gendered victims who need support. This is in contrast to writings about boys and men in Africa who have often been demonized and seen as potentially dangerous. Recently though, an approach in gender and education in sub-Saharan Africa trying to shed light on the construction of masculinities and their complex relationship to socially and materially impoverished contexts ravaged by HIV/AIDS is emerging. These analyses generally conclude that violent and hegemonic forms of masculinities within resource-poor contexts nurture unequal gender relations and it is usually boys and male teachers that use violence. Girls mainly suffer the consequences of violence in school. Similarly, most reports on HIV/AIDS focus on how girls are made vulnerable to the disease by a rampant heterosexual masculinity. Girls account for nearly 60% of HIV infections in sub-Saharan

Africa (UNAIDS, 2004). Given that gender identities and processes are related to high rates of violence and HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, educational approaches have begun to focus on the meanings that boys and girls give to their gendered identities in the attempt to address the problems associated with rigid definitions of masculinity and femininity and to find ways of increasing the possibilities of upholding peaceful gender identities. To this end sex and HIV/AIDS education is now premised on working with the lives and identities of children and youth in schools to create alternate possibilities of doing gender analyses. This chapter argues that in the context of violence and HIV/AIDS a more sophisticated gender analysis is beginning to emerge in sub-Saharan Africa that requires us to understand how both boys and girls are made vulnerable to rigid notions of masculine and feminine hierarchies. It seeks to explore two key questions. First, how does a focus on masculinities help better to understand school boys in sub-Saharan Africa? And second, in terms of HIV/AIDS, what are the implications of gender-specific realities and vulnerabilities of boys and girls and how might these shifting and changing gender identities be used to enable education to embrace and promote gender equity.

In this chapter, we take the perspective that gender is socially constructed, fluid and open to change across different social settings. Whilst there is no single version of masculinity and femininity, a version of masculinity which has great currency in the sub-Saharan African context is one that demands respect, fosters gender violence and increases girls' vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. Material impoverishment is a key contextual factor for working with boys and girls in developing contexts, limiting the opportunities to create better gender relations. However, gender is fluid, and changing means that education is critical in working with boys and girls to change ascendant versions of gender.

Boys, Masculinities and Schooling: Violence as an Issue of Schooling

Studies of masculinity and education in developed contexts have been dominated for the last decade by a debate about a "crisis of masculinity". Before asking the question "does this framing have relevance in developing contexts?" it is important to identify various elements of the "crisis of masculinity" literature.

In the first instance, the debate is essentially about gender politics. One position holds that feminist successes in schools have led to the improvement in the fortunes of girls to the detriment of boys. Schooling has been feminized and boys emasculated. A backlash politics has emerged which demands an increase in the numbers of male teachers, a review of the curriculum and other remedial steps to assist boys at school. The backlash is often explicitly anti-feminist. An opposing position argues that there is no crisis of masculinity, and that boys are still well treated and are doing well in schools. They note that in terms of resources and facilities, boys still tend to get preference at schools and that even if some girls have overtaken boys in terms of academic performance, overall most boys are still doing well. Feminists point out that girls still battle to convert improved academic performance into labour market benefits where women continue to earn less than men in comparative situations.

In the second instance, there are debates about the gendered state of education. While the media have seized on stories of school violence, suicide, attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder and the relative decline in the academic performance of boys, to construct an impression of a “crisis of masculinity” there have been studies to try and assess the relative fortunes of boys and girls in education. In a very careful study of teaching and teachers in the UK, for example, Thornton and Bricheno (2006) argue that there is no evidence that increasing the number of male teachers would improve the performance of boys and in fact point to evidence that suggests that boys are well served by female teachers. In a very careful assessment, again of the UK, Arnot, David and Weiner (1999) show that while state-led gender reform has helped to improve the performance of girls (especially in subjects such as science and maths), no gender revolution has occurred and the educational fortunes of boys have not been jeopardized.

The third feature of the “crisis of masculinity” debate has been the recognition that there are some boys who are doing worse. These are generally working-class boys or those belonging to ethnic and racial minorities (Sewell, 1997). Changes in the labour market have undermined access to jobs especially amongst the working-class youth and this has contributed to a variety of problems for the young men themselves and for society more widely. These include laddism, forms of violence, involvement in crime and anti-social behaviours (McDowell, 2000; Nayak, 2003).

How Do These Debates Transfer into Developing Contexts?

The major educational challenge in developing countries remains to provide access to education for young people. Such goals generally involve recognizing current inequalities where boys are favoured to the detriment of girls. With very few exceptions, the percentage of boys in primary school in the developing world exceeds that of girls (Seager, 2003, pp. 112–119). The quality of education offered to boys and girls is also by and large biased in favour of boys with some of the most obvious indicators being levels of dropout due to pregnancy and the increasing gap between the attendance and performance of males and females as one ascends the education ladder. In most developing countries, male university attendance exceeds that of females. These inequalities provide justification for countries to pursue girl-promoting gender policies in education, yet at the same time, these policies are seldom pursued energetically and generally not to the point where men could argue that school-going boys are being discriminated against.

In societies that are embracing human rights agendas which in turn contain traces of feminist agendas, policies to promote the academic interests and educational fortunes of girls are being made. In some cases such as in South Africa these are being generated by the state, in other cases, they have their origin in the work of NGOs (such as Camfed which in countries like Zimbabwe have been promoting schooling for girls) and in initiatives such as the DfID Beyond Access programme which has sought to improve retention rates for girls in countries like Bangladesh. Have these programmes had a deleterious impact on boys and contributed to a “crisis of masculinity”? There seems little evidence of this. However, there are a number of reasons why the issue of boys and education in developing contexts should be taken seriously.

The example of South Africa can illustrate some of these points. Possessing the biggest and most dynamic economy of the region and fresh from the triumph of ending the racially discriminatory system of apartheid, the country has passed a constitution and bill of rights that prohibit discrimination on grounds of gender and sexual orientation. At the same time it has committed itself to attacking poverty, a goal that critics believe is jeopardized by policies that are more concerned with tackling inflation and attracting overseas investment than with creating jobs. Unemployment thus remains at very high levels (officially around 25% but in reality higher). Since the turn of the millennium, women's share of the formal labour market has risen. The performance of girls in schools has improved. On the other hand, for the first time, the number of boys dropping out of school exceeds that of girls. Crime levels are exceedingly high (on average there are 19,000–20,000 murders a year in national population of just over 40 million) and much of the crime is committed by young African men. Levels of domestic violence and rape are amongst the highest in the world.

The effects of globalization (e.g., the collapse of the labour market) on third-world economies has created conditions for the emergence of marginalized masculinities around the world (Barker, 2005; Guttman, 2003; Morrell, 2001; Ouzgane 2006). With little prospect of work and apparently unwilling or unable to enter subsistence (second) economies, many men abandon families and other support structures and surrender to alcoholic despair, drugs and sexually risky lifestyles (Silberschmidt, 2001).

Men on the margins pose dangers for national peace and security. Their access to weapons increases the risks of war and strengthens hierarchical value systems which rest on and perpetuate gender inequality. These value systems also legitimate violent practices such as the killing of women in parts of the Islamic world where they are held to have shamed the family and honour codes.

Men who feel excluded are also a threat to development. This danger was not always appreciated. Development projects which specifically tried to promote women's interests often viewed patriarchy as the cause of women's subordination and therefore consciously attempted to exclude men, citing them as the "cause" of women's exploitation. But the limitations of women's upliftment and the Women in Development (WID) approach led to later Gender and Development (GAD) approaches which recognized the strategic danger of keeping men out of development work while also acknowledging the importance of thinking about men in gendered ways, which effectively meant problematizing masculinity (Cornwall, 1997; Cornwall & White, 2000).

Thinking about men in development contexts has not been uncomplicated. It has on the one hand generated inclusive gendered approaches towards issues such as violence, fatherhood and peace, all of which have been designed to get men to see beyond a narrow male-centred agenda that protects and promotes their power and to embrace values that contribute to gender equity (and the interests of community, women, children, the aged and so on). They have also encouraged men to engage in reconstructive, introspective identity work as part of a process to fashion "new men". These developments have, however, been complicated by material circumstances (joblessness and poverty) and struggles over resources within communities and families that have all too often ended in violence and have shown how precarious (and potentially recidivist) newly reconstructed masculinities can be.

Two questions have therefore been raised: if we are not to consider men and boys either as “a problem” or as “in crisis”, what should we consider them to be? And what should boys and men aspire to in order to fit into and contribute to society?

An answer to the former question lies tangled in questions about masculinity: Are there positive models of masculinity available in developing and postcolonial contexts? If so, what do they look like? (cf. Cleaver, 2002). But increasingly the interdependence of men and women and the importance of promoting gender harmony and cooperation are encouraging the inclusion of men and the consideration of issues of masculinity and undermining pathologizing discourses. Put another way, the destiny of women and men are tied together and it is important to theorize gender solutions in ways that pay attention to both men and women, their needs, their interdependence and the inequalities that may separate them and bring them into conflict.

There is also recognition that boys (and men) are not inherently violent even as it is recognized that violence is a serious and widespread problem in many schools (Leach, 2003). The focus has shifted from trying to protect girls from boys to understanding which groups of boys are most at risk of being involved in violence: which models of masculinity contribute to the legitimization of violence and how to intervene to prevent violence.

The correlation of poverty with violence is strong although the causal connections remain unclear. Where race, ethnicity, social class and age intersect we find young black males who are likely from an early age to become involved in violence (Barker, 2005). The violence takes many forms which include involvement in gang wars, crime, ethnic or national armed conflicts and intimate partner and domestic violence. In this latter regard, the violent masculinity has become a source of interest among those attempting to better understand and prevent HIV transmission which does occur in situations of gender inequality and sexual violence (see Pattman’s section below).

Educational work with young men has concentrated heavily on addressing the issue of violence. Whereas a fear of “a crisis of masculinity” in developed contexts has fueled attempts to improve the academic performance of boys and to make schools more boy-friendly, boys in developing contexts are not being treated as a group deserving of rescue. Rather, they are considered as a constituent part of the problems besetting education in the developing world, as well as potential beneficiaries of attempts successfully to address these problems (including violence, HIV infections, school dropout).

An unresolved issue that underpins ongoing concerns about boys and masculinity in schools is the lack of a clear connection between schooling and the world of work, the consequent poor prospects of employment juxtaposed with the enduring expectation that men should be providers. The history of men in the Third World is filled with their efforts to either enter the wage economy or to remain productively independent of it. Both efforts were generally predicated on the acceptance that it was their responsibility to provide for families. In most developing contexts, men find it difficult to fulfil the provider role. In South Africa this has led to huge numbers of men living away from their families and many seeking to escape their legal obligation to support their children (Wilson, 2006). As Mark Hunter (2006) has put it, in South Africa, there are many fathers who lack “*amandla*” (power). Some seek to meet their familial obligations by

turning to crime. What this situation reveals is a tension between what R. W. Connell has termed the patriarchal dividend and the structural weakness of men in developing contexts. Men may have power (physically or collectively) in relation to younger and older men and in relation to some women, disabled people, ethnic minorities and other marginal groupings, but their inability to secure their own reproduction costs means that they are also powerless in certain contexts.

A lack of material security is likely to remain a key contextual factor for boys and men in developing contexts and in a sense there is little they can do about the materiality of their situation. But they can and do have some control over the ways in which they construct their masculine identities and the school is a critical location of this work.

The incidence of HIV/AIDS and the efforts to contain and stop the spread of the disease in sub-Saharan Africa has made the argument of the school as a powerful location for addressing and changing behaviour compelling. The gender dimension of the disease is critical for understanding its impact and to the successful implementation of prevention programmes. The ways in which boys and girls construct their gendered identities and the ways in which education can address these constructions as well as focus on new ways of constructions are important to consider. We focus upon the work conducted in gendering of AIDS and how these issues might be addressed in schools in the next section.

AIDS and Gender, Gender and AIDS

Because of the coincidence between lower rates of HIV infection and higher levels of educational participation, education has been described in Southern Africa as a “vaccine” against AIDS (Coombe & Kelly, 2000). This would seem to be particularly true for girls. According to UNICEF (2004) more than two out of three newly infected 15–24-year-olds in sub-Saharan Africa are female, and this largely reflects tendencies for females to enter into (often coercive) sexual relations with older and more sexually experienced males. Girls who drop out of school early (and generally in sub-Saharan Africa girls drop out earlier than boys in part to take on domestic and caring obligations at home – made more pressing as a result of AIDS) are particularly vulnerable because they are more dependent on older, richer men than “more educated women” with better job prospects and greater value outside the home (UNESCO, 2003). Yet interview and ethnographic studies in schools in South Africa (e.g., Morrell, 1998, 2000; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes *et al.*, 2002; Bhana, 2005; Mitchell *et al.*, 2005; Kent 2004) and also in Botswana, Zambia and Kenya (Pattman & Chege, 2003), and Ghana, Malawi and Zimbabwe, (Leach *et al.*, 2003) have shown that schools are not safe places for girls and sexual harassment and violence are major and habitual problems many girls face at school. Not only do these studies point to the routine propositioning of girls by older male students as well as by male teachers, but also to the failure of school authorities to recognize and address this as a problem.

Much faith has been placed in developing sex educational initiatives in schools to provide young people with relevant knowledge and life skills to help them avoid HIV/AIDS. But if schools are places where girls are subordinated in relation to sexuality

it has to be questioned whether they are “appropriate places upon which to pin hopes of change”. This is the view of Alex Kent (2004) based on her detailed ethnography of a Durban school and the polarization of gender identities (heterosexual), subordination of girls through school beauty contests, sexual harassment, gendered forms of punishment and the unequal gendering of spaces.

Indeed there is evidence that sex education, as it is being taught in schools, may yet be another vehicle through which gender inequalities may be produced (either overtly promoted or implicitly reinforced) in relation to sexuality. Interview research with various schoolchildren and teachers in Kenya and Zimbabwe has suggested that sex education may be quite moralistic and didactic, blaming “promiscuous” people and especially women for AIDS, and working with the assumption that sexuality is reducible to a biological drive located mainly in males, and that young people ought to control this and young women ought not to “provoke” this. And observation of HIV/AIDS and life skills lessons in Kenya and Botswana revealed that girls were quiet, looked shy and uncomfortable and boys participated much more and received more teachers’ attention. (Pattman & Chege, 2003) While the popular “ABC” campaigns in many African countries, with the emphasis in schools on A, may not advocate sexual double standards, these have been criticized for their gender insensitivity and for lumping together males and females as if they are free individuals not caught up in gender power relations. Mitchell and Smith, for example, critique the ABC campaign for assuming girls have choice on whether to abstain or not or how many partners they and their sexual partners may have or whether to carry condoms, and ignoring the pressures emanating from structured gender and age inequalities for girls to enter into risky heterosexual relations.

But schools, as Mannah (2002) has argued, are potentially vital sites in the fight against HIV/AIDS partly because of young people’s daily contact with them and the availability of skilled staff, (or, we would add in relation to HIV/AIDS education, potentially skilled staff.) Pattman (2006) argues that it is precisely because schools are so implicated in producing gender power relations that school sex educational and teacher training programmes must be developed which are student-centred and gender-sensitive. They must make the lives and identities of students the key resources, and encourage students and teachers to reflect on the gender dynamics and power relations at school and in class and other contexts outside school and their own identifications and practices.

Indeed many sex educational initiatives targeting schoolchildren and teachers are informed by these concerns. Such initiatives are influenced by assumptions that gender identities are not fixed by “culture” or biology but are negotiated in everyday interactions, though also constrained by popular and long-standing discourses or narratives about gender and sexuality, and that there are different ways of being masculine or feminine (Connell, 1995). As Walsh, Mitchell and Smith (2003) argue, sex educators need to engage with young people as both producers and consumers of popular culture and constructions of gender, sexuality and HIV/AIDS. Activities using comics, photos and photography, drama and role-play have been developed with students and teachers to explore their and alternative constructions of gender, sexuality, violence, harassment and HIV/AIDS, and to encourage critical voices to emerge. For example: Storytelling

for a Change (2004), a project using and developing “comic stories” with students in South Africa; photo voice research conducted with girls on unsafe spaces in schools in South Africa (Mitchell *et al.*, 2005); “Opening our Eyes”, a module aimed at teachers and drawing, in part, on the photo voice work with the schoolgirls (Mitchell, 2004); developing and performing plays “designed to raise HIV/AIDS and gender awareness” in schools in South Africa (Morrell, 2004); making routine gendered performances (Butler, 1990) and bodily practices the topics of self-reflexive inquiry through role play in schools in Mozambique, Thorpe (2002); agony aunt role-playing games in Zimbabwe, Kaim, (2002). When used in sex educational programmes in schools, drama and role-playing may enable pupils to explore their (gendered and sexual) identities in a range of imaginary contexts outside the classroom where they may be used to presenting themselves in quite different and even contradictory ways. (Pattman & Chege, 2003).

In developing gender-sensitive forms of sex education, Pattman (2005) argues that we need to address masculinity and femininity in relation to each other precisely because these are not essences boys and girls possess which exist in isolation but are always constructed relationally. Sex education aimed at empowering girls and women but targeted only at them tends to reinforce assumptions that reproductive health is primarily their responsibility (Bujra, 2000) and males are more sexual or more sexually irresponsible. An alternative way of empowering girls is to encourage both boys and girls to reflect critically on the problems that arise for them and for the other sex as a result of enacting stereotypical constructions of masculinity and femininity. This assumes that females are not less sexual than males and that sexual abuse comprises not only, as Carol Vance (1984) argued so powerfully, sexual harassment and violence but also the policing and regulation of female sexuality. This may make it difficult for girls, constructed as responsible, to carry condoms (Campbell, 2003) or to stay out at night or wear certain kinds of clothes or even talk about their sexual desires (Pattman, 2005). It also assumes that it is in the interests of *both* boys and girls to develop less polarized and more egalitarian relationships – sexual and non-sexual – with the opposite sex. This is a position which draws on Bob Connell’s (1995) contention that hegemonic constructions of males as emotionally and physically tough and as possessors of a huge sex drive incur costs not only for girls, but for boys, generally, who try to live up to these: for example, anxieties about girlfriends rejecting them for older, richer and more sexually experienced boys and men, being unable to publicly express feelings of love and intimacy and fears about getting into fights with, and being bullied by, other boys. Such anxieties were expressed by boys in South Africa and Zimbabwe in individual diaries though not publicly in group interviews (Pattman & Chege, 2003).

In response to a “crisis of masculinity” in the West, centring around constructions of boys as sexually irresponsible, violent and anti-academic (see previous section), calls have been made by academics and politicians for stronger male role models as teachers and fathers (e.g., Biddulph, 1998) to encourage boys to develop a sense of self-control and responsibility (a position challenged by Thornton’s and Bricheno’s (2006) study in the UK, mentioned in the previous section). The problem with this view is that it assumes an essential masculinity which only male authority figures can model in a responsible way, a view very much at odds with the idea of gender as relational

advanced above. Taking gender as relational, Pattman (2006) has argued that male sex education teachers can act as very positive role models, not, however, by exemplifying conventional tough and authoritarian modes of masculinity but by subverting these. He draws on research (Pattman & Chege, 2003) which shows that male and female teachers in South Africa and Botswana, tended to be constructed by pupils in quite polarized ways as, respectively, authoritarian and caring, (see also Kent, 2004) and argues for the importance of male sex educators (trained to be gender-sensitive and student-centred) demonstrating how males can be sensitive, approachable and non-aggressive and develop close and caring relations with girls which are non-sexual and non-harassing.

Whether to address boys and girls separately or together is a contentious issue among those committed to gender-sensitive forms of sex education. Responding to the research findings which present schools as places where girls are subject to forms of sexual harassment and subordination, Morrell (2000) has argued for more single-sex schools to provide safe and supportive environments for girls. In contrast, Pattman (2005) has suggested that a key aim of sex education should be to encourage boys and girls to identify less in opposition to each other and to promote possibilities of cross-gender friendships, and that this is only feasible when boys and girls are given opportunities to work together and learn from each other, (even if single-sex group work may need to be used in sex education, in conjunction with mixed groups, as a way of enabling girls, initially, to talk openly about issues relating to sexuality and gender). However single-sex schools may be particularly important for empowering girls, Unterhalter and others (2004) argue in regions, such as Northern Kenya, where gender-segregated relations are sanctioned on religious grounds and girls tend to be withdrawn from (mixed) schools as they reach puberty.

Conclusion

The specific needs of boys and girls and their vulnerabilities in sub-Saharan Africa have not received adequate attention in educational research and policy. Too many gender analyses in education focus on the percentage of males and females in primary and secondary schooling. Girls are often seen to be victims without much voice whereas boys are constructed as sexual predators and as violent. While we have made a strong case for showing how violence and HIV/AIDS links to boys' and girls' vulnerabilities in schools, the use of demonizing terms to construct boys as violent and aggressive is unhelpful particularly as these homogenizing categories fail to consider the plurality of boys' experiences. Similarly most reports on HIV/AIDS show how girls are made vulnerable by the sexual behaviour of boys. In this chapter, we have argued that many of the negative behaviour patterns exhibited by boys are often part of public display of male identity defined within rigid social constructs of what it means to be a boy and man in sub-Saharan Africa.

However, in sub-Saharan Africa there is evidence of changing gender norms especially as a result of women and girls' greater access to labour markets which is eroding men's sense of entitlement to economic advantage. At the same time there is recognition of the importance of men and women working together and the positive impact of education on income and on the health of the family. In South Africa, for example, the constitution

and the calamitous effects of HIV/AIDS, are changing how some men see themselves in relation to women, whilst others continue to hold on to traditional views.

Working with boys and girls to change the normative constructions of gender is critical and HIV/AIDS education as we have shown provides a fertile ground for this to happen. However, change is slow and in the sub-Saharan context, material impoverishment and the vulnerabilities created for boys and girls as a result impact heavily on what change is possible. We have, in this chapter argued nevertheless, that the challenge for education in the light of violence and the massive work needed to stop the spread of the disease, is to tap into the voices of boys and girls and for boys and girls to set the agenda in locating the pathways of change.

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REINVENTING EDUCATIONAL SPACES, BUILDING ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP: TWO BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCES

Tristan McCowan and Luís Armando Gandin

Introduction

When Leslie Bethell (2000) states that, “Brazil is a democracy of voters, not yet a democracy of citizens”, he is highlighting two significant aspects of the country. Firstly, the fact that all people can vote in Brazil, and nearly all do (it is obligatory for those aged 18–70), is indicative of a range of advances in the twentieth-century that ensured universal formal rights. The Constitution of 1988 and the Statute of the Child and the Adolescent of 1990 form part of an edifice of official guarantees to the people, including that of compulsory education from 7 to 14 years. Yet the progressive and enlightened nature of much Brazilian legislation and institutional structures is matched by the ineffectiveness and incompleteness of their implementation. Civil rights are generally upheld only in proportion to the wealth of the individuals involved, and the poorest have next to no social rights. In the political sphere, there is formal, but not effective, participation.

In general terms, it is possible to see citizenship as consisting of two strands: the passive, relating to the set of rights that the State guarantees to uphold for the individual, and the active, relating to the participation of the individual in the functioning of the State. The two major paradigms of citizenship – liberal and civic republican – each focus principally on one of these two elements, the former on rights and the latter on active participation (Heater, 1999; Kymlicka, 2002). Yet it can be argued that citizenship will only be effective if attention is paid to both, with citizens ensured of their civil, political and social rights (in T. H. Marshall’s [1950] conception) and taking an active part in decision-making, whether at the local or national level.

Education is related to both these strands of citizenship. Firstly, it is itself a right (though the nature and extent of that right may be strongly contested) and as such, citizenship makes necessary the provision of at least basic education for all. Yet education is also a means to ensuring the second strand. Effective participation cannot be ‘granted’ to citizens (even though the State can make efforts to remove formal barriers). It depends on knowledge, skills and dispositions that must be developed internally and thus will occur largely through formal or informal education. Importantly, therefore, effective citizenship raises questions over the quantity and quality of schooling, the access to educational provision and its nature or orientation.

In addition, we can distinguish between weak and strong forms of political participation (McCowan, 2006a). Current democratic systems for the most part allow citizens freedom of choice among candidates and policies. Yet these political options are embedded in a deeper framework of social, economic and political structures and relations which are fundamental to the running of the polity but which are rarely questioned. Strong forms of citizenship (truly critical forms) will allow these underlying orientations of society, the questioning of which is often taboo, to be open for rethinking and reinvention.

The above analysis, however, shows a certain universalist tendency, one which Unterhalter (1999, pp. 102–103) calls, “an appeal to an abstract concept of the citizen, stripped of all qualities save subjective rationality and morality”, and which can “maintain and perpetuate social divisions based on gender, race ethnicity, sexuality and disability”. Discussion of citizenship must balance the need for universal rights and participation with the claims of particular groups for recognition of difference. Formal equality may mask inequalities and discrimination in practice. People with disabilities, for example, may have specific requirements to enable them to participate on an equal footing in the political sphere. Policies may be needed to address histories of discrimination on the basis of gender and race. This provision may not be easy to achieve: identity has an uneasy relationship with citizenship, since the latter unavoidably entails some abstraction from specific characteristics towards the general characteristics of membership of a polity.

The history of Brazil has not provided fertile ground for the flowering of citizenship. Each of its periods – successively characterized by colonization, authoritarianism and neo-liberalism – has limited both the aspects of extending rights and equipping people for active participation. After independence in 1821, it was well over half a century before slavery was abolished in 1888. Since then, there have been two periods of dictatorship, from 1937–1945 and 1964–1985, and stuttering advances towards democracy in between. Despite significant democratization since 1985, social inequalities remain acute. Brazil in 2006 was ranked 10th most unequal country on the Gini scale, with the top 10% of society having a 58 times greater share of wealth than the bottom 10% (UNDP, 2006).

This historical background is important in understanding the current educational context in Brazil. The country’s unique scenario is a product of long-lasting battles between progressives and traditionalists on the one hand and between the elites and working classes on the other. In the colonial period, opportunities were few and far between, even for the wealthy, who as a general rule sent their children to be educated in Europe. After a slow expansion of provision in the nineteenth century, a new momentum came with the formation of the Republic, as faith grew in the importance of universal schooling and the role of formal education in promoting technological advances (Havighurst & Moreira, 1965). Yet it was only with the rapid economic growth of the years after the Second World War that significant quantitative gains were made, and these continued until near universal primary enrolment was achieved by the end of the century (secondary and higher education gross enrolments are less impressive, standing at 75% and 20% respectively – UNESCO, 2004; INEP, 2003¹).

However, while these quantitative gains are welcome, they hide deep and widespread problems of quality. Curriculum in Brazil has traditionally been characterized by an allegiance to inert academic learning with little relevance to the local context. The *Escola Nova* (new school) movement in the first half of the twentieth century, led by Anísio Teixeira, consequently attempted to inject new life into schools, promoting expression, investigation and problem-solving relating to current issues. These reforms, however, did not affect the majority of educational provision (Louro, 1986). Moreover, in addition to these ‘soft’ elements, the movement had a ‘hard’ side of pragmatic instrumentalism, paving the way for the later technicist approaches of the military dictatorship. Ironically, it was during the two periods of the twentieth century in which direct elections were suspended – first the Vargas period from 1937 and later after the military coup of 1964 – that citizenship became an explicit part of the curriculum. Yet this was a form of citizenship education that fostered neither rights nor critical participation. *Educação Moral e Cívica* (Moral and Civic Education) became a compulsory subject, promoting a conservative patriotism, one which valued duties over rights and the glory of the nation over justice for all its members.

After 1985, direct elections returned and the country experienced a considerable opening of democratic spaces and emergence of social movements. This period coincides with the worldwide rise of an economic policy framework commonly termed ‘neo-liberalism’, which, while to a lesser extent than in other Latin American countries such as Chile, brought significant changes in Brazilian society. During the administration of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994–2002) public spending in education was focused increasingly on the primary level, in accordance with the recommendations of the World Bank and other international agencies, with private providers increasing their share at post-compulsory levels. This succeeded in bringing high levels of commercialization in higher education, and despite steady gains in primary enrolments, did not resolve problems of quality, with severe lack of resources and high levels of unqualified teachers in the poorer regions of the country (Gentili, 1995; Gentili & Frigotto, 2000).

A new paradigm of citizenship emerges in this final period. The political sphere appears to be subordinated to the economic, with the free market becoming the model system of public services. The citizen is thereby identified with the consumer, making choices among a number of competing services, but limited, of course, by purchasing power. While the citizen of the authoritarian regime was disempowered by repression and a lack of political rights, the consumer-citizen is disempowered in more subtle ways. Having been granted the semblance of power through choice (the ‘parent power’ of UK government discourse) the consumer-citizen surrenders the potential power of collective organization, democratic deliberation and peaceful protest.

Effective citizenship in Brazil today is threatened by both the paradigms of authoritarianism and neo-liberalism. This chapter explores two educational initiatives, which, in different ways, aim to challenge these frameworks and form new conceptions of citizenship in their place. The first is the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST²), a social movement that has campaigned for agrarian reform since its founding in 1984, and which has established a nationwide network of schools in its cooperative settlements. The second is the Citizen School, an initiative implemented by the

municipal government of Porto Alegre, aiming to combat educational exclusion. These are distinct in significant ways: the MST is a social movement and one working in rural areas, while the Citizen School is an urban government-led programme. Yet they share the feature of belonging to a broad popular movement of social and educational reform that emerged towards the end of the military dictatorship. In the process of re-democratization, the establishment of the Constitution and the National Educational Plan, sections of Brazilian civil society experienced high levels of mobilization and created a number of spaces for participatory democracy (Gentili & McCowan, 2003). Numerous trade unions and social movements were formed to represent the interests of particular groups which had been marginalized in previous decades. Forums such as the CONEDs (National Congresses of Education) and the World Social and Education Forums in Porto Alegre created national and international focal points for campaigns. Local governments around the country developed new forms of participatory policy (e.g., Gandin & Apple, 2002; McCowan, 2006b): in this the Workers' Party (PT) has been particularly influential, its achievements at the local level being in many ways more noteworthy than those at the national level. Underlying many of these new initiatives in the educational sphere is the thought of Paulo Freire (1972, 1985, 1994), whose vision of transformatory pedagogy has built faith in the possibility of change in adverse contexts. Freire himself participated actively in this transformation as Secretary of Education of the municipality of São Paulo from 1989 to 1991.

The following sections will explore the two initiatives in turn, and assess their possibilities and limitations in challenging authoritarian and market-based conceptions of citizenship, and for building new forms in their place, ones which can ensure both the guarantee of rights and active participation. The final section will discuss some broader questions arising from the analysis concerning the relationship between education and democratic citizenship in the context of the extreme political marginalization characteristic of many countries of the global South.

Education in the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST)

The MST is widely recognized as the largest and most influential social movement in Latin America. It grew out of the actions of scattered peasant uprisings and progressive wings of the Catholic Church responding to the urgent need for agrarian reform. In Brazil, approximately 1% of landowners control 50% of farmland, while there are as many as 4.5 million landless peasants (Brandford & Rocha, 2002; Caldart, 2000). Many of those forced off the land have migrated towards a new form of poverty in the growing urban *favelas*. The movement was officially founded in 1984 and functioned initially in the south of the country, although now it has spread to 23 of Brazil's 27³ states.

Central to the movement's activities is land occupation, whereby a group of families squats on unused agricultural land in one of the large estates. An *acampamento* (camp) is formed, in which high levels of organization and cooperation are required to sustain the itinerant community. The Brazilian Constitution states that idle farmland must be allocated for land reform, and after long struggles with the government, the

families will often win the right to stay. The acampamento then becomes an *assentamento* (settlement) and the families can begin to farm the land, which they do either individually or collectively.

The aims of the MST, however, go beyond the winning of land for those without it. The movement is strongly committed to the transformation of society as a whole, replacing the unjust capitalist system with one in which all people can live and work in dignity, solidarity and equality (MST, 1995, 2001a). With time, the focus has moved from the local to the national level, and even to global issues such as world trade agreements and genetically modified organisms (Caldart, 2000). Soon after the first settlements were established it became clear that some form of educational provision would be necessary for the children of the landless. Furthermore, a large proportion of the adults were themselves illiterate and needed to develop basic skills to improve their agricultural work and enable effective political participation. Networks of primary schools slowly grew, along with adult literacy classes, staffed mainly by those few members of the community who had completed school. After struggles with local authorities, communities managed to have their schools officially recognized, and thereby gain state funding and provision of teachers and materials. Education soon became a key priority for the movement, and a network has been built up of 1,500 schools which over the years have provided for 160,000 children, and 28,000 in youth and adult education, as well as provision in infant education, technical secondary courses, teacher education and other HE courses in partnership with established universities (MST, 2005). Children with a similar socio-economic background in other contexts could expect no more than a few years of poor quality primary education.

These quantitative gains are an achievement in themselves. Yet the aim of the MST is to transform the fundamental nature of education as well:

Faced with the tradition of an elitist, authoritarian, bureaucratic, content-heavy, ‘banking’⁴ school, with a narrow and pragmatist conception of education, [we have] the challenge of constructing a popular, democratic, flexible, dialogical school, a space for a holistic human development in movement. (MST, 2004)

Firstly, for the MST there is a need to make schooling relevant to the rural population. This involves developing knowledge and skills relating to agricultural work, but also building pride in rural culture in the context of the predominantly urban values promoted by the media. An example of new approaches to knowledge is the ethnomathematics described by Knijnik (1996, 1998), in which local calculation methods – such as those of land area and the weight of agricultural produce – are integrated into the curriculum. The movement is also strongly influenced by the ideas of Paulo Freire, and attempts to maintain pedagogical relations based on *dialogue*, in which both students and teachers are engaged in a common process of learning and human development. Processes of Freirean dialogue are also means to the construction of democracy, since they embody respect for persons, the valuing of the knowledge and opinions of all and the provision of a site for expression. There is also an explicitly political element in MST education. The movement follows Freire (1972, 1994) in understanding that education cannot be neutral, and so as not to support the unjust status quo must actively promote justice and

oppose oppression. While adult education allows for more developed forms of political discussion, the movement aims to promote a sense of justice and understanding of societal dynamics from the earliest phases of schooling. Another essential element is that education in the MST is organically linked to the social movement. Education, both formal and informal, is integral to achieving the goals of the individual communities and the movement as a whole. Beyond this, the movement itself can be seen as a school, and participation in the struggle for social justice the most important learning experience the landless people engage in.

This final idea is best expressed by Roseli Caldart (2000, 1999), perhaps the most influential education theorist in the movement. In her work she explores the rich dialectic of the school in the movement and the movement as a school. One of her key motifs is *pedagogy in movement* in which she sees the educational work of the MST as one that is constantly being created and recreated by the practical experience of educators in *acampamentos* and *assentamentos*, in dialogue with theoretical influences. Another is the importance of the *sem terra* (landless) identity, which, following Thompson's (1980) analysis of the English working class, she sees as fundamental to the development of the social movement as a political actor.

Another distinctive aspect of MST education is the 'mística', referring to those activities designed to develop allegiance to the movement and its principles (MST, 1999). Rituals enacting episodes in the movement's history, anthem singing and use of the symbolic flag, among other activities, are encouraged to develop the emotional aspects of participating in the struggle for land reform. Tied to this is the importance given to history, in terms of world history in general in order to understand the root causes of social inequalities and specifically the history of the movement.

In relation to the understanding of citizenship sketched above, therefore, the movement acts both to ensure the right of citizens to an education of quality, and also to empower citizens to participate fully in the political sphere. It is perhaps in this latter function that the movement is most distinctive, with political elements strongly integrated into the school curriculum, and with a wider context (the activities of the movement itself) in which these skills can be exercised. In relation to the weak and strong forms identified above, political participation is understood to involve challenging the core structures of society rather than simply exercising electoral choice within a given system. Citizenship is seen to depend on *conscientization*, the development of political consciousness together with action. One of the stated aims of education the movement is:

[t]o awaken the organizational consciousness and spirit of leadership of the children, adolescents, educators and community, with political clarity in order to exercise citizenship. (MST, 2001b)

Students develop this political consciousness and capacity for action through the participatory structures of the school itself. Pupils' collectives and self-organizing work groups serve to give students an opportunity to develop deliberation and organizational skills, and have a real voice in the running of the school:

We understand by *self-organization* the right of pupils to organise themselves into collectives, with their own space and time, to analyse and discuss their own issues, to elaborate proposals and make their own decisions with a view to participating as subjects in the democratic management of the educative process, and of the school as a whole. (MST, 1999)

Elsewhere it is stated:

When people are given everything, dependence is reinforced and the person never becomes a subject. It is part of the process that people wanting to become literate organise themselves to achieve this objective. (MST, 1994)

This self-organization is particularly evident in the movement's teacher education provision, where the students are effectively required to construct and run their own courses (Caldart, 1997). The first formal courses were run in 1990, and in 1998 a higher education programme in teacher education was established, using a distinctive approach termed *pedagogy of the land*, responding to the specific political and environmental needs of the movement.

In schools, participatory structures are also present for teachers, who, like the students, are themselves engaged in a process of collective transformation. Some schools, therefore, have horizontal management structures with the responsibilities of head teacher rotating among the members of staff. Participatory bodies also extend to the members of the community, who are involved in *general assemblies*, to determine the overall directions of the school, and are represented in the *school council* (or *education team*), where the details of the implementation are discussed. These structures serve to facilitate the running of the school, to integrate it more effectively in the life of the community and to provide a space for all community members, including the children, to develop skills of political participation (McCowan, 2003).

Assessments of the achievements of the MST's educational programmes vary. The sociologist José de Souza Martins has identified what he sees to be a fatal contradiction in the MST between the belief systems of the vanguard, mostly with a revolutionary Marxist vision, and the body of the landless people, rooted in traditional conservative and religious values (Martins, 2000). While this distinction may be an oversimplification, there certainly exist significant tensions between progressive and traditional values in the movement. One area in which this is apparent is gender. On the one hand, the movement has taken considerable strides to give women equal footing in decision-making. One of the movement's six principal goals is "to combat all forms of social discrimination and seek the equal participation of women". The National Sector of Gender has consequently been established to help achieve this aim within the movement. One structural manifestation of this goal is the requirement that one of the two delegates representing each community (and each state) must be a woman. By the year 2000, 9 of the 18 elected members of the national leadership were women, a considerable achievement in a country where less than 10% of the representatives in the Lower House and the Senate are female.

Nevertheless, the traditional machista attitudes and practices of the wider society can still be seen within the movement, and women can struggle to be accepted in roles

other than those of the home and child rearing. Education is seen by most as key to changing these deep-seated attitudes:

Why should men's work be valued more? There's a great difference in the job market.... So we work with these issues in the camp, women and men being valued equally for going out to the fields. So in this way we break what the media has been giving us since the time of our ancestors. (Interview with Olga, educational coordinator)⁵

The MST as yet has not paid great attention to other factors of wider social division such as race, disability and sexuality. While adopting a generally inclusive approach, it has yet to develop an effective strategy to ensure this in practice. As a whole, the movement tends towards universalist conceptions of citizenship, focusing on the 'human' as the fundamental underlying value (although it does recognize the specificities of the rural context). The struggle for land reform is seen as part of the wider class struggle, to which other forms of oppression, such as race and gender, are subordinated (MST, 2001a).

The MST's efforts in promoting effective citizenship are not, therefore, without problems. Another issue concerns the development of criticality, primarily conceived in terms of Freire's conception of conscientization. Previous research (McCowan, 2003) has shown that while the movement is successful in developing critical understanding and attitudes towards the government and State structures, it is less successful at doing so towards the movement itself. Given the extreme external threats facing the MST (particularly from landowners and their militias) and the need for internal unity for effective coordination, it is no surprise that critical attitudes can become a secondary priority. Some commentators (e.g., Navarro, 2001) have argued that uncritical political education is not uncommon in the movement, particularly in relation to young activists moving into positions of responsibility. At the school level, this is less common, though use of the *mística* may be problematic in this respect. The right-wing press (e.g., Weinberg, 2004), however, aiming to undermine the MST as a whole, has undoubtedly exaggerated the extent of 'brainwashing' in the movement. Moreover, as stated before, the MST adopts a Freirean approach to neutrality, and would consider any more 'balanced' approach to political education to be supportive of the status quo.

Another issue concerns the running of its state-funded (mostly primary) schools. For the movement, this is problematic since the local authorities can impose teachers unfavourable to its aims and thereby undermine the distinctive philosophy of the school. Yet the MST resists running its schools privately, partly because it lacks the funds to do so and also because it is strongly in favour of the idea of public schooling. From the point of view of the State, MST schools are problematic as they have a specific ideology which may not be sufficiently 'lay' to justify state school status. Nevertheless, state and municipal governments recognize that the MST is playing a fundamental role in providing basic schooling in many rural areas, and thus tolerate it.

These contradictions and tensions are real and cannot be explained away. Yet they do not negate the remarkable achievements of the MST in going beyond critiques of conventional schooling to create a viable alternative, and moreover maintain this

at a number of levels across a nation as large as Brazil. The MST's approach is well summed up in the following passage:

With time these children gain a greater consciousness of the struggle: this happens ... where they have the right to speak, to sing. They have a strong desire to participate, they have pleasure in contributing to the assemblies, meetings, celebrations, building toys and the school tent.... It is this space for participation that makes the children critical, so they don't accept things as they are. (MST, 2001b)

The MST experience is undoubtedly highly specific to the Brazilian context. Yet can it speak to other contexts of political marginalization in the global South? Before addressing this question we will turn to the second case of innovation in relation to education for citizenship: the Citizen School initiative.

The Citizen School in Porto Alegre

The Citizen School⁶ is an educational initiative of the municipal government of Porto Alegre, the largest city in southern Brazil, with a population of approximately 1,400,000. In 1989, a coalition of left-wing parties (the Popular Administration), under the leadership of the PT, won the municipal elections and started a new plan for the city. The basic premise was a radical idea of democracy, one that entailed a real involvement of the citizens in the governance of the city. According to one of the former mayors of Porto Alegre, the purpose of the Popular Administration is to:

recuperate the utopian energies, (...) [to] create a movement which contains, as a real social process, the origins of a new way of life, constructing a 'new moral life' (Gramsci) and a new articulation between state and society (...) that could lead social activity and citizenship consciousness to a new order. (Genro, 1999)

In order to materialize such a complex ideal, the Popular Administration envisioned several macro mechanisms that would allow the implementation of the articulation described by Genro. One of these elements is the Citizen School.

The Citizen School is the project of involving all the municipal schools of Porto Alegre in a radical idea of education for citizenship. Fighting against the idea of an individualized citizen, the Citizen School claims that the whole educational institution has to embody citizenship. The main goals of the Citizen School can be summarized in a quotation from the one of the Secretaries of Education. He says that the project wanted to create a school:

where everyone has guaranteed access, that is not limited to transmission of content; a school that is able to articulate the popular knowledge with the scientific knowledge. A school that is a public space for the construction and experience of citizenship, that goes beyond merely delivering knowledge and transforms itself into a social-cultural space, with a pedagogical policy oriented toward

social transformation, where the student is the subject of the knowledge and where the pedagogy takes place in an interdisciplinary perspective, overcoming the curricular fragmentation present in schools. A school that has the necessary material resources to implement this policy, where the participation of the whole community can lead to the construction of an autonomous school, with a real democratic management, where all segments of the community have their participation guaranteed. (Azevedo, 1999b)

From these guidelines, the basic goals of the project were created in the 'Constituent Assembly'. This was a democratic, deliberative and participatory forum created in order to mobilize the school communities and generate the principles that would guide the policy for the municipal schools in Porto Alegre. The process of organization of the Constituent lasted 18 months and involved thematic meetings in the schools, regional meetings, the Assembly itself, and the elaboration of the schools' internal regulation.

The process of deciding the principles through such structure is itself worth noting. The Citizen School project was created under the principle of not separating the determination of the goals from the creation of the mechanisms to implement these goals. Rather, the process of generating the practical goals should represent in itself an innovative mechanism that is able to produce transformations in the relationships between the schools and the community. The normative goals that guide the practice in the schools are collectively created, through a participatory process. The idea was to foster a government that creates channels for real development of collectively constructed normative goals and that replaces the traditional relationship of distant government officials managing schools that they know little about.

The Constituent Assembly elected the radical democratization of education in the municipal schools as the main normative goal of the Citizen School project. It was decided that this radical democratization would have to occur in three dimensions: democratization of access to school, democratization of knowledge and democratization of governance. These three principles were to guide every action in the municipal system of Porto Alegre. These three principles changed the structure of the schools and the relationship between schools and the Municipal Department of Education (SMED).

In order to democratize the access to the school and to the knowledge, the SMED implemented a new organization for the municipal schools. Instead of keeping the traditional structure of grades with the duration of one year (1–8 in primary education), the idea was to adopt a new structure called *cycles*. The administrators at the SMED were convinced that the issue of access to schools could be dealt with in a much better way using cycles. According to the SMED,

the cycle structure offers a better way of dealing seriously with student failure, because its educational perspective respects, understands, and investigates the socio-cognitive processes that the students go through. (SMED, 1999a).

The idea is that by using a different conception of learning/time, the Citizen School would put an end to the punishment of the so-called 'slow' students. In this new configuration, the traditional deadline – the end of each academic year – when the

students had to 'prove' that they had 'learned' was eliminated in favour of a different time organization. The democratization of knowledge was to be addressed by the adoption of cycles: "[T]he cycles contribute to the respect of the rhythm, the timing, and the experiences of each student, enhancing the collective organization and interdisciplinarity in the schools" (SMED, 1999a). The establishment of cycles was a conscious attempt to eliminate the mechanisms in schools believed to perpetuate exclusion, failure, and dropouts, as well as the blaming of the victim that generally accompanies these.

In the Citizen School, there are three cycles of 3 years each, a change that adds one year at the start of primary education (expanding it to 9 years). This makes the municipal schools responsible for the education of children from 6 to 14 years of age. The three cycles are based on the cycles of life: each one corresponds to one phase of development, that is, childhood, pre-adolescence and adolescence. The idea is to group together students of the same age in each of the years of the three cycles. This aims at changing the reality (one that is present in the majority of public schools that serve the working class in Brazil) that confronted the SMED when the Popular Administration started to govern the city: students with multiple failures were in classes intended for much younger children. Through organizing the education by age, having students of the same age in the same year of the cycle, the SMED aimed to re-motivate children who had failed multiple times. Its goal was to challenge the common sense idea that learning must be sequenced. As the Secretary says, the institution using the cycles is:

the redesigned school, with space and time that are geared towards the development of the students. Children and adolescents are beings in permanent development that should not be ruled by the school calendar or the school year. (...) The school using the cycles sees learning as a process in which preparatory periods or steps do not exist; instead there is a permanent process of development. Instead of punishing the student because he/she did not learn, the Citizen School aims at valorizing the already acquired knowledge. (Azevedo, 2000)

In schools using these cycles, students progress from one year to another within one cycle, and the notion of 'failure' is eliminated.

Despite this victory, the SMED understood that the elimination of exclusion mechanisms was not enough to achieve the goal of democratization of knowledge. Because of this, the Citizen School created several mechanisms that aimed at guaranteeing the inclusion of students: Progression Groups for students who had discrepancies between their age and what they have learned, Learning Laboratories for students who, despite the changes in methodology and curriculum were still not learning, Itinerant Teachers to aid teachers by being a second educator in the classroom, when one is needed, and Formative Evaluation to help students understand their own pace of learning without merely classifying them through grades.

Curriculum transformation has been a crucial part of Porto Alegre's project to build 'thick democracy' and effective citizenship. This is actually what can make the democratization of knowledge possible. It is important to say that this dimension is not limited to access to traditional knowledge. What is being constructed is a new

epistemological understanding about what counts as knowledge as well. It is not based on a mere incorporation of new knowledge within the margins of an intact ‘core of humankind’s wisdom’, but a radical transformation. The Citizen School goes beyond the mere episodic mentioning of cultural manifestations or class, racial, sexual and gender-based oppression. It includes these themes as an essential part of the process of construction of knowledge.

In the Citizen School, the notion of ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ in knowledge is made problematic. The starting point for the construction of curricular knowledge is the culture(s) of the communities themselves, not only in terms of content, but in terms of perspective as well. The whole educational process is aimed at inverting previous priorities and instead serving the historically oppressed and excluded groups. The starting point for this new process of knowledge construction is the idea of the Thematic Complex. This organization of the curriculum is a way of having the whole school working on a central generative theme, from which the disciplines and areas of knowledge, in an interdisciplinary effort, will structure the focus of their content.

In the Citizen School, the idea of the Thematic Complex emphasizes that the disciplines or areas of knowledge are not all collapsed in all the levels of the curriculum; what happens is that all knowledge areas become subordinate to a global idea, to a thematic core that is rather complex because it represents the centre of the preoccupations and/or interests of the community where the school is situated. All the areas or, in fact, the entire school, are guided by the discussion and problematization around the thematic complex. This thematic complex provides the whole school with a central focus that guides the curriculum of that school for a period of time that can be one semester or an entire academic year.

After having determined the principles, the larger contribution of each knowledge area for the discussion of the thematic complex, and the conceptual matrix – a web of concepts from the knowledge area, rather than isolated facts or information that the teachers understand are essential to use when dealing with the thematic complex – the teachers have meetings organized by their knowledge areas and by each year in the cycles, to elaborate and plan the curriculum.

Each school is autonomous and able to elaborate its own curriculum. This curriculum has to meet the following criteria: no student should have to ‘unlearn’ his/her knowledge, culture and practices in order to learn ‘scientific’ knowledge and no student should leave school without being exposed to formal ‘school knowledge’. The idea is that no knowledge should be left unquestioned and considered above critique. The idea of starting with their own experiences should not mean that students have to stop there.

To give a concrete example of how this works, here is the description of how the socio-historic knowledge area proceeded, in one school of Porto Alegre, to organize its curriculum. After the phase of carrying out research in the community, the school elected “the quality of life in the favela” as its thematic complex. The socio-historic knowledge area had to construct the principle of that area, that is, the contribution of this area to deal with the elected thematic complex. This area expressed its possible contribution as “the individual and collective transformation of the citizen, in his/her time and space, recuperating his/her origins, aiming at improving the quality of life, taking into account the ideas of the community where this individual is situated”.

From the major thematic complex – the quality of life – three sub-themes were listed by the teachers in the socio-historic area: rural exodus, social organization and property. In the rural exodus sub-theme, the issues reflected the origin of the community – living now in a favela, but originally from the rural areas. In this sub-theme, the issues discussed were migration movements, overpopulation of the cities, “disqualification” of the working force, and marginalization. In the sub-theme social organization, the issues were distributed in terms of temporal, political, spatial and sociocultural relations. The issues, again, represent important questions in the organization of the community: the excessive and uncritical pragmatism of some in the neighbourhood associations, and cultural issues such as religiosity, body expression, African origins, dance groups and samba schools. In the third sub-theme – property – the issues were directly linked to the situation of the families in the favela, living in illegal lots with no title, having to cope with the lack of running water, basic sanitation and other infrastructure problems, the history of this situation and of the struggles for lots legalization, and their rights (of having basic public goods in the neighbourhood) and duties (of understanding the importance and the social function of taxation) as citizens.

The governance structure of the citizen school was also radically changed. The School Councils, established by a municipal law in December of 1992 and implemented in 1993, became the most important institutions in schools. They were formed by elected teachers, school staff, parents, students, and by one member of the administration, and they had consultative, deliberative and monitoring functions. As such they expressed key ideas of the Popular Administration and the demands of social movements involved in education in the city.

It is important to mention that, before the Popular Administration took office, there was a practice (common in Brazil) of a very centralized budget. Every expense (even the daily ones) had to be sent to the central administration before it was approved, and then, either the money was sent to the school, or a central agency would purchase the product or the service necessary. In such a system, the school council would have “their hands tied”, with no autonomy at all. The SMED changed this structure and established a new policy to make the amount of money available to each school every 3 months. According to the SMED, this measure instituted the financial autonomy for the schools, and allowed the schools to manage their expenditures according to the goals and priorities established by the school council. At the same time that this measure creates autonomy, it gives parents, students, teachers and staff who are present in the council a notion of social responsibility in administering public money, and it teaches them to prioritize the investments with solidarity in mind (SMED, 1999b).

In the municipal schools of Porto Alegre, the whole school community elects the principal by direct vote. The one responsible for the implementation of the decisions of the school council, that is, the principal, is herself/himself elected defending a particular project of administration for the school. There is a legitimacy that comes from this. The principal is not someone who necessarily represents the interests of the central administration inside the school councils, but someone with a majority of supporters inside that particular educational community. Principals thus have a great degree of embeddedness, and, because of this, the SMED feels that it is possible to avoid the potential problem of having someone responsible for the concretization of the

deliberations occurring in the school councils who is not connected with the project. But the responsibility of the community does not stop there: through the school council, the school community has a way of monitoring the activities of the principal and holding her/him responsible for implementing its democratic decisions.

These new mechanisms created to implement the democratization of access, knowledge and governance would not meet this goal without large investments in school buildings and in teachers' conditions of work. The municipal schools are almost all situated in the most impoverished areas of the city and unlike other public schools in these conditions, are in very good shape. Many of these buildings were constructed recently, have excellent layouts and are very well kept. This sends a clear message: a school in a poor neighbourhood has to make the education that is supposed to happen in its interior possible and the school staff should not have to worry about building conditions. The other aspect is teachers' salaries and training: in Porto Alegre a municipal school teacher earns three times as much as a state school teacher. There is also a policy of continuous in-service education both in the knowledge area of the teachers and in general educational issues, like the relationship of education and society, for example.

Despite all these successes, there are real challenging issues in the implementation of the Citizen School. Although the SMED is sensitive to issues of race and gender, this does not seem always to translate into a sustained support for the schools as they face the challenge of constructing a curriculum that deals with racism and gender discrimination. Certainly because of its Marxist roots, the emphasis of the SMED has been on issues of class. These are clearly central issues for students who live in slums, but reducing all oppression to class can certainly represent a problem in a country like Brazil, with such blatant racial and gender issues.

Another potential problem is the fact that teachers' knowledge is not always considered and sometimes even shunned in the Citizen School. If it is true that school curriculum revolves around the knowledge of the communities, the same cannot be said about the previous experiences and practices of teachers. Many times, the SMED sees teachers as the ones responsible for the problems it faces. A simplified description of this problem is the following: "the proposal is good, but conservative teachers do not implement it as it should be". The idea of characterizing every teacher that criticizes elements of the proposal as conservative shows how problematic the implementation of the proposal can be in some instances: teachers are the ones who make a proposal real in a school. As several studies have shown, teachers' knowledge must always be taken into consideration when the goal is to enact progressive reforms (see Page, 2001; Gitlin, 2001).

Finally it is essential to discuss the sustainability of the initiative. When the city of Porto Alegre faced budget constraints, cuts were made in key elements of the project, such as the itinerant teacher and places in the Learning Laboratories. But the biggest challenge is certainly the fact that, after 16 years in power, the PT and the Popular Administration lost the municipal election in 2004. The core mechanisms of the Citizen School have not been touched so far and continue in place, even though the name given to the educational experience of the city is a different one. But it might be too early to say. It will be important to follow the subtle changes that can occur and possibly undermine the project.

The Citizen School is an alternative to neo-liberal solutions in education, based on the introduction of market schemes inside schools. It has been important not only as a way of giving an impoverished population a quality education that will enable them to have better chances in the paid labour market and at the same time operate as empowered citizens, but also because it has generated structured forms of ‘educating’ the communities both for organizing around and discussing their problems, and for acting on their own behalf through the channels of participation and deliberation. In the process, it has ‘educated’ the state agencies as well.

Conclusions

Some common themes emerge from these two cases. Both represent attempts to address both the ‘participation’ and ‘rights’ strands of citizenship. On the one hand, the two initiatives aim to provide access to education for marginalized populations, both in terms of making places available in schools, and taking steps to ensure inclusion in the learning environment and avoiding early dropout. They are therefore attempting to go beyond the formal right of all Brazilians to basic education and to take action to make it a reality. Yet they are also aiming to equip learners to be effective citizens in the active sense, by involving students, teachers and the community in decision-making and providing the knowledge and skills for them to extend that participation to the wider political sphere. Emerging from the dual influences of authoritarianism and neo-liberalism, the two cases are creating a new understanding of citizenship, one based in participatory democracy and a Freirean conception of conscientization, by which social transformation is brought about through a dialectic of reflection and political action.

However, the cases also show some of the difficulties of implementing this type of programme. As in many other contexts, there is a tendency to see teachers as ‘obstacles’ to change and reform. Neither of these two cases has been fully successful in resolving the dilemma of implementing a normative scheme through teachers, while at the same time respecting their autonomy, their knowledge and their experience. Teacher education is key here (as long as it is not simply an attempt to reconstruct the teachers in the initiative’s mould), but so is the authentic involvement of teachers in the construction of policy. Another limitation evident in the cases concerns efforts to address difference, particularly that of race and of gender. In dealing with social exclusion in a general way, the initiatives have not fully acknowledged the specificities of race and gender, the distinct historical oppressions of women, African Brazilians and indigenous peoples, and the need for explicit responses to them. Lastly, there is a simple problem of sustainability and viability: in the case of the Citizen School, this concerns the survival of the initiative in the face of a change of government, and in the case of the MST, the incorporation of its project in the state sector. The necessarily political nature of the two projects threatens their continued existence.

Brazilian history has certain unique aspects – such as its mixing of peoples, its spectacular concentration of wealth and the combination of centralizing and decentralizing impulses – and the cases explored in this chapter are without doubt responses to the specificities of this context. Yet the successes and challenges of the two in the face of severe social and political exclusion do have implications for other countries. A first

issue concerns the importance of participation. The cases show the benefit gained from involving the whole school and the wider community, not in the implementation of policy created by a distant government, but in the formulation of goals and methods themselves. Secondly, the two initiatives have both grappled with the problems faced by schools all around the world of whether to teach ‘universal’ academic knowledge, and risk marginalizing the students’ own culture, or to teach the local knowledge of the community and risk confining students to their own context without the possibility of looking beyond. Both cases here show that it is possible to combine the two, drawing on local knowledge and skills relevant to the lives of the community, but at the same time equipping students to pursue a life beyond it and to understand and engage with wider forms of knowledge and processes of social change.

A further implication of these cases is the importance of maintaining a holistic vision of citizenship. Conceptions based purely on the guarantee of rights of the individual are not sufficient, and yet these rights must be guaranteed before active forms of participation can be fostered. In addition, education must address citizenship as identity – acknowledging differences that may challenge the “abstract concept of the citizen, stripped of all qualities save subjective rationality and morality” (Unterhalter, 1999) – as well as citizenship as equality in the polity. Lastly, in a spirit captured by the World Social Forum slogan “another world is possible”, these cases show that, even within the established state system, it is possible to create alternatives in education. Steering a course through both traditional hierarchical forms of schooling and contemporary consumerist ones, radical democratic alternatives are a possibility, albeit one facing considerable challenges.

In the midst of an overwhelming global wave of reforms where market control, devolution with fewer resources, tight control of outcomes, steering at a distance, and accountability that only looks at quantitative results are the central impulses, it is important to reaffirm, that to encounter experiences like the Movement of Landless Rural Workers or the Citizen School is certainly a novelty. What is even more striking in these projects is the fact that, unlike other progressive initiatives around the world, where individual teachers or schools promote radical changes, this is an organic transformation of a whole school system, in the Citizen School case, or the conception of education in the case of the Landless Movement.

The change in structures has energized schools and produced spaces where education for social justice is being pursued. If it is true that there are serious limits to what has been done so far, it is also true that real spaces have been created to challenge these same limitations.

Notes

1. Figures for secondary enrolment are from 2002 to 2003, and for tertiary are for 2002.
2. Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra.
3. This figure includes the Federal District.
4. Freire’s conception of ‘banking education’.
5. This interview is taken from research undertaken in 2002 in the states of Espírito Santo, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro (McCowan 2003). Pseudonyms were used for participants.
6. In this chapter only an initial idea of the experience can be offered. For more on the Citizen School see Gandin (2005).

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PERSPECTIVES ON CHILDREN AND VIOLENCE

Jenny Parkes

There can be no compromise in challenging violence against children. Children's uniqueness – their human potential, their initial fragility and vulnerability, their dependence on adults for their growth and development – make an unassailable case for more, not less, investment in prevention and protection from violence. (Pinheiro, 2006)

The UN World Report on Violence against Children draws attention to how, across the globe, young people experience multiple forms of violence in their daily lives: in homes, schools and care institutions, in places of work and in the community (Pinheiro, 2006). Violence for many children is not an exceptional but an everyday event, particularly in countries where there has been recent or ongoing political conflict, often low- and middle-income countries, where the legacy of this is a coalescence of multiple forms of violence (Glanz & Spiegel, 1996; Knox & Monaghan, 2003; Muldoon, 2004; WHO, 2002; WHO, 2002). The focus of this chapter is on the consequences of living with such violence for children's psychological and social well-being. The chapter explores a diverse literature from psychology, sociology, anthropology and education, asking what we can learn from this literature to respond to Pinheiro's challenge to protect children from violence.

There is an extensive literature highlighting the devastating consequences of violence on children's educational, health and social opportunities and outcomes, and Pinheiro makes a strong plea for action to address these consequences. However, while the importance of challenging violence against children cannot be underestimated, taken-for-granted assumptions in the literature need to be interrogated. In particular, universalising understandings of childhood stemming from the West underpin research across the globe, producing particular forms of action and intervention which, it has been claimed, may not always be in the best interests of the child (Boyden, 2003). As evident in Pinheiro's words, childhood is viewed as a natural, universal and distinct phase, characterised by innocence and vulnerability, a perspective which can be traced back to the Romantic and Reform movements in Europe in the nineteenth century (Boyden, 2003; James, Jenks & Prout, 1998; Woodhead, 1999). In much of the literature discussed in this chapter, children, living in high-violence neighbourhoods, are viewed as innocent victims of violence, in need of protection or rescue, or as caught up in cycles of violence, socialised to become the perpetrators of the future. As Western feminist researchers have been criticised for the colonising, homogenising representation

of “a composite, singular ‘third world woman’” (Mohanty, 1991), research on children living with violence in (post-)conflict settings may construct a homogenised ‘third world child’, both victim of and perpetrator of violence. The diversity of childhoods is neglected, and the active ways in which children engage with and act upon their social worlds ignored (Boyden, 2003).

With this critical lens, this chapter considers studies on children’s experiences of living in areas where violence takes many forms, in neighbourhoods, families and schools, often in countries where there has been recent or ongoing political conflict, including South Africa, Palestine and Ireland, as well as drawing on studies in urban neighbourhoods of the USA. The first section considers psychological research, mainly within a positivist tradition of inquiry. The second section explores research associated with sociological and anthropological studies which draw on qualitative and interpretive paradigms. I have structured the chapter this way to reflect the mainstream literature on children and violence and some of its critics, but the distinction is a little misleading, as there are many overlaps and increasingly psychologists are engaging with a social and interpretive approach. In the final section of the chapter I will consider recent research which addresses some critical concepts, and conceptualises children as actively engaging with their social worlds. My intention is not to privilege one form of research, but to attempt to synthesise these diverse bodies of literature in ways which may contribute to the goal of preventing and contesting violence.

Psychological Perspectives on Children and Violence

Much of the literature on children and violence stems from the field of psychology. This literature comes mainly from a positivist tradition, with studies attempting to identify measurable effects of violence on children. These effects include emotional consequences, such as post-traumatic stress disorder and effects on child development and socialisation. Finally, in this section I will consider the growing awareness in psychology of the importance of context, which has generated research into risk and resilience factors.

Emotional Consequences and the Concept of Post-Traumatic Stress

Distress, anxiety and depression are frequent responses to violence, and studies have found that following exposure to violence, young people may try to avoid thoughts and feelings, places or people associated with the trauma; they may become angry and irritable, or experience intense psychological distress at exposure to traumatic reminders (Seedat, Nyamai, Njenga, Vythilingum & Stein, 2004). This constellation of responses has been termed post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and has been identified in studies in many post-conflict settings, including Palestine (Punamaki & Suleiman, 1990; Thabet & Vostanis, 1999), South Africa (Barbarin & Richter, 2001; Dawes & Tredoux, 1990; Seedat, van Nood, Vythilingum, Stein & Kammer, 2000), Cambodia (Hubbard, Realmuto, Northwood & Masten, 1995) and Kuwait following the Gulf War (Nader, Pynoos, Fairbanks, Al-Ajeel, & Al-Asfour, 1993); as well as in neighbourhoods with high rates of community violence in the USA (Jenkins &

Bell, 1997; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Osofsky, Wewes, Hann & Fick, 1993). PTSD symptoms increase with the level of and proximity to violence, and when there is a close relationship with those engaged directly with violence (Jenkins & Bell, 1997; Lorion and Saltzman, 1993; Seedat, van Nood, Vythilingum, Stein & Kaminer, 2000). In some studies, symptoms have varied with age and gender, so girls, for example, have been found more likely to exhibit depressive symptoms or to internalise pain, while boys may be more likely to externalize pain and participate in aggressive acts (Lorion & Saltzman, 1993; Seedat, Nyamai, Njenga, Vythilingum & Stein, 2004). Younger children may exhibit more passive, regressive symptoms, like bed-wetting or delayed language development, while older children may be more likely to engage in acting out self-destructive behaviour (Jenkins & Bell, 1997).

These studies draw attention to the potential consequences of violence for children's mental health across international settings, and highlight the need for therapeutic interventions. However, frequently neglected is the finding that many children do not appear to be measurably distressed by their exposure to violence. In studies in South Africa, for example, approximately 10–20% of children exposed to a range of traumas experienced PTSD, with perhaps another 10–20% exhibiting some symptoms of emotional distress (Cairns & Dawes, 1996; Dawes & Tredoux, 1990; Seedat, Nyamai, Njenga, Vythilingum & Stein, 2004; Seedat, van Nood, Vythilingum, Stein & Kaminer, 2000). The finding that, despite often horrific engagements with violence, many children do not appear to suffer long-term psychological effects, has led to a shift towards the question of how children cope (Cairns, 1996) and even whether there may be positive effects. Case studies of children living in war zones have identified negative consequences, but also for some children the development of precocious moral sensibility (Coles, 1986) and enhanced empathy (Garbarino, Kostelny & Dubrow, 1991). In South Africa, an in-depth clinical study of a group of 60 young people who, over an extended period, were exposed to and engaged with political violence found that when violence could be justified within an existing system of morality, such as ideology during war, it created few psychological problems (Straker, Moosa, Becker & Nkwale, 1992). Such findings point to the importance of context in anticipating possible emotional consequences.

The diagnosis of PTSD is a psychiatric one, stemming from the West, usually employed to assess the need for clinical support following single traumatic events. A number of studies have pointed out that the effects of repeated exposure may be quite different from those following single traumas, and exposure to chronic, daily violence may generate longer-term developmental changes (Jenkins & Bell, 1997; Perry, 1997; Zeanah & Scheeringa, 1997). An alternative label of “continuous traumatic stress syndrome” has been proposed to reflect the political context for many people of repeated, expected traumas (Simpson, 1993). But, while such labels might serve to highlight the problems of people living in violent communities, they simultaneously explain their behaviour within a medical model, suffering ‘symptoms’ of a disease or illness within the individual rather than motivated by the features of the situation. The emphasis on ‘disorder’ pathologises children's reactions, when emotions like fear, anxiety and aggression may in fact be functional for day-to-day coping (Swartz & Levett, 1989). In these analyses, the conceptualisation of children

as dependent and vulnerable is combined with and reinforced by a bio-medical model which positions children as traumatised victims in need of therapeutic care (Boyden, 2003; Machel, 1996). Jo Boyden argues that in Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo, this has had the dangerous consequence that aid packages have prioritised psychosocial interventions over meeting young people's basic survival needs (Boyden, 2003). While it is vital to be alert to possible stress reactions to violence, it is also important to recognise that these may be highly localised and variable, and that blanket approaches to intervention following violent events do little to address the ongoing violence of many young people's lives.

Socialisation, Risk and Resilience

Paradoxically, at the same time as the psychological literature assumes childhood innocence and vulnerability, there are allusions to the inevitability of child victims becoming adult perpetrators, through a cycle of violence. Reproductive statements abound in the literature, with comments like "it is a sociological fact that people treated inhumanely can only treat others in the same way" (Malepa, 1990), or "these children live in a 'culture of violence' and their view of the world is shaped by it. This fact is tragic and extremely dangerous" (Oshako, 1999). Not just do such statements pathologise children growing up in violent neighbourhoods, contributing to a version of the 'third world child' discussed above, but the evidence for these assumptions is weak and conflicting.

Studies report that exposure to violence in childhood affects moral development, with young people learning to see violence as a way of solving problems (Reilly, Muldoon & Byrne, 2004). Palestinian children involved in street confrontations with Israeli troops, for example, were found more likely to use violence in schools and families as a socially justified tool for solving problems (Abuateya, 2000). Clinical observations have identified normalizing the violence, becoming desensitised, and dehumanising the enemy (especially in wartime) as short-term coping strategies, which can also lead to violence then being seen as an appropriate response to many everyday situations (Garbarino, Kostelny & Dubrow, 1991).

However, in a review of the international literature on moral development and political violence, Andrew Dawes concluded that evidence that violence is perpetuated through its effects on children's moral reasoning and problem-solving was weak (Dawes, 1994). While researchers have observed children's play imitating violence in the neighbourhood (Bundy, 1992; Jones, 1993), others have been surprised by the absence of such re-enactments. For example, in her detailed study of children in a South African township in the mid-1980s, Pamela Reynolds noted that there was remarkably little violence in children's play, either real or pretend, despite the violence to which the children were exposed (Reynolds, 1989). Other South African studies have found that, despite frequent exposure to violence, young people did not appear to become habituated (Straker, Mendelsohn, Moosa & Tudin, 1996; Straker, Moosa, Becker & Nkwale, 1992). And while in one South African study, direct exposure to violence was associated with aggression, opposition/defiance and deficits in self-regulation, witnessing violence was not associated with antisocial behaviours, and gender (being male) was

more predictive of antisocial behaviours than direct exposure to violence (van der Merwe & Dawes, 2000).

These complex and contradictory findings challenge universalising assumptions about the reproduction of violence, and increasingly researchers have turned their attention to identifying the range of factors that increase the risk of violence, or alternatively those that increase young people's resilience. This ecological model, which attempts to understand the multifaceted nature of violence and its consequences, has been increasingly influential in research and policy development (WHO 2002; Pinheiro, 2006). It attempts to measure how a combination of factors, relating to personal characteristics, family and the immediate and broader social context combine to influence outcomes for young people in high violence contexts (Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993; Dodge & Pettit, 2003; Matthews, Griggs & Caine, 1999; Tolan, Gorman-Smith & Henry, 2003). The South African literature identifies key risk factors, which combine in ways which have a multiple rather than additive effect on the likelihood of young people developing future criminal behaviour, as being: poverty, race, age, location of residence, gender, history of victimisation, coming from a dysfunctional family, poor school achievement and substance abuse (Matthews, Griggs & Caine, 1999).

The repeated finding that despite the risk factors, many children do not appear to suffer the predicted negative consequences, has led to a growing interest in resilience, a construct which connotes the maintenance of positive adaptation by individuals despite experiences of significant adversity (Garmezy, 1993; Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker, 2000; Werner & Smith, 1983). In the context of community violence in the USA, Garmezy identifies three sources of resilience: temperament factors (activity level, reflectiveness, cognitive skills, positive responsiveness to others); warm cohesive families with the presence of a caring adult; and external support, such as teacher, neighbour, parent of a peer or institutional structure like a school (Garmezy, 1993). Very similar sources of resilience were identified in case studies of children growing up in war zones (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1997; Garbarino, Kostelny & Dubrow, 1991). Such factors interact with the nature of violence exposure, with predictability, social and physical proximity also influencing children's resilience (Fick, Osofsky & Lewis, 1997; Osofsky, 1997). Younger children experiencing violence may face more negative consequences than older children, who have developed the reasoning and cognitive capabilities to adapt (Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny & Pardo, 1992; Perry, 1997).

These studies extend the focus from a direct causal relationship between violence and individual responses to a relationship mediated by a range of nested social systems. The family, for example, may increase both risk and resilience. Violence which affects early family relationships can create lasting problems of attachment, and potentially violent relationships (Fonagy, Target, Steele & Steele, 1997). But maternal stability and coping can also protect children from the harmful effects of community violence (Barbarin & Richter, 2001). Local belief systems and ideologies have also been identified as sources of resilience. There is some evidence that when ideology, such as religion, enables violence to be justified within the child's existing system of morality then this protects children from the negative consequences of violence (Garbarino, 1999; Straker, Moosa, Becker & Nkwale, 1992). In their analysis of growing up in war zones in Mozambique, Nicaragua, Palestine and Cambodia, Garbarino and colleagues

considered how an ideology can be “comforting”, and can enable children to be supported by a community united by belief (Garbarino, Kostelny & Dubrow, 1991). They contrast this with the experience of living in gang-controlled urban poverty in Chicago, where weak cultural ties and lack of common goals undermine active coping mechanisms.

A strength of the risk-resilience literature is the growing sensitivity to context (Dawes & Donald, 2000). The argument that the different levels of the ecological system interact and influence each other is persuasive, with resilience compensating for, protecting from or challenging the impact of risk factors. Moderate amounts of stress, for example, may strengthen children’s ability to cope in the longer term (Dawes and Donald, 2000). At the same time, however, the mechanistic approach of measuring relationships between variables results in an oversimplification of the complex relationships between the child and the social world. It relies for its data on pre-coded surveys and questionnaires, frequently imported or modified from instruments developed in the West. Such instruments may distort local experiences and interpretations of violence. The language of abuse used in the West, for example, has been found to make little sense to many black, working-class women in South Africa (Levett *et al.*, 1997). Diverse forms of violence are lumped together into an explanatory variable, and the complex power relations which produce violence are ignored. The focus of interventions stemming from this approach is on prevention, targeting particular high-risk groups. While this may be important in channelling welfare support, at the same time it reinforces the tendency to ‘blame’ those risky individuals, those poor, black males identified in the South African literature as at highest risk, labelling them as dangerous and in need of control, and who, it is assumed, will become caught up in the inevitable cycle of violence. But reviewing the psychological literature points to the variability and diversity in children’s responses, and highlights the need to consider not just possible outcomes, but the processes by which young people make sense of and interpret violence.

Social Perspectives on Children and Violence

Sociological and anthropological studies of children and violence shift the focus from individuals, or individuals within nested systems, to analysing the social systems themselves. Rather than testing out hypotheses, ethnographic approaches facilitate the creation of rich pictures of social phenomena. Psychological studies have been hugely influential on policy and practice, perhaps because of developmental psychology’s historical hegemony in childhood research (Mayall, 2002), perhaps also because the findings can be generalised across settings and offer practical ways forward. Additionally, methods like questionnaires, surveys and clinical assessments may be less challenging to conduct than ethnographies, which involve extensive time ‘in the field’, often with personal risks to the safety of researchers and their participants. Nonetheless, ethnographic studies have provided rich descriptions of young people’s lives in adverse social contexts, documented the multiple forms of violence they experience and considered the multiple meanings, functions and consequences of violent social relations (Bhana, 2002; Hecht, 1998; Henderson, 1999; Jones, 1993; Kilbride,

Suda & Njeru, 2000; Reynolds, 1989; Wood, 2002). Through spending extensive time living or working in these communities, and developing close relationships between the researcher and the research participants, these studies are able to explore experiences of violence which are often taboo or private (Lee & Stanko, 2003).

Recurring through these studies is a multi-dimensional definition of violence, which is inextricably connected with power, and generates a more nuanced analysis than the narrower view of violence as an explanatory variable which dominates the positivist psychological literature. This body of work illuminates complex historical and social processes in the reproduction of violence. David Rosen's study of child soldiers in Sierra Leone, for example, traces the roots of children's recent engagements in warfare in pre-colonial and colonial slavery, and more recently in post-independence politics, in which a patrimonial political system has created relationships in which young people are dependent on 'big men' for their livelihoods and social status:

Young men provided the big men with the physical strength, energy and fearlessness needed to intimidate and murder political rivals. In the despoiled circumstances of Sierra Leone's economy, the ties of dependence and violence among big men, young men, children, and youth rippled through rural and urban communities, disrupting and distorting ties of family and kinship. (Rosen, 2005)

Rosen's analysis demonstrates how coercive social relations, supported by violent practices, provide the conditions for children to participate in horrific wartime atrocities. Controversially however, he argues that, rather than passive victims of adult criminal exploitation, child combatants more often make rational decisions that not fighting is a worse option than fighting.

A rich body of work in South Africa has traced links between colonial and in particular apartheid policies, and the erosion of or breakdown of institutions like the family. In his study of 10–15-year-old children growing up in migrant worker hostels near Cape Town, Jones shows how the apartheid policy of forced labour migration disrupted families, creating childhoods filled with domestic flux and upheaval (Jones, 1993). In overcrowded living conditions, domestic violence was widespread and retributive violence was often socially sanctioned. Through violence in play, including fighting with sharpened sticks, knives, screwdrivers and bottles, children mimicked violence they had witnessed, thus providing practice for violent lifestyles. Violence then could function as a resource in the context of fragmented and uncertain childhoods.

In a longitudinal ethnographic study of 10–16-year-olds in a Cape Town township, Patricia Henderson also considered the functions of violence in children's lives (Henderson, 1999). Violence was viewed as re-moulding temporarily, social situations – to commandeer scarce resources, to create new configurations of power or to express dissatisfaction and frustration. She emphasises the importance of viewing violence within its specific social location, since violence has so many layers, and different consequences. So, for example, although violence plays a major part in the lives of two boys, for one, a "comrade" (youth affiliated to political organisations), the violence was socially sanctioned and therefore open for discussion and reflection, while for the other, who was a gang member involved in crime, it was not sanctioned and he was

therefore often silent about these locales of his life. Violence was often viewed by children with ambivalence, so, for example, fighting with gangs was seen as empowering, but children also criticised excess – one child would fight with a brick but not with a knife. Henderson views violence as a short-term solution, using a metaphor of a hall of mirrors in which violence is not a solution but infinite reflections – of men beating their sons to try to end gang violence, of boys joining gangs to protect themselves from the violence of other gangs: “the practitioners of different forms of violence jostled for claims to streets and attempted to fix particular kinds of relations of power within them” (p. 102). For Henderson, the multi-layered violence has reverberations for children’s social relationships at all levels, including the potential fragmentation of identity: “the cultural repertoires they employed to ‘re-stitch’ the social fabric were unable to effect an end point in the process” (p. iii).

The gendered dimensions of violent practices, remarkably underexplored in the psychological literature, have been central in much of the social literature. Studies in a range of post-conflict settings have traced how violence may be a means to commandeer scarce resources, which becomes incorporated within masculine identities (Barker, 2005; Bhana, 2005b; Reilly, Muldoon & Byrne, 2004). Researchers have traced how gendered violence may arise from ‘thwarted’ masculinities (Moore, 1994), when men are unable to live up to the expectation of providing support and protection for the family (Ramphela, 2000). Such gendered violence, together with harsh forms of physical punishment, teach children that personal relationships may be shaped by through force, in which the strong exert their will over the weak (Morrell, 2001; Ramphela, 1996). In an ethnography of sexual health and violence among young black men living in a working-class South African township, Katharine Wood traced how gendered violence was both productive and unstable (Wood, 2002). For the young men she studied, violent practices helped to impose inequality in sexual relationships, producing a hierarchy of gender, but not altogether successfully:

For young men, the importance of women to their sense of masculinity, both in terms of their own self-respect and esteem and in the eyes of others, was evident in the energy they expended on acquiring girlfriends, gaining sexual access to them (and seeking to establish exclusive sexual access), surveilling them and attempting to control their behaviour. The vast majority of acts of violence against young women emerged out of these practices (Wood, 2002).

In order to maintain their social status, constant vigilance was necessary, with violence a way to attempt to establish and maintain uneasy control. What is clear in all these studies is that while violence may be functional in helping men to construct particular social identities, there are unforeseen and negative consequences – in the health risks discussed by Wood, and in the breakdown or fragmentation of relations discussed by Henderson, Ramphela or Rosen.

Many of these studies focus on young adults rather than on children, but there is also a strand of the social literature which explores how violence seeps into children’s everyday spaces. Studies investigate how schools, often viewed as safe havens may be sites in which violence is reproduced (Bhana, 2005a; Chatty & Hundt, 2005; Davies, 2004; Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2006; Dunne & Leach, 2005; Harber, 2004;

Leach, 2006). Through the gendered hierarchical relations, systems of punishment and in playgrounds where force is a frequent means of negotiating relationships, researchers have traced the reproduction of the violence of the neighbourhood. There are also ethnographic studies of children living and working in the streets, in spaces which are not viewed as legitimate contexts for children. Stepping into these 'prohibited' spaces may create risks for children. Children living and working on the streets of Brazil or Kenya may be escaping from violence within their homes, to face physical assaults and rape in the neighbourhood, from other children and from adults admonishing their illegitimate movement (Hecht, 1998; Kilbride, Suda & Njeru, 2000).

Many of the ethnographic studies do not set out to study violence, but in exploring children's lives in adverse social contexts, find that children have to cope with multiple forms of violence. These studies describe the resourcefulness and resilience of children. But there is also a sense that children are adopting survival strategies, often employing violence, to cope with immense hardship and the prospects for the future may be bleak.

Centring Children's Perspectives

The literature shows how violence has many reverberations in children's lives. The psychological studies explore the consequences on children's emotions, their development and family relationships. Children's responses vary with age, gender and the nature of and proximity to violence. It also shows that many children are resilient, that they seem to be protected from some of the negative consequences, perhaps because of the social support within families, or because of the ways in which they appraise or make sense of violence. These ways of making sense though are not well understood.

The social literature offers a rich analysis of life in a context of violence, illustrating the complex meanings attached to violence within the web of social relations in children's lives and drawing close connections with experience, history and culture. These studies show the importance of understanding violence as social interaction which has multiple meanings. While they add considerable depth to our understandings about children and violence, it is not difficult to see why they have had less influence than the psychological literature on policy and practice. Most are small-scale, located within specific social locations and the authors are cautious about making generalised claims. The relationships they identify are complex, difficult to disentangle, with deep historical and social roots that do not lend themselves to quick fixes. Change implies fundamental upheaval of power relations at the macro-level, as well as at the micro-level of beliefs and practices in local neighbourhoods.

As in the psychological literature, there is a sense in much of the social literature, in which the child remains an object of the researchers' gaze, vulnerable and innocent and at the same time caught up in cycles of violence in which she/he is powerless. Increasingly, however, these studies are reconceptualising children as active agents, and are beginning to consider the psychosocial processes through which children interpret and try to make sense of their social worlds. They engage theoretically with a rights-based sociology of childhood (Boyden & de Berry, 2004; Christensen & James, 2000; Mayall, 2002), and with theoretical developments in psychology which stress

the social construction of learning and identity construction (Bruner, 1990; Cole, 1996; Goodnow, 1990; Stigler, Schweder & Herdt, 1990; Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001). This work, which utilises both ethnographic and participatory research approaches, examines how, as they construct their social identities, young people negotiate conflicts and tensions.

Criticising the homogenising views of the 'refugee' child utilised by humanitarian agencies, Jason Hart explored the fluidity of children's identity formation in a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan. Discourses around age, gender, social class, personal history, religious faith and political views collided and clashed with the perspectives of their parents, in diverse ways which "may sprawl untidily across the neatly-drawn bounds of collectivities suggested by older generations" (Hart, 2004). Another study of children in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Gaza and the West Bank, explored how children negotiated their identities as Palestinians, refugees, camp residents, and as Muslims or Christians (Chatty & Hundt, 2005). Political and military conflict was mirrored in the relationships central to children's lives, within families and schools. Young people faced competing and conflicting discourses. For girls, for example, marriage could be viewed as protective at times of instability or as a way to escape the economic and social constraints of their homes, in which their movements were circumscribed, but also as preventing them from completing education. And while education was viewed as enabling them to lead more productive, fulfilling lives, the curriculum was frequently viewed as inappropriate and irrelevant and violence was common in the school setting (Chatty & Hundt, 2005).

In my own work with children in a working-class South African township, young people grappled with conflicting and seemingly contradictory viewpoints as they negotiated their identities within a context of multiple forms of violence (Parkes, 2005). For boys, for example, strength, fearlessness and fighting skill were sought-after attributes, and in their accounts of crimes against their families, they discussed the importance of men and boys protecting their homes, with violence if necessary. Yet at the same time, they were highly critical of young people who joined gangs. As they talked, they adopted uneasy subject positions, speaking proudly about their associations with local gangs, and thus reaping social status from these connections, while adamant that they would not adopt the violent practices of gangs themselves (Parkes, 2007). Boys and girls talked of the need for harsh punishments to maintain law and order, yet were cynical about the effectiveness of such punishments. Interestingly, over the course of our discussions, which took place over several months in 2001, they appeared to shift their views about possible solutions to problems of violence, increasingly proposing verbal problem-solving and negotiation as ways of contesting violence. It appeared that the subtle interplay of power and pleasure in the research relationship, in which young people felt that their views were listened to and valued, may have generated the perception of increased reflexive agency (Parkes, forthcoming).

Placing at the heart of psychological and social research the views of young people may expand our understanding of the diverse ways in which girls and boys negotiate the complex and contradictory discourses around violence. While this work is in its infancy, it begins to identify recurring patterns in how children cope, often simultaneously contesting

and perpetuating violence. It also alerts us to possibilities for change, while recognising how children are deeply embedded within highly constraining social contexts.

This work, which synthesises psychological and social approaches, together with a conceptualisation of children as active participants in their social worlds, points to interventions which engage with young people's perspectives (Daiute & Fine, 2003). For some children, as indicated by the psychological literature on trauma, psychotherapeutic interventions designed with sensitivity to local contexts and traditions, may be crucial to help cope with the horrific consequences, at the level of individual or community, and to support the rebuilding of relations fractured in war and conflict. For others, intervening early to support families in high risk settings may disrupt possible cycles of violence. At the same time, as stressed in the social literature, it is critical that interventions address and challenge the coercive social relations underpinning conflict. Within schools, such interventions could focus on human rights, social justice and peace. Across these multiple layers of intervention, it is important to avoid universalising, homogenising understandings of childhood, which marginalise children and render them powerless. Instead, understanding that children act upon and influence their social worlds, in ways that are not fixed but are diverse and fluid, we can develop frameworks of negotiation and dialogic pedagogy in which young people are invited to discuss, challenge and reconstruct perspectives and relationships, and to explore possibilities for changing violent social relations.

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AN INDIGENOUS DISCOURSE TO CRADLE OUR COGNITIVE HERITAGE AND SCRIPT OUR ASPIRATIONS: REFLECTIONS FROM INDIA AND AFRICA

Anita Rampal

The Modernisation–Indigenisation Dilemma

In a meeting of the Rural Schools Project (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005) in South Africa in 2004, I inadvertently stirred a hornet's nest. I had wondered why plastic tables and chairs were considered such a priority in primary schools, even at the cost of other pressing needs to ensure better learning. In South Africa and India most children do not sit on such furniture as part of their home culture. There was an expression of loud fist-thumping indignation by many black educators, declaring that things they had earlier been deprived of in schools should now be 'rightfully' theirs. How can children write otherwise? It was demeaning and inhuman 'to sit on the floor and write', they proclaimed. Well-meaning emotion, perhaps, but somewhat misplaced. It refused to acknowledge the coherence of culture and cognition. An interesting debate ensued, and at one point I went on to demonstrate how most people in India still chose to sit on the floor cross-legged, even in prestigious political meetings or musical gatherings. This is the basic posture many Westerners might pay substantial sums to emulate as part of their yoga classes! However, the question remained. Why was Africa, the Cradle of Writing, held in deference by the world for its ingenious initiation and imaginative use of papyrus and quill, now finding it demeaning to write without tables and chairs?

Significantly, most black educators participating in the Rural Schools Project felt that education has little to do with 'culture' or 'identity'. These words, unfortunately, still carry for them connotations of the colonial and apartheid past, when 'culture' was used as the basic signifier of colour and 'race'. Ironically, the present seems endangered with another kind of 'culture'. This one chases the elusive 'Western dream' through schooling with a vengeance. 'Equality of opportunity' is sought, somewhat superficially through unquestioning emulation, to somehow 'catch up with them', and sadly, on 'their' terms not 'ours'. Western dress, furniture and architecture, and teaching in the English language (often without comprehension, and mostly through rote) are only some instances of this culture, vehemently demanded, as 'our basic rights' in school. A contemporary 'indigenous' discourse on education is urgently called

for, to reconstruct the social reality of people that has long been scripted elsewhere. In the present globalising scenario there is a greater need to decolonise the mind of plagiarised aspirations.

The ‘indigenous tradition’ of schooling had emerged out of alternative educational ideas rooted in the anti-colonial struggles of low-income countries that challenged ‘imported’ knowledge, images, values and beliefs. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi and Julius Nyerere, both stressed education for self-reliance, equity and rural employment. The indigenous tradition is therefore seen as one that:

- Reasserts the importance of education’s relevance to the sociocultural circumstances of the nation and learner
- Assures that relevance implies local design of curriculum content, pedagogies and assessment, using learners’ rich sources of prior knowledge
- Moves beyond the boundaries of the classroom/school through non-formal and lifelong learning activities. (UNESCO, 2005, p. 34)

The Gandhian model of Basic Education (Hindustani Talimi Sangh, 1938) called for ‘education for life, through life’ and used a productive craft – weaving, carpentry, agriculture or pottery – as the medium of interdisciplinary hands-on learning in the primary curriculum, with the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. At the upper primary stage the distinction between traditional ‘academic’ and ‘vocational’ streams was sought to be reduced through flexible tracks, where science, home science or agricultural science could be placed at par. This radical move matched the agenda of the anti-colonial freedom struggle for inclusive schools independent of government funding. It required an interrogation of the traditional caste system that stigmatised those belonging to the low-castes and their vocations. Basic Education schools continued to run in the 1950s, after India became independent, but did not receive sustained support from the government and the elites aspiring for white-collar employment through ‘modern’ education.

The decolonising discourse on education saw a historic debate (Bhattacharya, 1997) between two major Indian thinkers – Gandhi and Tagore – whose respect for each other refined their differences and also enriched the discussions on issues such as, development, nationalism, education, language, science and its domination. Gandhi led the movement of ‘non-cooperation’, and supported the ‘swadeshi’ (the indigenous) with the boycott of British goods, including British-run schools. Tagore ran his own indigenous school but felt, as he wrote in a letter to Gandhi in 1921, that the “struggle to alienate our heart and mind from those of the West is an attempt at spiritual suicide ... [as indeed] for a long time we have been out of touch with our own culture” (ibid. p. 62). Gandhi maintained: “It is unbearable for me that the vernaculars should be crushed and starved as they have been. I hope I am as great a believer in the free air as the great Poet. ... I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any” (ibid. p. 64). Both developed distinct models of indigenous education. However, Tagore questioned the centrality of manual work in Basic Education, at the cost of art and aesthetics, and wondered if it amounted to a differentiated form of education “doled out in insufficient rations to the poor” (ibid. p. 34), who thus get assigned to a limited place and vocation.

The historic Gandhi–Tagore engagement reconnects with several contemporary educational debates. Indeed, the curriculum does manifest as an ongoing ‘complicated conversation’ – and a ‘social and subjective reconstruction’, that allows an analysis of “one’s experience of the past and fantasies of the future in order to understand more fully, with more complexity and subtlety, one’s submergence in the present” (Pinar, 2004, p. 4). The modernisation–indigenisation dilemma of the 1920s continues to reconfigure now in several countries, around differently nuanced curricular dimensions, ranging from the ‘developmental–ecological’ crisis, ‘rational–moral’ values, ‘academic–everyday’ knowledge, ‘intellectual–manual’ work, English or mother tongue as the medium, to the material–cultural politics of identity (Rampal, forthcoming).

The first Education Commission of independent India (Government of India, 1966) had advocated ‘non-violent science’ for development, so that India could engage in ‘reinterpretations and re-evaluations’ of its deep fissures of inequality and injustice, using ‘its own cultural resources of compassion, tolerance and spirituality’, while it drew upon the new liberalising forces that had emerged in the West. However, attempts to incorporate cultural or civilisational resources in education have been part of major political contestations, especially in multicultural countries with complex colonial histories.

An indigenous discourse on schooling calls for new metaphors for the notion of a ‘national’ or ‘multicultural identity’. One metaphor for the dynamic and diverse society sought in post-apartheid South Africa is that of the ‘Garieb’ (The Great River), proposed by Alexander (2002, p. 107). In this the mainstream is composed of a confluence of all the tributaries, which in their ever-changing forms continue to constitute and reconstitute the river, such that no single current dominates, and there is no ‘main stream’.

In the Indian context, independence came with partition and the formation of Pakistan, which left a long trail of violence, communal frenzy and, subsequently, even linguistic strife. This history marked the continually problematic process of carving a national identity through the education system. A Committee for Emotional Integration, set up by the Ministry of Education (1962, p. 3), had felt compelled to assert that:

[u]nity is not uniformity. No one is asked to give up his faith in the religion of his fathers, his love for the language which the poets – who have inspired his life and the life of thousands like him – chose as the medium of expression, for their sense of truth and beauty. ... Such loyalties do not detract from the loyalty to the nation: rather they add depth to it and, in turn, derive meaning and significance from that over-all loyalty which is the nation’s due.

However, a plurality of loyalties have continued to disturb the agenda of the nationalist-chauvinists, who strive to establish the hegemony of the culture and language of the dominant ‘main stream’, carved out of a religious and caste identity. Education has remained a politically contested site for the schooling of dominance – of caste, class, religion and gender – despite radical committees and secular policies that have challenged these divisive designs. For instance, through the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2000, a right-wing party in power at the centre promoted a form of cultural imperialism of the dominant religious identity, and textbooks presented a

distorted and divisive view of history (SAHMAT and Sabrang, 2001). A change in government recovered the secular space in the subsequent NCF 2005, but since school curricula and textbooks are prepared by state governments, the right-wing ideology continues to prevail in some states. Lall (forthcoming) analyses the increasing contestation over issues of national identity to argue that “fundamentalisation in general, and curricular fundamentalisation in particular are state-controlled discursive mechanisms through which to contain and deflect potential dysfunctions produced by the effects of globalization in societies”.

Language has been a particularly sensitive issue after India gained independence. Religious chauvinism combined with the political hegemony of the Hindi-speaking heartland demanded a highly classicised Hindi as the ‘national’ language. Through much political debate the country refrained from declaring a ‘national’ language, but instead termed Hindi the ‘official’ language, with English as an ‘associate additional official language’, to serve as a link between the plurality of regional or state languages. The Constitution (Article 351) also directed that:

it shall be the duty of the Union to develop the Hindi language so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, styles and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India.

The Official Language Commission was set up and several committees deliberated upon how the Indian languages needed to be developed. It recommended that new terminologies should not be ‘concocted in a literary workshop’ but drawn from the vocational language of crafts-persons, artisans, technicians and semi-skilled workers who are not familiar with English but manage to devise their own hybrid forms of technical and scientific terminologies. However, the course of events that followed, unfortunately, went contrary to the wise counsel of the Commission and even the Constitution. Not only were words not mined from the quarries of artisanal ‘dialects’, but words from colloquial vocabularies were even purged as ‘alien’ or ‘Islamic’, in favour of the often more contrived terms coined from Sanskrit. Terms in this official form of Hindi were not carved from the dynamic heteroglot and extensively used Hindustani, which had indeed grown out of the composite culture of diverse communities, thus forging strong emotional bonds of shared memories. Moreover, what emerged out of the violence of the struggle for what Rai (2001) calls ‘Hindi Nationalism’, was bereft of the creative genius of Hindustani. It was effectively a regional language in opposition to other regional languages, invented by one ‘upper caste local elite desperate to exercise national dominance’:

It has defined itself against a range of other contenders for so long – Urdu but not only Urdu in the earlier phase, English later – that a kind of prickly defensiveness has become one of its deepest characteristics. ... For all its irrelevance to the real world of literary practice, and to the world of everyday language use, this ‘Hindi’ continues to exert a poisonous influence through its continued dominance within the education system. ... This official ‘Hindi’ is primarily responsible for the

construction of cultural memory in the Hindi region; in classroom after classroom, in childish essay and scholarly dissertation, the practice of this 'Hindi' is a ritual re-enactment of the logic of partition. (Ibid. pp. 118–119)

An alienating discourse of education took root in most states, even where the medium of schooling was chosen to be the state's regional language. Terminologies and technical words were artificially foisted on learners without any consideration of their processes of cognition and communication. However, in the state of Kerala in South India, which has much higher levels of literacy than the rest of the country, a serious attempt was made to develop new terminologies from familiar existing words. Several words were coined as derivatives from English but with a suitable Malayalam suffix. A dictionary of 40,000 terms was compiled by the mass organisation 'Kerala Shastra Sahitya Parishad', then a relatively small voluntary group of academics working for the popularisation of science. This was a landmark achievement and helped the organisation in mobilising large-scale support from ordinary people, with which it spearheaded the Silent Valley environmental campaign and its mass-based People's Science Movement. This example underscores the need for creative indigenous interventions which carve people's ingenuity with their own languages and buttress the cradle of educational expansion. Similar concerns have been voiced in South Africa, where English still remains the dominant language of school, and efforts are on to ensure the development and 'intellectualisation' of local languages (Odora Hoppers, 2002; Dlodlo, 1999).

Whose Knowledge Has Value?

In Africa, South America as well as South Asia there have been calls for a critical re-appropriation of indigenous knowledge with an end to 'extroversion' of all forms, including economic, scientific and technological. School history curricula have been reviewed from the subaltern perspective, and October 12, the day Columbus reached the 'New World', has now been declared as the 'Indigenous Resistance Day' in central and South America. Social movements have called for an audit of the 'ecological debt' of the colonising countries, which through centuries of exploitation of mineral and other natural resources of the Third World, have caused its deep economic debt. There is a need to reassert and claim a similar acknowledgement of their 'cognitive debt' to the indigenous knowledge of the oldest civilisations.

The development of modern science was based on several knowledge traditions, which included the traditions of simple cultures that came in contact with the voyages of discovery or were part of the colonies of Europe. However, in the course of the spread of modern science these other traditions were either consciously delegitimised or even 'cognitively lost' to science. Our cognitive heritage needs to be critically re-examined and reclaimed, not to be exploited in the global market, but to enrich our indigenous systems of economic and knowledge production. For the latter, our schools must serve not only as indigenous sites of production of new knowledge but, equally, of relegitimation and appraisal of some of these lost traditions.

Some examples of such traditions being lost through formal education focus on the question of whose knowledge is currently valued in schools. The tribal or rural child is knowledgeable about the natural world, and does not need to look at ‘pictures’ to count the legs of a spider, to identify the eggs of a frog or the leaves of a *neem* tree. She may learn from her community about metal casting, or gain knowledge to identify medicinal herbs and the rich biodiversity of her forests, which foreign companies often aggressively vie to patent and commercially exploit, but, ironically, schools do not value. Moreover, the structure of schooled knowledge makes the rural or tribal child struggle with meaningless representations even in matters she knows much better (Rampal, 2000). Such cultural dissonance between indigenous knowledge, language and school science has also been noted in the case of Maori children (McKinley, McPherson Waiti & Bell, 1992).

Goonatilake (1998, p. 67) stresses the need to consciously ‘mine civilisational knowledge’ to change the traditions of modern science, through a rich array of techniques, metaphors and intellectual solutions:

Recent work of anthropologists on these small social groups, so called ‘primitive’ peoples, reveals that the impulse to be scientific is universally present. I focus on these societies deliberately, because the Scientific Revolution began after the voyages of discovery, and aspects of both projects interacted with each other, namely, the search for science and the search of the Europeans’ “other”. The imperialist perspective that accompanied both events soon began to assert the superiority and exclusivity of everything considered European. Soon, these attitudes crystallized, to varying degrees, into a view that other cultures were inherently incapable of the intellectual work that goes today under the rubric of ‘science’. And this perspective has coloured subsequent views on knowledge, views that only over the last two decades or so are being gradually rethought.

Curiosity about nature was not only kindled but systematically formalised and nurtured in every major civilizational area, with significant cross-transmission and cross-fertilisation of ideas between them. For instance, folk biological classifications made by different groups across the world have been seen to be remarkably similar in different settings, based on objective observations using similar criteria. Field studies of attempts at classification by American students who had no formal training in biology and no prior knowledge of the specimens they were asked to classify, showed that they all came to similar classification systems based on observed criteria (Boster, 1987). An increasing body of work in ethnobiology and anthropology shows that indigenous peoples have independently observed the environment and come to similar conclusions and taxonomies, largely out of an intellectual urge, more than a purely instrumental need. “The difference between a Linnaeus, the eighteenth century founder of the modern classificatory system, and a folk classifier, becomes one partly of degree. Linnaeus (like the other modern scientists after him) had access to a wider store of plant samples, created through European expansion into the rest of the world” (Goonatilake, 1998, p. 70).

The Civilising Agenda of School?

Not only do schools dismiss the civilisational knowledge resources of tribal children but they also subject them to a severe sense of alienation, while their very existence and identity is described in demeaning terms. Teachers are deeply conditioned by social biases against indigenous tribes and refer to them stereotypically as ‘uncivilised people engaged in drinking and dancing, and not interested in education’. In a textbook for Class 6, questions about ‘where in the State are tigers found?’ were framed in exactly the same way as ‘where are tribals found?’ No effort was made to even semantically differentiate between ‘where people are found’ and ‘where people live’. Generally no tribal characters and no tribal names appear in school books. In fact, teachers are always ‘correcting’ tribal names, since they find them awkward and consider those to be distorted versions of ‘proper’ Sanskrit names.

Spatial metaphors have played a role in the framing of emancipatory pedagogies to counter the domesticating tendencies of education, ranging from phenomena of “border crossing” to “legitimate peripheral participation” (Edwards & Usher, 2000). In countries of the South the urban poor today are witness to increasingly dehumanising, even ‘savage inequalities’, as the city reconfigures and monstrosly metamorphoses into a modern metropolis. In addition, the media relentlessly imprints surreal images on young fertile imaginations and blossoming aspirations; jazzy Jacuzzis and fancy fittings seem to acquire a commonplace realism while modest taps and sanitary latrines remain remotely unimaginable. Yet schools make no attempt to scaffold the ‘spatial consciousness’ of a poor child to interrogate “the relationship that exists between him and his neighborhood, his territory, or to use the language of the street gangs, his ‘turf’” (Harvey, 1973, p. 24; Rampal, 2007).

The school textbook usually maintains an inert distance, refusing to acknowledge the lives of the tribals, and deals with survival issues in a cold, sterile manner. Assuming that everyone lives in a brick and mortar bungalow provided with tapped water, it preaches ‘water conservation’ so that taps are not kept running while brushing one’s teeth. It also deliberately evades any conflicting issue seen as ‘uncomfortable’ by its middle-class urban authors, and unabashedly pontificates on what ‘they’ – the poor and the ‘unclean’ – must do to keep themselves clean. There is an implicit understanding that while education must inform ‘those backward’ children on how to conduct their lives ‘properly’, it should project only happy and ‘positive’ situations to protect the ‘innocence’ of the privileged. Textbooks traditionally contain highly prescriptive and moralistic lessons (about hygiene, cleanliness, hard work, etc.) together with naive and insipid generalisations about the lives of the poor. In fact, under ‘types of houses’ the concrete bungalow, the semi-pucca house and the ‘*jhuggi*’ (makeshift shelter) are presented just as if these constituted another natural ‘scientific’ taxonomy, as in plants or soil types! Moreover, a ‘good’ house is always defined as one with a kitchen, toilets, windows and electricity. Millions of children who live in conditions that do not conform to these norms are deliberately alienated, and receive signals that their life style is ‘bad’.

The ‘civilising’ agenda of school has almost been timelessly and righteously imposed on poor children, who supposedly need to be ‘rescued from the abyss’, where the discipline of school is meant to be contrasted with the chaos and squalor in their homes.

In fact, the disdain faced by the urban poor in our present schools is reminiscent of nineteenth-century England, where the Compulsory Education Act of 1870 gave state sanction to the purported maintenance of ‘order’ through often oppressive measures. Education was enforced with prosecutions and fines, with seizure of goods if parents could not pay, and even prison. Order and obedience came with cleanliness, vested with the same moral righteousness, the same sense of ‘shame’, and even greater priority than instruction (Davin, 1996).

Unpacking the Packaged Discourse

The exclusion of the knowledge of poor, rural children from the curriculum is exacerbated by the languages through which schooling is delivered. The discourse of school has normally been highly transactional, impersonal and dense, with encapsulated information that is expected to be memorised, since children in any case cannot make sense of it (Rampal, 1992a). The hegemony of the heavily classicised terminology used in the regional languages has made science and mathematics doubly debilitating for children in government schools. This contributes to a large extent to their failure to cope with these subjects.

The Ministry of Human Resource Development appointed a Committee in 1993 to help reduce the ‘burden of the school bag’. Its report ‘Learning without Burden’ (Government of India, 1993) was prefaced with the observation that the gravitational load of the bag was not the main problem, but “that the more pernicious burden is that of non-comprehension. In fact, a significant fraction of children who drop out may be those who refuse to compromise with non-comprehension – they are potentially superior to those who just memorise and do well in examinations, without comprehending very much!” It was sharply critical of the overarching trend to package as much information as possible in a ‘highly compressed and abstruse manner’ and noted that:

Barring exceptions, our textbooks appear to have been written primarily to convey information or ‘facts’, rather than to make children think and explore. ... The distance between the child’s everyday life and the content of the textbook accentuates the transformation of knowledge into a load. ... Even books used for teaching the mother tongue are written in such a stylised diction that children cannot be expected to recognize this language as their own. Words, expressions and nuances commonly used by children in their milieu are absent. So is humour. An artificial, sophisticated style dominates, reinforcing the tradition of distancing knowledge from life. (Ibid. pp. 7–8)

Often the rhetoric of ‘activity-based’ teaching may be adopted by textbooks but there is no attempt to promote any exploration or activity. Children are asked to observe the ‘picture’ of an object, rather than go out and look at the ‘real’ thing, be it a common sparrow or the leaf of a plant, and the conclusions are already provided about ‘what will be observed’. A typical passage on ‘Weather’ from a Class 3 textbook ‘Exploring Environment’ shows how distant it is from a truly exploratory approach. Notice the

density of the text and the use of statements that actually do not explain anything (Rampal, 2002; PROBE Team, 1999):

When water evaporates it changes from liquid into water vapour. Water vapour is the gaseous form of water. Wet things dry when the water in them becomes water vapour and moves into the atmosphere. You cannot see water evaporating into water vapour. Water vapour exists in the form of very tiny particles.

Most of these sentences do not offer any real explanations, and for these concepts on evaporation and states of matter it is not even possible to do so for children this age. They are only statements that go round in circles, as tautologies. If a child asks 'But what is water vapour?' she gets the answer 'Water vapour is the gaseous form of water'! Naturally the child stops trying to make sense of what is being 'taught', and falls in line with what is expected – to unthinkingly repeat what she has been told.

There has been little systematic attempt to get feedback from children and to elicit their perceptions about this kind of writing. It is generally believed that if they fail to learn in school there must be something wrong with them, for which they need all kinds of additional inputs, from tuitions to tonics. Eleven-year-old Gargi, a pupil in Mumbai, is one such exception. When asked to critically analyse her textbook, she looked at two pages from the chapter on 'Air' which contain a heavy density of unfamiliar terms and concepts, such as, crucible, mass, desiccator, clay pipe triangle, magnesium, apparatus, mercuric oxide. The book, supposed to be among the better textbooks, used by urban schools and published by a private firm, thoughtlessly goes into elaborate instructions for doing an experiment, normally given to high school students, to find the difference in the 'mass' of magnesium after burning it in air. Gargi dared to question the suitability of what was being taught. She sent me her expressive comments with a drawing:

The section on Priestley's experiment was most confusing. Mercury, red powder, heating, re-heating. ... Add to this Priestley, Lavoisier, glowing splinter, oxygen. ... Garbage! It went zoom over my head.

As a third-world country a major problem we have had to contend with, especially while designing curricula, is the notion of 'catching up' that India must do to become abreast of what is popularly called the 'global information explosion'. When told that European children, for instance, learn concepts of valence or chemical equations much later than their counterparts here, it is argued that those countries can now 'afford to go slow'. The latest National Curriculum Framework (Government of India, 2005) has promoted a social constructivist approach towards children's learning, with a focus on the cultural context of concept-formation. All children are natural theory-makers, and from much before they go to school they begin to construct their own theories and explanations for the world they observe. Learning in childhood is not a process of accumulating or storing information about different topics, but the ability to apply the understanding of one phenomenon to others. Children often form consistent 'alternative frameworks' or 'naive theories' that may even be contradictory to established knowledge (Driver *et al.*, 1985). Therefore, schools

need to consciously elicit, address and critically examine children's intuitive ideas before presenting new ways of looking at the world.

Many students fail in their mathematics exams, feeling frustrated at not being able to cope with numbers even later in life. Yet unschooled children and adults enjoy solving oral riddles and play folk games, with tamarind seeds or pebbles, which are entertaining and also sharpen their mathematical abilities. Traditional methods of estimation, sorting and measurement still used in villages have their own terminologies, which are meaningfully related to real-life contexts. We have found that unschooled children and adults who sell in the market or do vocational work are adept at mental arithmetic as part of their daily transactions, and use effective algorithms and strategies to get results (Rampal *et al.*, 1999; Rampal, 2003a, b, c).

The presentation of mathematics in textbooks has also traditionally been associated with entrenching gender inequalities. A detailed study of mathematics textbooks and teachers' manuals undertaken by Mary Harris (on behalf of the Commonwealth Secretariat) points out that the language of the Class 1 book, *Let's Learn Mathematics*, is already too formal and runs the risk of alienating girls right from the beginning of their schooling. "Girls find co-operative and generative ways of working a better way of understanding mathematics than the more definitional, hierarchical ways used in this text and indeed throughout the series" (Harris, 1999, p. 93). Thus, redressing gender imbalance in textbooks is not simply a matter of introducing more examples with women, but of understanding that women have continued to play an important role in accumulating and refining traditional knowledge in various spheres of activity.

Indeed, in the new primary school textbooks produced by National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT, 2006a, 2007, 2008; also at www.ncert.nic.in) we have consciously given place to children's unschooled knowledge of science and everyday mathematics. With a focus on those who are most vulnerable to be pushed out of school, and unlike the prevalent 'culture of silence' at school, some key questions openly address issues of inequality or difference, and encourage children to reflect on their lived experiences, however unpleasant. The syllabus for Environmental Studies for Grades III–V (NCERT, 2006b) uses an integrated approach, through 'themes' that allow for a connected and interrelated understanding of what may conventionally come under the subjects of Science, Social Studies and Environmental Education. This required moving beyond traditional boundaries of disciplines and looking at priorities in a shared way, with a focus on children's understandings and experiences rooted in diverse cultural milieu.

For instance, the theme on 'Food' begins with 'cooking' and 'eating in the family', and sensitises children to the notion that food is a deeply cultural concept. The key question 'Which of the following is food – red ants, birds' nest, goats' milk, etc.?' is meant to focus on the understanding of such differences, to promote tolerance, and also to address social biases about indigenous culinary practices. Certain tribal communities relish condiments made out of red ants or fried termites, but face oppressive discrimination from often insensitive and ignorant non-tribal peers and teachers. The theme then moves on to how food is grown, how it reaches the city, who grows it, and the hardships farmers face (in the light of the severe crisis in agriculture and unprecedented suicides by farmers), while staying grounded to the reality of our own pangs of hunger or the plight of people who do not get food. Further, changes in food habits and

crop patterns are analysed through the historical experiences of village elders/grandparents, not just from what the teacher or textbook says.

Themes on 'Water' and 'Shelter' in the syllabus include questions on the immediate issues of caste and deprivation in rural and urban environments. For instance, the following questions are meant to scaffold critical dialogue: How far do you have to go to fetch water? Are there some people not allowed to take water from your source? What are underground wells and do you still see them being used? Have you seen water being wasted? Are there some people in your area who always face water shortage? Do you find factories or people dumping garbage or harmful materials in rivers or seas? Similarly for 'Shelter': Does everyone have a shelter to live in? Why do people live together in hamlets/colonies/neighbourhoods? The syllabus and the textbook also include narratives of a child displaced by the construction of a dam or the demolition of an urban slum.

The new NCERT textbooks based on the revised syllabus have been introduced in schools in 2006. As our team continues to work on the Environmental Studies (EVS) textbooks we have been through a process of debate and reflection. To remain sensitive to all children and to consciously include the lived realities of the rural and tribal child is indeed a challenge, especially when most of us – teachers and educators – are from among the urban educated sections of society, with increasingly fewer shared spaces of social and cultural interchange. For us tapped water (though now in short supply in most cities) or personal toilets are unquestioned essentials of urban life, while many other markers of our middle-class existence – be it cooking gas, a refrigerator, an ice cream cone, or even ordinary coloured paper – might unthinkingly appear in the chapters we draft. We also continue to contend with a middle-class moralistic discourse on hygiene and cleanliness, and the belief that the poor need the 'right messages' through school. Nevertheless, we have made space for different children's voices and concerns, from diverse regions, cultures and socio-economic backgrounds – of those whose houses are washed away by floods each year, and also those who walk miles to get a pot of water. We have consciously included several real-life narratives of inspiration and transformative action for the textbooks for language, mathematics and EVS in grades III (NCERT, 2006a, 2007, 2008).

Scientific Temper and Social Beliefs

Science for development has been a shared dream in most third-world countries, including South Africa and India. However, often an overly positivist and even erroneously glorious view of science is projected as the panacea for all national problems (Rampal, 1992b). Scientific thinking is perceived to be in direct confrontation with peoples' religious and customary beliefs, superstitions and traditional practices. Standard courses in school allow no room for thought and critical reflection to intelligently deal with students' indigenous knowledge or to sensitively interrogate social beliefs.

The media mindlessly beams a barrage of often crude and condescending messages, again with no attempt at critical inquiry or communicative explanation. For example, in a regular 'social advertisement' on Indian television, a commanding disembodied voice interrogates the poor housewife on whether she had cleaned the plates well, and

even patronisingly orders viewers to wash their hands before eating (and after defecating). This format is immensely offensive and gender-insensitive. Even in the parched drought-prone desert of Rajasthan, where women solely bear the backbreaking burden of carrying several pitchers of scarce water from long distances, they show enough indigenous acumen and plain good sense to scrub their utensils clean with sand. Similar condescending messages on the vaccination of children or about keeping food covered seem to place the blame entirely on the poor viewers for their illness, absolving the state of its responsibility to provide basic amenities such as potable water or primary health care. There is no popular scientific attempt to communicate *why* vaccinations help or *what* happens with contaminated food, so that this didactic discourse is almost similar in its import and spirit to any other knowledge claim arising out of ‘unscientific’ systems of belief.

The inculcation of scientific thinking is a slow and complex process, and remains embedded within the various complementary layers of social cognition – between myths, beliefs, folklore, superstitions, taboos, etc. – that have influenced people’s thinking for centuries. Such beliefs broadly constitute what Horton (1970) calls a ‘closed’ system of thought, characterised by a lack of awareness of alternatives to the body of tenets espoused and constrained by the tendency to reason only within a ‘limited idiom’. The language of science needs to be careful while invoking such ideas that may relate to people’s sacred and social beliefs in attempting to provide ‘scientific’ explanations to them. Moving towards scientific thinking would involve providing alternate explanations and allowing traditional tenets to become less sacred as they lose their absolute validity, through an accompanying loosening of social structures that sustain such tenets (Rampal, 1994; Ogunniyi, 1988, 1989).

This issue has repeatedly troubled and creatively engaged colleagues and friends during our work in the literacy campaign and as part of the activities of the All India People’s Science Network. For instance, during the total solar eclipse in 1994, thousands of literacy activists in the country had conducted a special ‘Cosmic Voyage’, and travelling cultural troupes had moved across the country communicating with millions of people and mobilising them to watch and learn about the phenomenon. Poems and plays were specially written and printed in books that indicated how to incorporate people’s own beliefs and legends, while presenting new knowledge. The play *Grahan men bhi Surya Sundar* (The sun is beautiful during the eclipse too) used folk humour and satire to portray popular beliefs and rituals related to the eclipse, while also trying to motivate them to see the spectacular event, and accept other explanations for its incidence. Dismissing traditional beliefs cursorily, without addressing how past civilisations have sought explanatory metaphors for such natural occurrences, can be counter-productive. It alienates and gives the unnecessary impression that science is too ‘impersonal’ and opposed to all that they may hold dear or sacred.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the gulf between the indigenous knowledge learners have about math and science and the formal, distancing and often incomprehensible

ways in which school textbooks are presented. On the other hand, while working with unschooled youth and adults engaged in a craft we can see how their knowledge is situated in practice (Rogoff & Lave, 1984; Lave, 1996) and is based on high levels of innovation, creativity and resourcefulness. I am reminded of a young watch mechanic I had gone to (in the small town where I once lived) with a very inexpensive (and perhaps disposable) watch that had stopped functioning. He handed it back the next day, ticking away, and charged only a pittance of 10 rupees (roughly 20 cents) saying, with visible pride “I have learnt from my father that my job is to make it work, not throw it away!” This sentiment is integral to the ethics of his unschooled knowledge. It has its roots in the system of learning he experienced during his apprenticeship with his *ustaad* or master, who happens to be his father. It is such resourcefulness and innovation of ‘making things work’, with austerity and minimum expendable resources, often through creative recycling, which is the hallmark of this system of education. Moreover, such ‘learning while doing’ is premised on greater participation and collective effort, where thought, action and feelings are organically linked (Rampal, 2003a). Our schools could learn much from such systems of unschooled knowledge. These could serve to scaffold a counter-hegemonic discourse against globalisation. Indeed, what could be a better way to resist globalised consumerism than to take pride in making things work without expending resources or throwing anything away!

It is a matter of concern that in low-income countries like India ‘vocational’ education remains the least sought after, perceived as meant for the non-academic ‘backward learners’, even while working-class families despair that schools alienate their children from their own vocations and livelihoods. More often, institutes or polytechnics that offer such courses are not creatively or academically engaged with education, and are even placed under the Labour Department. In the present globalizing discourse of ‘brain vs body’ skills, where ‘creative twenty-first century skills’ are competitively sought for schools in industrialised countries, almost justifying the outsourcing of ‘low-skill’ jobs to low-income countries, there lies an urgent challenge to design indigenous vocational curricula with an innovative and academic ‘high skill’ edge for the majority. Moreover, as Brown, Lauder and Ashton (forthcoming) argue, the dominant discourse on education and globalisation needs to be challenged to show “that Britain and the US are not knowledge economies, where the value of knowledge continues to rise, but are characterised by an economy of knowledge that is transforming the relationship between education, jobs and rewards”.

There is a Zimbabwean proverb (Brock-Utne, 2002) which goes: ‘*Stories of the hunt will be stories of glory until the day when animals have their own historians.*’ Stories of our civilisational knowledge need to be told by historians of oral and indigenous knowledge using our languages that cradle our cognitive heritage and script our aspirations.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE LIMITATIONS OF RELEASING SUBALTERN VOICES IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Nazir Carrim

Postcoloniality and the achievement of human rights in South Africa mark the transition to a post-apartheid society. The denial and violation of human rights of particularly “black”¹ South Africans under apartheid has placed the provision and protection of human rights centrally in the definition of a post-apartheid, “new” South Africa. Policy and administrative changes in education underscore this. The Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa reads as follows:

We, the people of South Africa,
 Recognise the injustices of our past;
 Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;
 Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
 Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.
 We, therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution
 as the supreme law of the Republic so as to –
 Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values,
 social justice and fundamental human rights;
 Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based
 on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by the law;
 Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and
 Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a
 sovereign state in the family of nations.
 May God protect our people.
 Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrica. Morena boloka stejhaba sa heso.
 God seen Suid-Afrika. God bless South Africa.
 Mudzimu fhatutshedza Afurika. Hosi Katekisa Afrika (South Africa, 1996a).

The Constitution explicitly notes the historical context within which it emerged and the ways in which issues of the past are to be addressed in the future development of democracy. It notes that it replaces what existed under apartheid and attempts to “heal the divisions of the past”. In order to do so, it “recognises the injustices of our past” and “honour(s) those who suffered” and all those who have contributed to “build(ing)” and “develop(ing)” South Africa. The Constitution and the changes in education in

South Africa established to give it effect cannot be understood outside of the historical context and legacies of apartheid. Its purpose is to (re)address the “injustices” and “divisions” of apartheid and to “lay the foundations of a democratic and open society” which were delegitimated and repressed under apartheid.

The recognition of “black” South Africans as citizens, on the basis of equality of all before the law, altered the political landscape and restored the “dignity” of all South Africans. It also provided the basis for “black” people to enter the political system, be members of parliaments, and become president of the country. The official abolition of apartheid signalled by the 27 April 1994 elections, is not only of titular and symbolic importance but was critical to altering materially the positioning of “black” South Africans in the polity. South Africa was welcomed back into the community of democratic nations of the world because of this historic accomplishment. Recognition in and by the law thus can effect material changes in people’s lives. This cannot be underestimated or undermined.

However, my focus in this chapter is the extent to which such recognition of human rights of all South Africans in and by the law, allows for the release of the voices of the “subaltern”. In the first section I draw on some precepts of the work of Gayatri Spivak and Walter D. Mignolo to outline the ways in which I use postcolonial theorising. I am concerned with exploring the extent of the achievement of human rights and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. However, this is continuous with modernity and, as such, limits the extent to which “subaltern” voices are released. In the second section I outline some of the limitations of the discourse of human rights and show that, despite these limitations it did (and still does) play an important role in resistances to apartheid and the ways in which ordinary South Africans are able to defend themselves in the face of human rights violations. I draw on empirical data documenting experiences of pupils in schools regarding sexual orientation.

My primary purpose in focusing on sexual orientation is because the new South African Constitution recognises sexual orientation as a human right and is among the few constitutions in the world that does so. Article 9 of the Bill of Rights, states:

The state may not discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth. (South Africa, 1996b)

In 2006, South Africa passed laws recognising civil unions among same sex partners, and became among the few countries in the world to have done so as sexual orientation tends to be unspoken in most contexts. Gays and lesbians occupy marginalised spaces in virtually all societies which are powerfully controlled by heterosexuality. Looking at sexual orientation provides a useful way to assess the extent to which the provision of human rights in post-apartheid South Africa reaches people on the margins of this heterosexual hegemonic order. In this chapter I tease out some of the implications for education of human rights, the construction of a post-apartheid South Africa, the postcolonial imagination and subalternity.

Can the Subaltern Speak?

In the essay “Can the Subaltern Speak”, from which this section borrows its title, Gayatri Spivak (1993) explores hegemonic ideas concerning aspects of the subaltern condition. The essay is a very complex and sophisticated analysis of the ways in which the “West” is constructed as the “Subject” and how “Others” are positioned and constructed as “Subjects” of the West. In the essay Spivak enters into a conversation with Deleuze and Foucault, including several references to Marx, Guattari, Gramsci and Edward Said in particular, before using Derrida in her thought-provoking deconstruction of “sati” or “suttee” – that is, Indian widows’ self-immolation on the pyre of their deceased husbands.

Spivak’s argument is that the voices of the subaltern – by which she means colonised peoples – cannot simply be about “releasing” “their” voices so that they can “speak for themselves”. This she sees as a tendency within some types of subaltern studies published in the USA to ignore the “macrological” constraints and conditions which position people. Such “micrological” studies, she argues, focus on personal experiences in decontextualised and individualistic ways and ignore the wider power matrices that construct our worlds on social, economic and political levels, and have global and historical dimensions. Micrological studies which do not chart such personal experiences in relation to wider socio-economic, political and historical forces can provide only partial accounts. Spivak’s point is that there ought to be an “articulation” (Hall, 1996) between the “micrological” and “macrological”, that is, studies which focus on social, economic and political power within global and historical contexts. Analyses need to consider not only the positionalities and experiences of the “subaltern” but of social phenomena in general.

In asking the question, can the subaltern speak, Spivak is at pains to show that for the subaltern to speak the very bases of the knowledge systems and subject positions need to be reconfigured. In looking at whether “the Indian woman”, as “subaltern”, can speak, through the experiences of “sati”, Spivak shows that first the Indian woman needs to be deconstructed. She needs to be seen as a Subject in relation to the legitimated and dominant concepts of the imperialist and imperialising West. She also should not be seen as the Other assimilated within colonising frameworks. Thus, she needs to be seen in her own terms. Spivak’s deconstruction of the Indian woman and “sati” entails examining Hindu terms and ancient, sacred Indian texts. These reveal that the woman remains subordinate to the Indian male, with such subordination inscribed on her body, particularly her genitalia. Spivak concludes that despite deconstruction the subaltern still cannot speak. She cannot speak in the grammar of the West, she cannot speak in the chauvinism of the Hindu male, she cannot speak in the scriptures of the pious Brahmin and she cannot speak in the heavens. Not until she disembodies herself from her female body, destroys herself and is no longer woman, that is only in the utter annihilation of her as woman can she speak and be heard. As long as she is woman and subaltern she cannot speak.

Spivak’s analysis of subalternity points to two significant factors that are of critical importance to an analysis of a postcolonial and post-apartheid South Africa. First, Spivak allows us to see that the voices of the subaltern can be heard only once he or

she has been assimilated as the Subject of the West. But this is speaking in “his Master’s voice”. For South Africa this implies that the establishment of human rights in the “new” South Africa through current constitutional provisions is continuous with what the West can “hear”. The ‘new South Africa’ is spoken in the language and grammar of the West. Spivak alerts us that even if one uncovers indigenous knowledge systems this does not necessarily mean that the voices of the subaltern can or will be released.

Walter D. Mignolo (2000), in commenting on the subaltern dilemma refers to “border thinking” or “an other thinking” and a “double critique” which characterise analyses of subalternity. He points to some of the points of tension in postcolonial (and post-modern) ways of thinking and the challenges that confront them. He says that “border thinking structures itself on a double consciousness, a double critique operating on the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system, or modernity/coloniality” (Mignolo, 2000). Thus “subaltern reason” is able to:

open up the countermodern as a place of contention from the very inception of Western expansion making it possible to contest the intellectual space of modernity and the inscription of a world order in which West and the East, the Same and the Other, the Civilized and the Barbarian were inscribed as natural entities” (Mignolo, 2000, p. 96).

Mignolo’s argument is thus that the subaltern condition is not fixed, but is always in a state of flux, presenting the potential of counter-hegemonic ideas. But this potential will always be constrained by global conditions.

“Border thinking” or “double critique” is similar to and an elaboration of Spivak’s “macrological” and “micrological” forms of analysis. “Double critique” and “border thinking” are about understanding the personal experiences of people and deconstructing them with regard to how they are positioned within modernity and “the intellectual space” of the West. It simultaneously allows for the “stories” of the “subaltern” to be told “in their own voices” and not as inscriptions of Subjects of the West. To further expand on this point consider the following in relation to the category of “race”. People may be classified as “black”. It does not mean that they in fact are ‘black’ genetically or historically. Following “border thinking” and a “double critique” one needs to understand the ways in which the category “race” (and all of its significations) is constitutive of “the modern/colonial imaginary”, and to explore the experiences of people categorised as “black” in their own terms and “in their own voices”. However, one also needs to understand that the “own voices” of “black” people, once released, may not necessarily be “countermodern” because they too may be informed and constructed within the ideological constructions of other power matrices which would not necessarily release the “voices of the subaltern” but in fact rearticulate them in the terms of another hegemonic construction.

In employing this type of double critique, with a double consciousness, a border thinking analysis of post-apartheid South Africa has to question to what extent and in which ways it colludes with modernity and the world order. It would be too easy to employ what Spivak’s calls a “micrological” analysis and celebrate the achievement of democracy and human rights in the abolition of apartheid in South Africa, and, thereby ignore the “macrological” interconnections between this process and the global political economy and knowledge systems.

Why has a post-apartheid South Africa been so welcomed by the Subject of the West? Drawing on Chakrabarty, Mignolo states:

One can only articulate subaltern subject positions in the name of history – (the discourse of which has Europe as sovereign, theoretical subject of all histories. (Mignolo, 2000, p. 203)

In many ways this captures some of the reasons why the achievement of democracy in post-apartheid South Africa has been welcomed by the West and Europe. The abolition of apartheid was a necessary event in the globalisation of democracy and the establishment of a culture of human rights among the colonised. Many have also pointed out that these are the ideological conditions for a global political economy which requires the development of modernity in colonised countries (Castells, 2001; Žizek, 2005). Apartheid was not in keeping with the trajectory of global capitalism and could not hold within its framework a modernist socio-economic and political project (Wolpe, 1986). The post-apartheid, postcolonial South Africa is a modernist project and it is precisely for this reason that Derrida, for example, regards Mandela as the “last of modernist prophets” (Derrida, 1986). Post-apartheid South Africa has been applauded by the West and Europe. Politically this is demonstrated by the fact that South Africa now (as of October 2006) enjoys “non-permanent member status” in the UN Security Council. Culturally the status of post-apartheid South Africa is evident in instances such as its selection to host the World Cup Soccer in 2010, its winning the Oscar awards for the best foreign film (*Tsotsi*) and a Grammy award for the Soweto Gospel Choir. On global economic, political and cultural levels, then, a post-apartheid, postcolonial South Africa is very much “at home” as the Subject of the West.

In the following I use this framework provided by Spivak and Mignolo to show that “subaltern” voices in South Africa speaking from education settings are both enabled and constrained within current conditions. In pursuing this argument I indicate that the discourse of human rights is contradictory, but this contradiction is by no means negative. It is constitutive and constructive, but it is limiting and limited. My point in this argument is to demonstrate that whilst “subaltern” voices may be argued to be released in the post-apartheid, postcolonial moment, the “subaltern” in fact still cannot speak. Subaltern expressions are instead being re-articulated in the imaginary of the West and are being projected, positioned and received in the name of the West. My entrée into this is via a discussion on the framing of human rights in South Africa and the ways in which gays and lesbians express in their “own voices” rights with regard to sexual orientation and schooling in the “new” South African dispensation.

Using Human Rights to Achieve Democracy in South Africa

The discourse of human rights is at once empowering and limiting. It is empowering because it accords formal equality to all people in the world. But it is limiting because of its point of origin and discursive framework. There are several critiques of the discourse of human rights. These range from early critiques of Marx and Bentham in relation to the *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen*, to critiques of the

United Nations *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) which led to the adoption of the *African Charter of Human and People's Rights* (1981). My purpose here is not so much to review the criticisms of the discourse of human rights, but to point to some of the central points in these critiques in order to demonstrate that the discourse of human rights is not unproblematic and should be treated critically. However, as pointed above, I also intend to show that the discourse of human rights does at the same time provide enabling conditions for countering forms of oppression.

The discourse of human rights came to international prominence through the proclamation of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948 by the United Nations. Prior to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights Declaration of the American (USA) Independence* of July, 1776, the *Virginia (USA) Declaration of Rights* of June, 1776 and the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* of 1789 during the French Revolution all contained formulations regarding human rights (Osler & Starkey, 1996; Touraine, 1997; Weston, 2002). This discourse has been criticised for “misrecognising” and “nonrecognising” (Taylor, 1994) the particularities of the people of Africa and other colonised peoples of the world. By “misrecognition” Taylor refers to a “demeaning, oppressive” and inferiorised positioning of the “other” by a dominant, and dominating, Subject. “Nonrecognition” entails an almost complete ignoring and denial of the “presence” of the “other”, as if “they” are not even there.

In the imaginary of the modern world system is that in the declaration of the “rights of man and the citizen” the colonial question has vanished; consequently the concept of man and of the citizen universalized a regional issue and erased the colonial question. (Mignolo, 2000, p. 62)

Mignolo’s comment above raises a critical issue that is of importance to Africa, and South Africa in particular. The “erasure” of the “colonial question” within the establishment and origins of human rights is most visible when one takes into account the fact that when the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* of 1789 was proclaimed, the French continued with colonising “other” countries on the African continent. When the *Virginia (USA) Declaration of Rights* of June, 1776 was declared Native Americans were having their lands taken away from them in order to consolidate the USA (Squadrito, 2002; Goldberg, 2002). The “erasure” of the “colonial question” in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of the United Nations is most stark in the experience of apartheid in South Africa. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of the United Nations was promulgated in 1948, the year the racist, white supremacist, apartheid regime established itself in South Africa. Thus, whilst Europe and the West were heralding the importance of human rights and projecting them as if they were universal, in colonised countries, like South Africa, human rights were in fact being violated and inhuman and degrading conditions were being consolidated. This process was supported actively by the governments of the countries that were, at the same time, proclaiming human rights as a “standard” for “all the peoples of the world”. Derrida comments on this:

For one must not forget that, although racial segregation didn’t wait for the name *apartheid* to come along, that name became the order’s watchword and won its

title in the political code of South Africa only at the end of the Second World War. At a time when all racisms on the face of the earth were condemned, it was in the world's face that the National Party dared to campaign "for separate development of each race in the geographic zone assigned to it" (Derrida, 1986, pp. 330–331).

Thus, whilst the discourse of human rights was projected as "universal" by the West, countries on the African continent were still caught in the yokes of colonialism that entailed blatant violations of human rights by people of the West. These are some of the reasons that provided the impetus for the establishment of the *African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights*, which was adopted by the Organisation of African Unity (now the African Union) in 1981. This came into force in 1986 (Weston, 2002).

The United Nations *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was seen by many in Africa as a Western and European document. It was framed with European and Western contexts in mind and recognised in its early history Western and European people, their views and experiences. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* seems not to recognise Africa and African experiences. It seems to be silent on the economic, political and sociocultural power differentials constitutive of colonialism. It is the knowledge systems of the West that are legitimated. Colonised world views are not articulated. Subjugated, colonised people are invisible and hence inferior. Colonised countries, it is implied, are available to imperialism and their wealth can be extracted by the West.

As such, the pretence at universalism within the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is decidedly "monological" (Taylor, 1994), in character. In Taylor's terms "monologues" are conversations one has with one's self and/or with others who are like oneself. Colonisers had conversations about the colonised with and among themselves, not in a "dialogue" with the colonised at all. For Taylor, such "monologues" are fundamentally informed by "misrecognition" of the "other". It is misrecognition because the image of the "other" is constructed by the Same in the terms of the Same, so that the Same can be assumed to be better than and superior to the "other", thereby inferiorising and subalternising the "other" in order to ideologically justify and consolidate the project of colonialism. In this light, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* does not "speak to" the experiences of the colonised "other" and thus, in Mignonolo's terms, "erases" the "colonial question". The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was, in its own terms, a response to the atrocities experienced during the Second World War in the West and Europe! The aspirational response was framed as 'universal' even though it was the outcome of a very particular group of diplomats and the countries they represented.

Debates about the extent to which human rights are applicable to the African continent have dealt with three themes. Firstly, conditions in Africa which are characterised by extreme poverty, disease and underdevelopment – all of which are also argued to be consequences of colonialism – imply that human rights in Africa have to focus on issues of development in order to eradicate poverty and disease, as opposed to individual civil and political rights (Ambrose, 1995). Secondly, due to colonialism, human rights in Africa are tied centrally to developing independent nations, which require far more state intervention than is often acceptable in Europe or North America (Nanda *et al.*, 1981). Thirdly, indigenous African cultures do not fit neatly within a human rights paradigm and often contradict, if not violate, human rights (Abdullah, 2000).

These critiques point to the need to acknowledge the specificities of the conditions and cultures of the continent and its people. They suggest implicitly, and at times explicitly, that the “universalism” in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* cannot be uncritically accepted to mean that the conditions and ways of being of Africans are acknowledged within it. In fact, their arguments show that the “universalism” of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is not significantly inclusive of African realities and needs to be adapted to fit into African contexts and lives.

Apart from the misrecognition and non-recognition of African people and their realities, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* has also been criticised for its “silence” on the experiences of women (MacKinnon, 1993). Looking specifically at the experiences of women during the war in the former Yugoslavia, Mackinnon shows that the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* not only ignored the violation of women and their rights during this war but that the discourse of human rights is framed in the image of and speaks to the realities and experiences of men. It is decidedly masculinist. Thus, in respect to “race”, gender and class the discourse of human rights cannot be assumed to enable people to counter the forms of domination they experience.

Given the above discussion, it is evident that a mere legalistic treatment of human rights in South African school curricula would be both inadequate and insufficient. A legalistic treatment of human rights would simply make pupils aware of what the laws state, and cover the human rights provisions in the *South African Constitution* and the *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and similar human rights instruments. However, as the above discussion shows, human rights are contested and contestable which implies that they cannot be treated as if they are abstract, given truths. Simply teaching the law, as it were, would be inadequate to capture the contestations that have marked the developments of, and in, the discourse of human rights. A legalistic treatment of human rights would not, in itself, outline what the specific implications of such human rights provisions are in the particular contexts of people’s lives. The teaching of human rights in education, thus, needs to explore the contested and contestable nature of human rights, and engage with their implications in the actual lives of people. Otherwise, they will simply be legalistic abstractions which do not speak to the conditions of people’s existence.

The discourse of human rights has played a significant role in the resistance to apartheid and the establishment of democracy in South Africa. Many have argued that the claims of human rights and of equality of all people played a significant role in anti-colonial struggles by providing a basis to oppose the monological impositions and inequalities of colonialism. At the 50th anniversary of the United Nations *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1998, South African constitutional judge Albie Sachs said:

Twenty years [after the Proclamation of the Universal Declaration], I am in exile ... I am using the text of the *Declaration* to prove that my country is the worst in the world ... I go through the *Articles* one by one and show how law and policy in South Africa violates them all (Sachs, 1998).

Sachs, like many in the anti-apartheid movement, used the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* to show how unjust apartheid was and how it was a blatant violation of

human rights. Mandela (1964) stood up in an apartheid court and argued against racism as a violation of human rights using the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Mandela said:

As your Worship pleases. I was developing the point that a judiciary controlled entirely by whites and enforcing laws enacted by a white parliament in which we have no representation, laws which in most cases are passed in the face of unanimous opposition from Africans, cannot be regarded as an impartial tribunal in a political trial where an African stands as an accused.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that all men are equal before the law, and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. In May 1951, Dr. D. F. Malan, then Prime Minister, told the Union parliament that this provision of the Declaration applies in this country. ... But the real truth is that there is in fact no equality before the law whatsoever as far as our people are concerned, and statements to the contrary are definitely incorrect and misleading.

It is true that an African who is charged in a court of law enjoys, on the surface, the same rights and privileges as an accused who is white in so far as the conduct of this trial is concerned. He is governed by the same rules of procedure and evidence as apply to a white accused. But it would be grossly inaccurate to conclude from this fact that an African consequently enjoys equality before the law.

In its proper meaning equality before the law means the right to participate in the making of the laws by which one is governed, a constitution which guarantees democratic rights to all sections of the population, the right to approach the court for protection or relief in the case of the violation of rights guaranteed in the constitution, and the right to take part in the administration of justice as judges, magistrates, attorneys-general, law advisers and similar positions.

In the absence of these safeguards the phrase 'equality before the law', in so far as it is intended to apply to us, is meaningless and misleading. All the rights and privileges to which I have referred are monopolised by whites, and we enjoy none of them.

The white man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgement over us. ... I feel oppressed by the atmosphere of white domination that lurks all around in this courtroom. Somehow this atmosphere calls to mind the inhuman injustices caused to my people outside this courtroom by this same white domination (Mandela, 1962, lines 40–63).

In the above lies the distinction that is Mandela's – his confrontation of the law with a law about the law. The irony and paradox in this is, nonetheless, unnoticed by Mandela. Indeed his call for "recognition" by the law of himself, of lawyers, of "black" people and of "justice" alerts us to a framing of laws that was decidedly racist. As much as MacKinnon (1993) pointed to the masculinism of the framing of human rights, Mandela points to their racist frame when utilised in South Africa without an acknowledgement of the conditions of the majority of the

population. As Mandela puts it, “whites” are “interested parties” and the law was constructed in order to serve “their interests”. Herein, then, one notices the simultaneous “recognition” of “whites” by and in the law, and the “non-recognition” and “misrecognition” of “black” people by and in the law. Mandela’s presence in the courts, and his statements, demonstrated this powerfully. Mandela was able to do this by recourse to the discourse of human rights, drawing on this to express ideas on which systems of justice ought to be based. In the above he refers directly to the *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. He forced recognition of his absence in the law by his presence before the law.

This effect of the discourse of human rights as an enabling factor in people’s defense of themselves appears to continue in post-apartheid South Africa and is evident in the way young gay learners negotiated their positions in school. This is evident from a study that looked at understandings and experiences of human rights, democracy and citizenship among Grade 9 learners and teachers in schools in the Western Cape, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal.² Dion (fictitious name) is a gay learner in a school in the Western Cape. One Monday morning, Dion arrived at school with his hair dyed “shocking orange”, and went around saying “I am not scared anymore. I am what I am and I am proud”. Dion “outed” himself. His orange hair was a symbol of him being unapologetic about being gay. In the interview transcripts this comes through explicitly:

I: Tell me about the orange hair.

Dion: I just had enough you know, and I said I am tired of being afraid all the time and I am just going to be myself no matter what it takes.

I: What were you afraid of?

Dion: As you know our school is filled with gangs and they always threaten to rape me and insult me, laugh at me and, Here (“My God”), harass me all the time. I was just gatvol (“sick and tired”) of this and said, you know, how long must I walk around feeling scared. So, I decided to dye my hair orange to show them that I am not afraid and I am proud to be gay and who I am. I am here to stay.

I: How did they react?

Dion: Now they think I am just crazy, you know, like mad. But they got the message. I told this guy, the big shot in the gang, I am here to stay and he better get used to that, I have my rights, and he just looked at me completely shocked. Ooo ... (*giggles*) I just loved it.

I: So, has the harassment stopped?

Dion: Yes, but they still make comments, but it is not as bad as it was because they know that now I will stand up for myself and I won’t take any shit from them anymore.

Dion refers to his rights which he now enjoys and uses them in order to assert his identity and presence.

Another gay learner, Tulani (fictitious name) is a learner in a school in Gauteng and drew on ideas about human rights to discuss how he was treated.

- I:** Do you experience any discrimination in the township now?
Tulani: Not really, but I am out and I won't stand for it.
I: What would you do?
Tulani: Harw? I have my rights now, they can't do what they want to do like before. Now I can take them to the police and they are "bang" (scared).
I: Would you do that, I mean would you take them to the police?
Tulani: Of course, I have my rights, I am like they are and if they do something to me that is like really bad, I will take them.
I: Have you reported anybody to the police so far?
Tulani: No I haven't.

Tulani explicitly refers to his "rights" in defense of himself, and views instruments of the law – "the police" – as "now" being there for the protection of his rights. Tulani views these rights as establishing equality between him and others – "I am like they are". He also views this as being different from the past. The perceived increased acceptance among community members has to be also seen in the light of greater confidence and assertion on the part of Tulani, as well as the existence of formal equality provisions which recognise sexual orientation as a human right, to which both Tulani and Dion refer.

Thus for Dion and Tulani, the discourse of human rights as enshrined formally in the "new" South African Constitution seems to enable them to assert their identities positively and defend themselves as being equal to others. I have deliberately chosen to focus on Dion and Tulani, because as gay learners they indicate a marginalised and generally invisible sector of society. In their marginalised spaces, however, the discourse of human rights which in this case explicitly recognises their rights to a sexual orientation of their choice seems to have a direct effect on them viewing themselves positively and asserting their rights to be themselves in the face of "others".

Thus, whilst there is a need to treat the discourse of human rights critically and to be mindful of Western and European constructs in its history, it has played a significant role in resistances to apartheid and continues to have positive effects in the post-apartheid situation as the examples above show. This has a direct implication for education in many countries. Whilst the discourse of human rights needs to be treated critically when it is taught and its contested nature needs to be engaged with explicitly, this does not mean that teachers should not ensure that learners understand the law and their human rights. People need to know what human rights are. They need to know what is contained in Constitutions and laws of countries and what international human rights instruments are. These still remain "necessary knowledge" (Osler & Starkey, 1996). Rights do not exist outside laws, and people need to know these laws in order to know their rights.

However, I am arguing that whilst the legalistic understandings of human rights may be necessary, they are by no means sufficient. For human rights to be viewed as meaningful in relation to the wide range of human experiences which embrace powerful, silencing processes, one needs to also ensure that the teaching of human rights acknowledges these contexts. Human rights education needs to "speak to" people's own experiences in the form of articulation of macrological and micrological language

Spivak suggested or Mignolo's "double critique". Such an approach to human rights education has tremendous potential. It would thus:

1. Provide learners with the "necessary knowledge" of human rights in legalistic terms
2. Expose learners to the historical development of the discourse of human rights
3. Equip learners with an understanding of the ways in which human rights have been, and are, debated
4. Enable learners to access some of the ways in which the discourse of human rights is framed rather than treat it as if it is pre-given and unconstructed
5. Allow for an exploration of what human rights mean in the context of people's own lives thus enabling human rights education to "speak to" people's own experiences

Nonetheless, the discourse of human rights in South Africa is linked inextricably to the project of modernity that the post-apartheid formation establishes with its consolidation of democracy in South Africa. The possibilities of releasing "subaltern" voices within such a modernist project cannot be taken for granted. The abolition of apartheid and the provision for sexual orientation in terms of human rights in the new South African Constitution signify South Africa's assimilation within, rather than opposition to, the Subject of the West and Europe. But, as Mignolo points out this is not unique. In developing the differences between "exterior subalternity" and "interior subalternity" he states:

This difference allows us to understand that gender, ethnic and sexual differences could be absorbed by the system and placed in the sphere of interior subalternity. This is visible today in the United States as far as Afro-Americans, women, Hispanics, and queers (although with sensible differences between these groups) are becoming accepted within the system as *lo otoro*, complementary of the totality controlled by "the same". (Mignolo, 2000, p. 176)

Thus, as is indeed the case, South Africa upholds its "exterior subalternity" by arguing that its presence on the UN Security Council and its hosting of the Soccer World Cup are "for the continent of Africa". However, in its assimilation within the global political and economic order it displays its "interior subalternity" as it becomes "accepted within the system as *lo otoro*, complementary of the totality controlled by the same".

In the instance of recognition of sexual orientation as a human right the passing of the Civil Union Act points to significant features of "interior subalternity". In the debates and public discussions around the passing of the Civil Union Act it became clear that whilst the South African Constitution recognises sexual orientation as human right, this does not necessarily imply that gays and lesbians would be able to be "married". It became clear that "marriage" remains framed within traditional conceptions of marriage as a heterosexual union between a man and woman, and that it is underpinned by a "divine" recognition of such a union being ordained by God. This includes dominant religions as well as indigenous belief systems. As such, partnerships between people of the same sex may be considered as "civil unions" but not as marriages, causing seri-

ous discontent among the gay and lesbian community in South Africa (*Exit*, October 2006). Thus, as is the case with “sati” which Spivak looked at, gays and lesbians are recognised only to the extent to which they can be assimilated within the frame of modernity, which remains heterosexist. Its discursive frame, in this instance, is continuous with indigenous knowledges and dominant religions. In this regard, whilst gays and lesbians do enjoy considerable status politically, economically and socially within the post-apartheid, postcolonial South Africa, they remain subalternised and cannot “speak” before God, in indigenous and traditional knowledge systems, and are ensured to only exist and speak within modernist hegemony as *lo otoro*.

The situation however is extremely complex. The South African government argues that the development of modernity in South Africa and Africa in general are necessary conditions for an effective challenge to global hegemony. It also contends that its presence within the Subject of the West is necessary for it to put the voices of the subaltern at the feet of power and redefine the world order. In this regard, one could argue that becoming *lo otoro* may be a strategic necessity and not necessarily an assimilation within the West. However, such arguments tend to underestimate the power of the forces at work within the global political economy and assume that by merely putting the subaltern on the global agenda power matrices can be reconfigured. It is useful to keep in mind, as Mignolo puts it, using Das, that, “the ‘subaltern’ is not a category but a perspective; and that the subaltern perspective is not engaged in understanding such and such social organisation or social actions per se but in understanding its ‘contractual’ relations under colonial rules and the ‘forms of domination belonging to the structures of modernity’” (Mignolo, 2000, p. 188).

I am not suggesting here that South Africa’s role and presence on the global stage is insignificant. Rather, what I am pointing to is that South Africa’s re-entry into the world order is part of a modernist project and that this does not necessarily mean that it is counter-hegemonic or would enable the release of subaltern voices. In all likelihood its insertion in the world order will limit the possibilities for “an other thinking” since modern conceptions of reason and rationality and power configurations of the global political economy subalternise “the other” in order to constitute itself. In other words, South Africa in its post-apartheid and postcolonial form participates in the world order; it does not reconfigure it. In this regard, the experiences of Dion and Tulani in asserting their rights at school are also limited in their counter-modern potential. The assertions of sexual orientation rights by Dion and Tulani are *lo otoro*, within the “totality of the (modernist) Same” and marks their “interior subalternity”. Positioned as “subalterns”, Tulani and Dion still cannot speak, just like Indian women in Spivak’s analysis of “sati”

Drawing on the complexity of subaltern positions, this chapter has suggested that education of (and for) human rights needs to firstly ensure that the legalistic nature of the discourse of human rights is covered; but at the same time the discourse of human rights needs to be presented as contested and is contestable. This suggests that the teaching of human rights needs to promote a critical exploration of human rights, rather than teaching them as dogma and uncontested truth. Lastly, the teaching of human rights needs to allow for an exploration of their articulation of “interior” and “exterior subalternity”, noting their “micrological” and “macrological” links with global and national orders.

This suggests that schools teaching for nation building, which arguably is important for social cohesion, cannot deal with human rights in ways that are narrowly nationalistic and parochial. As the examples show, schools need to locate their societies within wider global settings.

My purpose in this chapter has been to use a “double critique” associated with subaltern studies in order to understand the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa. I have done so by first viewing the achievement of democracy in post-apartheid, postcolonial South Africa from the perspective of human rights and noted the contradictory ways in which the discourse of human rights enabled resistance to apartheid and continues to exert positive effects on the lives of young, in this instance, gay pupils in schools. I have, however, also shown that rather than celebrating the human rights “victories” which a “micrological” analysis of post-apartheid South Africa may be prone to do, it is important to place South Africa within the context of a global political economy. At this post-apartheid and postcolonial moment South Africa is presently an actor on the stage of the world order. But rather than reconfiguring the hegemony of the global order it is inserted within it as an important and significant actor. This insertion, I have argued, is part of the consolidation of modernity, which the post-apartheid South Africa represents. This representation, however, is not necessarily a condition for the release of subaltern voices through educational and cultural practices but places limitations on the authenticity and possibilities of their expression. Throughout, I have tried to show how both in the resistance to apartheid and in the post-apartheid situation the discourse of human rights and the project of modernity are filled with contradictions. These contradictory forces at once constitute the modernity of the postcolonial South Africa and limit its transformative potential. Nonetheless, the contradictions are productive, not only because they are constitutive, but also because they bring to the fore the tensions and challenges that exist in order to exercise “border thinking” and counter the hegemonic global order and its knowledge systems.

Notes

1. The word “black” refers to people who were classified under apartheid as “Coloured”, “Indian” and “African” under the Population Registration Act. “Black”, thus, refers inclusively to all of these South Africans who were racially classified. Throughout this chapter I use references to racial classification of people in inverted commas to signal that they are apartheid racial classifications, and, more importantly to indicate that racial classifications are social constructions which I reject as valid descriptions of people within or outside of South Africa, under apartheid or in the present time. The terms, however, are used in this chapter in order to facilitate the narrative and for theoretical convenience.
2. This study was conducted between 1996 and 2000 and formed part of wider study (Carrim, 2006).

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SOCIAL JUSTICE, DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION

Elaine Unterhalter

Education holds a particular place for theorisations of development formulated since the 1950s. In changing conditions, marked initially by the political economy of the Cold War and decolonisation, and later by globalisation and the political realignments of the post-Cold War era, views on the aims for education, how to systematise school knowledge, organise pedagogy or view school management have been much contested. Particular development theories' assumptions, research methodologies and practices have emphasised certain aspects of education and de-emphasised others. But little attention has been given to views of justice (both implicit and explicit) and how these orient the dynamics of thinking about education and international development.

Six approaches to development theory are explored in this chapter in relation to the ways in which they conceptualise education and social justice. This is a partial selection as it is not possible to explore all the varieties and debates in development theory in one chapter. I have made the selection, partly because these approaches are evident in largely chronological waves from the 1950s and partly because they are those commonly discussed in general reviews of phases of contemporary development theory (Preston, 1996; Munck & O'Hearn, 1999; Rapley, 2002; Gasper, 2004). In discussing them I have tried to draw out how each locates the aims of education and the implications of these for practices advocated in relation to curriculum, pedagogy and management. I also attempt to distil in each approach assumptions about the nature of the person to be educated and the connection between education and social justice. I draw out some of the consequences of these formulations for the preferred forms of research associated with each theory. The consequences of the explanations these offer for global action on education and poverty is then assessed.

Modernisation Theory and Nation Building

Modernisation theory emerged in the 1950s and 1960s and expressed the view that the economic, political and social formations associated with Western Europe and North America were at a more evolved level of development than what were termed the 'traditional', non-modern or underdeveloped societies of the rest of the world. 'Modernity' was linked by Rostow (1959) with a market economy where investment and growth in a particular sector would lead to take-off, higher wages and increased consumption. David Apter identified modernity with democratic politics, where local affiliations and

practices of governance were replaced by institutional forms associated with political parties, elected parliaments, and efficient local government (Apter, 1965). Inkeles and Smith (1974) identified particular dispositions of a modern personality who was independent and rational.

These theorists suggested sharp and normatively inscribed distinctions between the world of modernity and that of tradition. The former, it was claimed, would deliver higher living standards, more efficient government and more rational forward-looking human subjects. The latter, it was claimed, was characterised by stagnant economies and poverty, corruption, inept government and backward-looking parochial subjects. In its ideal form at the centre of the theorisation of modernity stood a man, with all the attributes of a good subject. The relationships that were considered important to him were in the public sphere of politics or work. While he might have ties of affiliation to women, children, or community these were all at a second order of concern located in a private sphere, which might be problematically not modern or not modern enough.

A slightly different version of modernity, less overtly critical of certain forms of 'tradition' was being articulated by the architects of new nation states that were forming as decolonisation gathered pace from the late 1940s. Here modernity was associated with citizenship of the new states, a putting aside of affiliation based exclusively on one religion, language or region for commitment to a national project rooted in a Constitution, the establishment of key social institutions such as universities or a national radio or a planned economy. The establishment of an official language was often an important site of contestation for new nations. While many of the anti-colonial national movements that put in place this version of modernity had been actively supported by the mobilisation of women (Jayawardena, 1986; Stasiulis & Yuval Davis, 1995), the modern citizen envisaged tended to be considered gender-neutral; all it was claimed, were equal before the law and had equal opportunities in the new secular state (Rai, 2002).

These two intersecting appropriations of ideas of modernity were aligned with different social forces which sometimes made common cause. The first was linked with the expansion of American political and economic influence into areas once the sphere of European colonial powers (Ambrose & Brinkley, 1997). The second was associated with the complex politics of decolonisation (Chatterjee, 1991; Pieterse & Parekh, 1995; Hyam, 2007). But despite some significant differences these two perspectives on modernity have in common a limited capacity to acknowledge sufficiently, either analytically or in practice, the diverse contexts of citizenship, the ambiguities of understandings of modernity and the millions of people who did not have clear relationships of citizenship with nation states, either because they lived in regions that were inaccessible to modern institutions and forms of mass communication, or because they had been dispossessed of citizenship through war or a politics of exclusion. From the perspective of modernisation theory social relationships that did not fit with ideas of rational citizenship, employment in the wage economy, consumption, secularism, and national affiliation were portrayed as 'weighed down' by tradition, particularism and inefficiency. For democratic projects associated with new forms of state emerging, for example, in India or Ghana, there were intense struggles about how to articulate a popular vision that was inclusive enough.

The implications of this sharp binary were that the aims of education should include a process through which people could become modern and 'take off' the burdens of 'tradition'. In schools, technical institutes, adult literacy classes and universities they would learn the dispositions of citizenship, democracy and the importance of national economic growth. Education was thus a key process through which the transformation to modernity was to be achieved (Fagerlind & Saha, 1983). The new technologies associated with mass communication, for example, radio and then television, were seen as key instruments to achieve this (Lerner, 1958). The provision of mass schooling was an important component of the form of modernity associated with nation building. Mass schooling for all citizens was seen as necessary for economic growth and as an indication of commitment by new governments to social development for all the people (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990).

It was thus important that schools should teach those forms of knowledge associated with modernity, not available elsewhere. Literacy in the official language, understood in terms of the capacity to read and write a short statement with understanding, was considered best taught in schools to adults and children (Jones, 1990). Languages associated with nation building: Swahili or Hindi or Spanish were also seen as the particular remit of schools (Aikman, 1999; Mvungi, 1974). Practices of national affiliation, such as saluting the flag or learning about the provinces that made up the country of which children were citizens, were also emphasised (Uchendu, 1980; Harber, 1997). Numeracy was considered key to employment in the modern sectors of the economy where a science of measurement, numeric representation, and abstract deduction, were seen as important for efficiency, technological innovation and understanding of health (Eisemon, 1989). Thus, schools were key spaces for teaching subjects associated with modernisation.

The pedagogy that would support learning these subjects for these purposes was often termed transmission teaching, because its main concern was conveying the content of knowledge, not particularly responding to the ideas or contexts of the learners. Thus, for example, Eisemon, commenting on the teaching of science in African schools in the 1970s, suggested that it was not the length of time in school, but the nature of teaching, that is content and quality of instruction that would strengthen understanding (Eisemon, 1989). Adesina, reviewing changing approaches to the teaching of history in Nigeria, charts how in the 1960s emphasis initially was on instruction in the sequence of events in the 1960s (Adesina, 2006). The approach to school management associated with modernisation stressed rational bureaucracies with a central role assigned to Departments of Education located in capital cities with subordinate district or circuit offices reporting upwards. For example, in South Africa this system of education administration, duplicated for all the racially divided groups, was considered rational and efficient in relation to 'modern' ideas about national- and provincial-level organisational structures (Behr, 1966). When all education provision was unified under one Ministry of Education in Kenya at independence, the units for administration were designed in terms of what was seen as a rational national organisational structure (Raju, 1973).

The assumptions about the person in relation to the institutions of modernity were thus ideas about sameness and unity. All should be offered equal opportunities to access school and these new forms of knowledge.

Two ideas about justice are implicit within modernisation theory. The first is that justice is not a theory, but a set of efficient legal institutions. This understanding links together descriptive accounts of state authority with a normative account of the legitimacy of that authority (Hart, 1961) If laws in education are made by democratically elected bodies and interpreted by courts that are not corrupt, if revenue is collected efficiently and spent rationally on school provision as laid out in economic plans, then justice is seen to be done.

The second idea concerning justice and legitimate authority associated with modernisation is that a person who acts in accordance with modernity and the impartiality and morality of modern institutions is acting justly. In Joseph Raz's formulation the authority of the state is guided by its morality in acting to promote what is good. The state's authority derives from codifying as law the reasons for action towards others that people already have, for example, paying taxes to support schools or encouraging economic growth that will benefit all. Because this is reasonable, it is also legitimate and thus just (Raz, 1986). This notion that states can be active in creating the conditions for individuals to pursue meaningful lives, can be seen to animate ideas about global justice developed in the 1950s and 1960s, where this aspiration was seen to be articulated through states and the international machinery of the United Nations organisations, rather than through the connections of individuals or civil society organisations or a wider notion of the state concerned not just with government (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

These ideas about justice and equal opportunities had a particular effect on how research agendas were set. What was researched and measured in schools was success in teaching functional literacy and numeracy, proficiency in the national language and the psychological traits of modernity because these showed the extent to which just institutions were at work nationally. Hence, the explanatory force of methodologies concerned with measurement and large-scale surveys were stressed. The research paradigm suggested that improving institutions would expand provision and the poorest would eventually access school.

Basic Needs

Many problems associated with the uneven realisation of the optimism of modernisation theory were evident by the late 1960s. Pressing issues included widespread poverty which the new institutions seemed unable to overcome. Some brutal governments claimed they were acting in response to modernisation. The exclusion of some on grounds of race, ethnicity or gender from the institutions associated with economic growth and political legitimacy called into question the efficiency of modernisation. In the 1970s, a highly influential group of development economists critiqued the assumptions of modernisation that poverty would be eradicated by economic growth, the expansion of employment, higher incomes and the trickle-down effects of successful capitalism (Streeten, 1981; Stewart, 1985). The basic needs approach to social policy stressed one should not focus on particular outcomes or on humans as a means to social, economic or political ends. Basic needs theorists outlined how it was important to

consider those who might not be incorporated into successful modernisation projects, who might never be economically productive, and never increase economic growth. Some people might have important preferences that could not be satisfied on the same terms as everyone else, such as the old, the very young, those with disabilities or those who were excluded from political or economic participation because of historically located forms of discrimination on the grounds of gender, race or ethnicity. Wiggins made explicit that there was a normative basis to need. The argument he developed was that the importance of needs was that they expressed aspects of a condition of human flourishing. Failure to ensure a certain level of human flourishing – meeting basic needs – would constitute harm (Wiggins, 1988). One of the important contributions of the work on need was that it gave philosophic, political and economic visibility to ideas about care and concerns that modernisation theory had relegated to the private realm of the household, beyond the purview and resourcing of government policy (Reader, 2006).

In Frances Stewart's work provision of education and health were intimately connected with a minimal provision of a good life, below the threshold of which harm would result (Stewart, 1985). Thus the idea of education associated with the basic needs approach was that education *up to a certain level* was crucial to ensure human flourishing regardless of whether or not the dispositions of the person were made modern or the institutions associated with education were run in accordance with ideas about governance, democracy or efficiency. A second implicit idea was that basic needs in education could not be considered outside concern with health, housing, food security and other aspects of well-being. The multi-dimensionality of need and the implication that needs could be met by a range of persons or institutions (Reader, 2006) indicated that the aims of education would not be realised only in schools, but that it was important to address provision for basic needs in education in conjunction with work on all the other basic needs (Stewart, 1985).

The strength of the basic needs approach lay with the idea of thresholds and the interconnection with other areas of social policy. But with regard to specifying particular features of schooling, this clear direction presented a number of problems. Basic needs as applied to schooling came to be interpreted in a weak and a strong form. In its weak form basic needs in schooling came to be interpreted as a finite package of a certain number of years in school, generally 4–5, which were taken to mean that a basic need had been met. The problem with this was that computing the number of years children were enrolled in school without attention to what was taught or learned, how, and with what consequences, actually provided very little assurance that basic needs were being met (Unterhalter, 2007). Nonetheless, in early applications of the basic needs approach by UN organisations it was simply the number of years in school of children in particular countries that were analysed (see e.g., UNESCO, 1976; World Bank, 1979).

A stronger form of the basic needs approach in relation to education was articulated in the Jomtien Declaration on Education for All (EFA) in 1990 which launched the EFA movement as an alliance initially of UN organisations and some governments, but, increasingly from 2000, a movement taking in the majority of world governments, UN organisations and civil society (Chabbott, 1997; Mundy & Murphy, 2001). The purpose of EFA was to meet basic learning needs. These were defined very broadly:

Every person – child, youth and adult – shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. The scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably, changes with the passage of time. (WDEFA, 1990)

It can be seen that the prescriptions regarding functional literacy and numeracy to participate in the modern sectors of the economy or access the institutions of the state have been replaced by wider and fuzzier notions of literacy, numeracy, oral expression and problem-solving aligned with self-development, achieving a life of dignity and quality. There is no single set of ideas concerning curriculum content that is being prescribed. The second article of the Declaration stresses tolerating a plurality of ideas about curriculum, pedagogy and management and is concerned with situating EFA within existing ‘cultural, linguistic and spiritual heritage(s)’. The sharp distinction between the languages and practices of modernity and tradition has thus disappeared:

The satisfaction of these needs empowers individuals in any society and confers upon them a responsibility to respect and build upon their collective cultural, linguistic and spiritual heritage, to promote the education of others, to further the cause of social justice, to achieve environmental protection, to be tolerant towards social, political and religious systems which differ from their own, ensuring that commonly accepted humanistic values and human rights are upheld, and to work for international peace and solidarity in an interdependent world. (WDEFA, 1990)

In this form supporting basic learning needs turns the pedagogy couplet from teaching to learning, from outcome to process. What is important is not moulding particular dispositions of a modern person, who is rational and responsible, in relation to the institutions of the state and the economy. Facilitating learning, seen as synonymous with flourishing, empowerment and surviving in an interdependent world, now becomes key. It is the relational and contextual aspects of the situation of learner that is a matter of concern. Thus, the question of selecting or sequencing school knowledge and managing that process disappears from the global agenda and come within the purview of particular governments or schools. In this transition these discussions may well lose the dimensions of need articulated in documents such as the Jomtein Declaration. For example, in Bangladesh, state expansion of mass primary education and the introduction of a competency-based curriculum was linked to local political shifts, which involved aid agencies and aid packages on teaching and learning, but which interpreted meeting basic needs not with the emphasis on learning and empowerment suggested by WDEFA, but more in the spirit of modernisation (Davis, 2001;

Hosain *et al.*, 2002). In Kenya, as the 1990s progressed, a number of international development partners withdrew assistance because of high levels of corruption and the perception that Kenya was a 'reluctant reformer' (Collier, 2004). This exacerbated some of the effects of structural adjustment which had resulted in the imposition of charges for schooling. However the Government of Kenya embarked, nonetheless, on a programme, with some donor assistance, to enhance the supply of textbooks, and deepen advice and training for teachers. The emphasis, however, was on improving school provision, more than meeting the basic learning needs of the poorest (Nzomo *et al.*, 2001). These instances indicate how the global agenda on meeting basic learning needs, was interpreted in diverse ways in national policy.

Concerns with justice and need brought together discussion of what needs were basic and fundamental to human life, and what priority should be given to basic needs. There was considerable debate about whether basic needs were satisfied by commodities or conditions, and the extent to which non-marketable goods and services associated, for example, with emotional needs, were within the realm of public action (Sen, 1981; Doyal & Gough, 1991; Dasgupta, 1993; Gasper, 2004). However, this philosophical discussion of need was not considered in putting into practice policy based on the rather limited conception that basic education needs were fulfilled by 5 years in school (Unterhalter, 2007).

Nonetheless, the conception of basic needs and the multi-dimensional aspects of a person's flourishing this suggested, raised the question of justice in terms not related to the authority or efficiency of institutions but much more within the approach mapped out by political liberalism which stressed that there is no comprehensive all encompassing notion of the good (e.g. linked to modernisation). Rather it is important to consider how an overlapping consensus can be formed so that people will collaborate on the basis of ideas about justice and reasoned discussion they hold in common in an overlapping consensus (Rawls, 2005). Exploring and resolving difference through this process of consensus building could allow questions about priority or equality or threshold entailed in a discussion of need to be adjudicated. The EFA movement with its establishment of forums for very different states and multilateral bodies to meet, its slow opening of space at the table for international NGOs and its concern with issues of quality that do not touch on content, may be seen as one instance of this form of political liberalism in action. Elsewhere I have termed this a thin cosmopolitanism (Unterhalter, 2007) in that it was concerned to support global action for provision for basic learning needs, but not to demand further reforms in relation to political economy, culture or gender relations.

Although the basic needs approach in education presented a clear critique of modernisation theory, and drew on very different ideas of the person and of justice, the approach did not generate different research methodologies. The very methods associated with reviewing the extent of modernisation – that is, large-scale surveys and interpretation of census data – were used in assessing whether basic learning needs were being met. Some of the research questions implicit in the approach – for example, how basic learning needs were understood, and what level of provision was considered sufficient – called for qualitative methodologies, but few studies of this form were used in developing policy. In the expansion of EFA, as Karen Mundy remarked, the political and ethical literature on global obligations for the poorest was little discussed

(Mundy, 1998). It seems that the weak interpretation given to basic learning needs as a bounded package of provision and the thin cosmopolitanism invoked in global and national interpretations of EFA was legitimated by research methods which did not depart from the terrain mapped by modernisation theory. This may have contributed to this approach not generating global action commensurate with its ethical concerns.

Human Capital Theory

In the 1960s, ideas about the economic value of schooling itself, not the particular subjects or dispositions of citizenship so central to modernisation, were elaborated. Gary Becker's (1964) classic work *Human Capital* elaborated the notion of human capital within neoclassical economics registering that investment in humans could be viewed as similar to investment in other means of production, like factories or mines. Investment in human capital, just like investment in physical infrastructure would yield a rate of return, which could be calculated. Becker's study set out to estimate the return to college and high school education in the United States, but he was able to show that it was not only schooling per se that was significant for growth, but a range of other investments in people including health and on-the-job training.

Developing Becker's work, Theodore Schultz, set out to map how rates of return from education could be calculated in countries with different levels of income, different variables concerning wage patterns, and different human attitudes to foregoing earnings to develop human capital. Schultz's hypothesis was that calculating rates of return from investment in human capital would confirm how important investment in schooling and research was for the productivity of the labour force and the capacity of the economy to grow (Schultz, 1971).

Detailed work investigating rates of return from education to families and national economies was undertaken by George Psacharopoulos in the 1970s and 1980s. In bringing together data from many countries on the role of education in economic growth, he set out to examine how the profitability of investment in education compared with profits from investment in physical capital, symbolised in the rhetorical question investment in schools or steel mills? (Psacharopoulos, 1973) Psacharopoulos was also interested in whether inter-country differences in human capital could explain differences in per capita income, what the rate of return by level of education was across countries, whether there were differences with regard to the level of public subsidy to education, and whether subsidies reduced or increased incentives. Psacharopoulos' findings were to have profound significance on international policy with regard to investment in education. On the basis of the data he examined he concluded:

[R]ates of return decline by the level of education. Looking first at the social rates of return, the average for primary education is 19.4 per cent, for secondary 13.5 per cent and for higher 11.3 per cent. (Psacharopoulos, 1973)

This stress on the high rate of return from primary education was to orient a generation of planners in the World Bank and other international and national institutions

to focus on this level. There has been a critical discussion of the way Psacharopoulos calculated rates of return and reached these conclusions (Bennell, 1996), but the policy implications of his work were nonetheless enormous.

Generally, work within a human capital framework assumes that labour markets work rationally and efficiently and that once schools have developed certain aspects of human capital the labour market will allocate people to occupations that are appropriate for their level of skill. The framework does not take account of segregated labour markets where people, irrespective of their level of education, are allocated to particular jobs on the grounds of race, gender, or assumptions about class or caste. The framework tends to view schooling something like a machine which children enter and exit with their human capital appropriately topped up. Enhancing human capital, like developing the political subjects of modernisation, does require particular forms of knowledge and particular pedagogies that enhance this learning. But the theory suggests that there will be different kinds of human capital. Thus, different schools may enhance human capital differently. For example, elite schools will be required for managers and good-enough schools for those who will be semi-skilled workers. As both groups will help contribute to economic growth the different emphasis in curriculum and pedagogy is not a major issue. The ways in which schools may provide different learning environments for children of diverse backgrounds with very divergent outcomes is not considered significant unless the schooling is so poor and children learn so little it does not increase human capital. Thus, writers interested in human capital will generally consider whether the school is efficient, in other words, how many hours of instruction are provided, what the level of teacher qualification is, and whether children pass. The UNESCO Global Monitoring Reports, published since 2002, were strongly influenced by human capital approaches in developing indicators to measure EFA, compiling statistical tables on inputs and outputs, that is, enrolment rates, retentions and teacher training (UNESCO, 2003) Writers working within this framework are generally not interested in debates about curriculum hidden or in use, constructed or negotiated processes of learning or the identities of teachers.

While some of the writing on human capital noted differential rates of return for women and men (Woodhall, 1973; Schultz, 1995) their general conclusion was not that structures of gender or race inequality should be considered, but that more education should be growth is provided for these groups to improve levels of economic growth. It can be seen that what is important for all the writers on human capital theory. In this framework schooling assists growth and a major social obligation is to increase access to schooling to facilitate economic growth. What this framework does not register is questions of value that extend beyond the economic sphere, questions of inequality and how to address this, and how or whether critical pedagogy or new forms of knowledge that are not deemed appropriate for enhancing economic growth should be incorporated into school.

The idea of the person inherent in human capital theory is an active agent primarily concerned with utility maximisation, which is achieving the highest level of well-being or happiness for himself, herself or a society. However, most writers on human capital did not look at an individual and the mental metrics she or he might use in making this assessment. Assumptions were made about people in families or nations

where the individual person disappeared into a larger unit bent on utility maximisation for all its members, giving scant attention to distributional issues or different needs. Thus, as Naila Kabeer pointed out for views about utility maximisation generally, the assumption was that there were no gender dynamics in families and that fathers or husbands would always act to enhance utility for all members of a family, despite research evidence which showed that in many contexts sons were preferred over daughters (Kabeer, 1994). When these ideas were translated into education policy (see e.g., King & Hill, 1993) the assumption was that if cost or distance barriers to schooling could be removed the rationality of utility maximisation would be evident.

Human capital theory draws implicitly on ideas about justice associated with classical liberalism, as it came to be interpreted in the era of Thatcher and Reagan, namely, that the individual is a rights bearer with regard say to rights to education or to economic accumulation. These rights pre-date the existence of any particular form of the state and do not take account of different situations or social contexts. Free markets that allow for the circulation of ideas, different kinds of schools, or different forms of employment must not be inhibited. An individual's rights to education and to the returns from investments in education should be protected by a limited form of constitutional government. In this limited interpretation of the ideas of Adam Smith concerns with social context and the political dimensions of the economy are underplayed. Ideas associated with basic needs of care, obligation and overlapping consensus on social justice are not of particular interest to this interpretation of classical liberalism with its stress on a single individual's rights to accumulation and education.

The assumptions about ontological rather than ethical liberalism, and the notion that utility maximisation entailed simply economic growth, generated a concern to establish efficient institutions to deliver an education that articulated well with the economy. The research methods associated with the approach tended to be large-scale surveys which looked at the level of rate of return and considered how school inputs related to outputs. While a number of qualitative studies were done to understand why some families or particular ethnic or social groups did not make use of schooling with particular attention to gendered exclusion (Herz & Sperling, 2004) the data were not utilised to consider wider aspects of need or discrimination. The implication was that obstacles to increasing the rate of return from education were located within families, communities and inefficient polities. The remit of global action was thus to help governments remove these and enhance growth, from which the poorest, as a result of trickle down, would ultimately benefit.

Development and Underdevelopment

Marxist critiques of development theories based on growth reach back to the nineteenth century, but from the 1960s, took a particular form in considering how development and underdevelopment could be articulated and how the persistence of poverty was not an oversight, but a key dimension of capitalism which required a reserve army of labour, who were poorly educated and impoverished, in order to drive down the wages of those employed and buy allies amongst a relatively small skilled segment

of the working class (Wolpe, 1980; Leys, 1996). Walter Rodney's widely read *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* (1973) made the case that the slave trade and other interventions in African political economy reaching back to the fifteenth century had resulted in exploitation and forms of domination. Martin Carnoy's (1971) *Education as cultural imperialism* extended this analysis looking at the ways in which the school system had been allied to repression.

The assumption in the Marxist view of education and development was that schools reproduced capitalist or imperialist relations. Thus, in a political economy marked by exploitation and the articulation of modes of capitalist and non-capitalist production, schools would form ideas about the place of children according to class or gender. In the research within this framework in South Africa (where development and underdevelopment coincided in one country), race was generally viewed as equivalent to class and the ways in which the school system reproduced the racialised occupational structure was a major theme (Kallaway, 1984; Nkomo, 1990).

The challenge to the Marxist critique of development was how education could be transformative. Paulo Freire (1968, 1970) developed the notion of conscientisation within a Marxist framework elaborating how misunderstanding of social relations associated with capitalism could be transformed. Freire gave particular attention to the nature of the relationship between learners and teachers, a departure from some Marxist writing on education, where the school was seen as merely reproductive of capitalist relations of production (Wolpe, 1990).

The Freirean approach to school took basic learning needs much further than suggested in the Jomtien Declaration, suggesting schools should not only satisfy needs and empower individuals, but should also help them to transform themselves and their societies. Implicit in this work is a notion of a person, who is both made by his or her social conditions, but also has the capacity to change. Change is both personal and has a consequence for changing social relations. Marx's statement that man can change history, but not on terms of his own making, sums up a view of the person who is at once constrained by global capitalism, class structures and schools that mirror this, but who also has the potential, through collective and transformative action, to change this. Attempts have been made to put these ideas into practice in schools and adult literacy classes with explicitly transformative pedagogies. Generally this entails developing a different form of school management from that focused on delivering only outputs. The management ideas associated with Freirean pedagogies tend to stress the participation of learners, teachers and communities in reflection and critique. While Freirean educational work may have been imperfectly realised or difficult to sustain, in settings as diverse as Latin America, Southern and Eastern Africa and India, they offer powerful examples of how teachers and learners engage with critiques of their society (Archer & Costello, 1990; Stromquist, 1997; Motala & Vally, 2002; Abadzi, 2003; McCowan, 2008).

The concern for justice associated with this approach is linked with discussions of egalitarianism and redistribution and with attending to how conditions in schools can be made more equal or the formation of educators can be linked to the struggles of the poorest (Lynch & Lodge, 2004; Hill, 2003). In Katarina Tomasevski's work (2003), the importance of justice in making education free for all children, particularly the poorest, presents a view of justice grounded in a conception of rights to education that is

different from that associated with human capital theory. These moral rights that evoke equality and non-discrimination require satisfaction partly because of the historical global relations of dominance and subordination, but also because of the potentially transformative power of education. Distribution and transformation are thus the major emphases in these discussions of justice.

In advancing these arguments quantitative and qualitative research methods have been used. While quantitative studies have been important to document inequalities in distribution by class, race, gender or region, qualitative investigation has been used to show how Freirean educational experiences transform lives in many of the works cited above. The methods thus give explanatory weight to the framework, but the forthright critique of global capitalism and national accommodations with inequality have not translated comfortably into programmes for action.

Postmodernism and Postcolonialism

From the 1980s postmodernism and post-structuralism, drawing on work such as Edward Said's study of colonial relations in *Orientalism* (1978) and Michel Foucault's work on discourse (1969, 1977), began to present a very clear paradigmatic challenge to ideas about education, society, international development and social justice of previous decades. These influences came together in postcolonial theory, which had its greatest influence in discussions of art and literature, but which raised a number of salient questions for education (Loomba, 1998).

All the preceding approaches, despite their different emphases, worked with similar aspirations to extend the distribution of education. There are distinctions between those that were more attentive to wider social relations concerning power, inequality and need beyond education (basic needs and underdevelopment) and those that were more confident of the connection between education and economic growth (modernisation and human capital theory) underplaying the structural dimensions of injustice. The challenge postcolonial theorising presented was to consider how the very paradigm of education and international development carried within itself assumptions about Western superiority and constructions of third-world peoples as 'others'. A binary opposition was therefore posited between 'the West' and 'the rest', colonial and postcolonial states or dominant discourse on appropriate education and the multiple experiences of colonised peoples. The latter, it was noted, were always portrayed in deficit in relation to dominant forms of knowledge, homogenised by particular identities, such as 'third world woman' and silenced by the languages of power concerning policy discussion (Mohanty, 1979; Bhabha, 1984; Spivak, 1988). In postcolonial theorising the multiplicity of identities, constructed, reconstructed, hybridised and resisted in different settings was of particular note. The political task was to consider that dominant languages and discourses may be the only vehicle available to subalterns to contest the identities of subordination given to them, yet that language erased those very identities (Spivak, 1999). The capacity to see things, nonetheless, as it were in double exposure was a key concern (Minh Ha, 1989). Thus the colonial past was always in the present of education reform, and all activities had multiple resonances.

Underpinning this paradigm shift was a notion that all action can only be understood through discourse and that the key social relations to be analysed are forms of language and representation. Thus the notion of the person associated with this approach notes fragmented identities and considers human practices of making and using language, emphasising this is not a simple act of agency but entails action within powerful formations of already formed languages systems, structured both by forms of words and the nexus of ideas concerning, for example, race, gender or rationality.

Because the focus was on a critique of discourses and identities, there was very little concern at first with the content of what was taught in school or the outcomes of schooling. Initial work within this framework identified policy discourses and discursive shifts. Thus, for example, the process through which ideas about unifying education and training into one National Qualification Framework were diffused in South Africa were explored using a range of different methods from discourse analysis (Lugg, 2007). In India the tropes entailed in thinking about a new saffronised curriculum were noted (Kamat, 2004). However, later work within a postcolonial frame began to look at forms of negotiation and resistance within classrooms to dominant discourses looking closely at children and teachers' identity formation and discursive forms (Hickling Hudson, 2003). It can be seen that the emphasis on discourse and process meant that little attention was given to management or distributional issues.

In contrast with the concern with institutional and distributional approaches to justice, which characterise the foregoing frameworks, postcolonial theorising raises the question of justice in terms of recognition. The problem outlined by the approach is how to value subordinated, multiple, shifting identities, and how, acknowledging this, conditions of justice are to be established (Fraser, 1997; Spivak, 1999).

These assumptions about the person – discursively situated with shifting identities – and about justice, as no longer primarily a matter of distribution, have generated a profound change in methodologies. Deconstruction and analysis of discourse and identity in education became a major concern. Methods borrowed from literary criticism, social linguistics, history and cultural studies have been used. As a consequence more textured understandings of processes of policy formulation, identity negotiation and the experiences of subordination have been generated. The remit of what attending to the education of the poorest might entail has broadened considerably, but the breadth has not generally been accompanied by concern with strategy and policy.

Human Development and the Capability Approach

The human development and capability approach, linked with the work of Mahbub Ul Haq (1995), Amartya Sen (1992, 1999) and Martha Nussbaum (2000, 2006) repositions education as a distributional issue, but gives considerable attention to human diversity, albeit in a different guise to that suggested by postcolonial theory.

Human development is defined by Ul Haq as an approach where

[p]eople are moved to centre stage. Development is analysed and understood in terms of people. Each activity is analysed to see how much people participate in

it or benefit from it. The touchstone of success of development policies becomes the betterment of people's lives, not just the expansion of production processes. (Ul Haq, 1995)

As a consequence, health and education, which form people, are as important to development as what people do in their work, politics or leisure. Implicitly education is here both a process that encourages human development and an expression of the enjoyment of human development.

Ul Haq's ideas about human development drew explicitly on Sen's notion of capabilities and Sen's perception that in looking at equality one must not assess equality of opportunity or outcome, but capabilities, that is, a person's "ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being ... the alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be" (Sen, 1993, p. 30). The approach thus points to the importance of evaluation of social, economic and political arrangements that people can and do enjoy for an expansion of freedoms. Thus in dealing with education we need to evaluate not simply inputs (numbers of teachers or classrooms) or outputs (level of education qualifications), but also whether there are a range of opportunities for valued actions and states of being to be achieved and whether this is accomplished. Sen is particularly interested in human diversity and the ways in which people in different situations convert resources like education into valued functionings. For example, women in a patriarchal family might consider they have less need for education because they do not attribute value to their contribution to the family (Sen, 1990). Widening the capability set addresses diversity in ways that diverge from the postcolonial plea for the recognition of difference without attention to distribution or social institutions. Sen also stresses the significance of participation in processes to select valued capabilities and decide on forms of provision (Sen, 2005). In developing some of these ideas further Martha Nussbaum identified a list of central capabilities for human functioning, where education figures large (Nussbaum, 2000). It is evident that all three view the purpose of education as much wider than developing the skills that will enhance economic growth. They are not only interested in schooling as a system of inputs and outputs, but as nurturing processes of critical reflection and connection with others that are intrinsically ethical, and not just instrumental.

The utilisation of the human development and capability approach in the practice of education is currently more apparent in terms of aspiration, rather than practice. Although the state of Madhya Pradesh in India utilised this framework in drafting its education policy, the interpretation in districts and schools showed little signs of a full engagement with the key ideas (Page, 2005). Arguments for the potential of the approach in developing higher education pedagogies, assessments of education provision for those with disabilities, new forms of management, and curriculum to engage with HIV or the training of social workers have been developed, but remain to be put into practice (Walker, 2006; Terzi, 2005; Bates, 2007; Unterhalter, 2008; Otto & Zigler, 2006). To date the most significant instance of human development and the capability approach at work in education has been through the generation of alternative indicators to assess development.

Ul Haq suggested a measure of human development that would allow for rankings between countries or districts similar to measures of GDP, but express more fully the

range of valued aspects of living the human development approach encompassed. Sen worked on the mathematics for the Human Development Index (HDI) (Sen, 2003). Subsequent work generated indices to assess gender, poverty and rights. The HDI methodology was adapted for measuring progress on EFA in the Education Development Index to measure progress on EFA (UNESCO, 2003). A Gender Equality and Education Index was subsequently developed (Unterhalter *et al.*, 2005).

The idea of the person in the human development and capability approach is both active and reflective, considering not just utility maximisation as interpreted by human capital theory, or incorporation into modernity, but a wide range of valued 'doings and beings'. There is considerable attention paid to diversity and different conditions which constrain the realisation of capabilities. The person is not only dedicated to economic growth, as in human capital theory. She or he may be very much constrained by conditions of exploitation and oppression as outlined in Marxist and postcolonial theory. But the assumption in postcolonial theorising that the person cannot be conceptualised or act outside particular forms of discourse and that experiences of hybrid identities raise significant questions with regard to justice is questioned.

Although in formulating his notion of capabilities, Sen criticised conceptions of basic needs (1981), in practice there are many ways in which human development may be seen as a continuation of the basic needs approach. The links between capabilities and basic needs continue to be much discussed and concern in the capability approach to broaden the scope of evaluation from one-dimensional outputs to broader notions of flourishing has much in common with assessments of need (Reader, 2006; Alkire, 2002; Terzi, 2007).

Sen and Nussbaum both developed their ideas about capabilities, partly as an engagement with the work of John Rawls in *A theory of justice* (1973) and *Political Liberalism* (2005). They are interested, as he was, in distributional questions of justice, but they try to take his ideas further as the very notion of capability provides dimensions for thinking about justice and distribution that supplement Rawls' stress on primary goods (Robeyns, 2006a). Further, Sen suggests, a theory of justice in contemporary times of grave inequalities requires not a complete transcendent theory but insights to make comparative assessments that enable action to make the world less unjust (Sen, 2006a). In some conditions, he therefore implies questions about justice must be concerned with recognition, language and identity, but the route to this conclusion is not through critiques of discourse, but through rigorous engagement with debates in political philosophy and acknowledgement of how the construction of antagonistic identities is generally associated with injustice (Sen, 2006b).

The capability approach has much in common with a human rights approach which emphasises equality and non-discrimination and obligations to deliver in education, for instance. The claims people can make for protection against abuse and deprivation associated with human rights support a number of ideas about justice invoked by the capability approach. Robeyns (2006b) draws on suggestions by Brighouse (2004) to suggest that the notion of capabilities might provide a normative basis for thinking about rights. Vizard (2006) argues that human rights and the capability approach can work together in campaigns against poverty to hold governments accountable for non-fulfilment of obligations.

Both Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2006) have drawn out how their visions for justice are global, not just local and given education a significant place in terms of the obligations of people to each other to expand capabilities. This demands thinking through education in relation to debates about cosmopolitanism and the processes of global justice.

The idea of the person and associated conceptions of justice in the human development and capability approach have generated a distinctive methodological approach. Work within this framework is characterised by a high level of multi-disciplinarity drawing on philosophy, economics and sociology, and crossing disciplinary boundaries to link together different forms of data. Thus social statistics are utilised in innovative forms of combination and qualitative accounts provide rich insight into how capabilities are understood in practice (Raynor, 2007; Uyan, 2007). In using new explanatory frameworks to address the issue of global action on education the approach appears to have overcome some of the difficulties of not generating alternative methods encountered by the basic needs approach. Furthermore, the location of human development research within some of the UN organisations gives a level of access to powerful settings thus far denied critical approaches such as underdevelopment and postcolonial theorising. However the capacity of the human development and capability approach to make use of this advantageous conjunction in relation to affecting the practice of education for the poorest remains to be seen.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore the ways in which education was placed in relation to different theories of development and the implications of associated ideas about social justice for the research conducted. The discussion has revealed how education has been linked by different development theories with particular dispositions or outcomes (modernisation and human capital theory), with problems of imperialist exploitation and positioning of third-world people as the subordinate 'other' (underdevelopment and postcolonial theory) and with the potential to bring about changes that attend to the needs of the poorest, facilitate critical reflection and expand opportunities for demanding and living a life one has reason to value (basic needs, underdevelopment and the capability approach). The most mainstream approaches (modernisation and human capital) situate justice primarily as the remit of individuals or institutions. Critical accounts highlight the social dimensions of justice, be they the processes of political liberalism, the demands of rigorous redistribution or concerns with recognition. While both basic needs and human development and the capability approach have significant presence in the policy documents of UN institutions and the programmes that flow from these, the ideas about justice associated with both approaches are often ignored. The education assumptions of human capital theory and modernisation continue to command respect and widespread understanding of the research methods they use contribute to this. The challenge is to turn the social justice aspirations of many global EFA documents into policies that express their core ideas and develop rigorous research agendas to sustain global action on poverty and education.

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ON EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE – A NEGLECTED THEME IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Andreas M. Kazamias

Comparative education, as it developed in the second half of the twentieth century, has been concerned mainly with the study of educational systems (their philosophies, organisation and governance), educational institutions (mostly schools, colleges and universities), educational policies, school and society relationships (political, social and economic), and educational change, reform and development. Discourses and studies in such areas have been carried out in national state contexts, in ‘rims’ or regions (e.g., the Pacific and the Mediterranean ‘rims’, or the European Union, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East), or cross-nationally and cross-culturally. Paradoxically, prominent themes that are germane to educational systems and the educational process, although not entirely neglected, have not received the attention that they deserve. The themes in question have to do with educational knowledge, or the content of the curriculum, and with pedagogy, in other words, with the internal or ‘intrinsic’ aspects of ‘schooling’.

Knowledge – its selection, organisation/classification and acquisition – has been of crucial importance to all modern systems of education. According to M. F. D. Young, “*the acquisition of knowledge* is the key purpose that distinguishes education, whether general, further, vocational or higher, from all other activities”. For this reason, “debates about knowledge are crucial; by this I do not mean specific knowledge contents, although they are important, but the concepts of knowledge that underpin curricula” (Young, 2008, p. 81). Of crucial importance are also debates about the related theme of *pedagogy*, defined by Robin Alexander, a contributor to this section of the Handbook, as “both the act of teaching and its contingent theories and debates-about, for example, the character of culture and society, the purposes of education, the nature of childhood and learning and structure of knowledge”. Pedagogy, Alexander explains further, “is the domain of discourse with which one needs to engage if one is to make sense of the act of teaching – for discourse and act are interdependent, and there can be no teaching without pedagogy or pedagogy without teaching” (Alexander, 2006, p. 6).

The study of the curriculum, as the codification of areas of *knowledge* into ‘subjects’, and curriculum change have not been entirely absent in comparative education, as Anthony Welch pointed out in 1991 (Welch, 1991); nor has ‘*pedagogy*’. However, in 2000, Angela Little, a specialist in development studies, could write in the British journal *Comparative Education* that between 1977 and 1998

only 6.1% of that journal's articles "dealt with 'curricular content and the learner's experience'" (quoted in Alexander, 2006, p. 2). And in the same issue of the journal, Robert Cowen wrote that "we are nowhere near coming fully to grips with the themes of curriculum, pedagogic styles and evaluation as powerful message systems which form identities in specific educational sites" (Cowen, 2000, p. 34).

This chapter is a comparative-historical analysis of the theme/problem of educational knowledge as codified in the curriculum of the secondary schools of England at two periods of modern English history: the mid-nineteenth century and today. It tackles the perennial curriculum question of 'what knowledge is of most worth'. At the same time, passing references are made about the same problem in continental Europe and the United States. Other chapters in this section of the Handbook examine the theme of 'knowledge' and 'knowledge traditions' in various historical and national contexts. And one, in particular, deals with the almost forgotten theme of 'pedagogy'.

What Knowledge Is of Most Worth? A Historical Conception

'Knowledge' and its valuation has been an epistemological concern of all major philosophers and educational thinkers since antiquity; it has also been a curriculum concern of educational policy-makers and pedagogues since the emergence and development of national modern systems of education in the post-Enlightenment world. For example, Plato's rational account of the educational ascent from 'belief' to 'true' rational knowledge, Aristotle's stratification of knowledge into prestigious theoretical "liberal arts/sciences" (*eleutheriai epistemai*) and 'philistine' (*banausic*) "illiberal practical arts", Descartes' scientific rationalism, Locke's empiricism, Herbert Spencer's "scientific culture" and John Dewey's problem-solving instrumentalist "how we think", have been influential, to a degree more or less at different historical periods, in the educational thinking and planning about the selection, organisation and stratification of 'curriculum knowledge'.

In the post-Enlightenment era of modernisation and democratisation, when national public systems of education were being formed, Herbert Spencer, the English social evolutionist sociologist, raised the question of 'what knowledge was of most worth' in an industrial society like the English, and hence of value to be included in the school curriculum (Spencer, 1859). In raising this question, Spencer was contesting the hegemony of 'liberal humanistic *paideia*/culture' that characterised the European and American knowledge traditions and the curriculum of the schools and the universities, not only of England but of continental European countries (e.g., France, Germany, Italy, Greece) and the United States, as well (McClellan, 1995; Winterer, 2002; Dimaras, 1973; Kazamias, 1960).

Spencer's question, raised at the same time as the publication of Charles Darwin's scientific treatise *The Origin of Species* (1859), sparked a controversy involving some of the leading mid-Victorian English intellectuals (e.g., philosophers, classical scholars, poets and scientists), and practicing educationists, and it revolved around the content of 'general' or 'liberal' education, in terms of 'curriculum studies', which at the time was considered to be the most valued and the most prestigious type of education. Specifically, "the great controversy of the day", according to the political

philosopher J. S. Mill, a key participant in the debate, was “the vexed question between the ancient languages and the modern sciences and arts; whether general education should be classical – let me use a wider expression and say literary – or scientific” (Mill, 1867, p. 5). A comparative historical analysis of the controversy was made by me back in 1960 (Kazamias, 1960), and would not be necessary in this section of the Handbook. For my purposes here, it would suffice to comment briefly on what knowledge was considered to be ‘of value’ or “of most worth” at a specific historical period – the nineteenth century – in post-Enlightenment modernist Europe, and, therefore, what ‘knowledge’ in the form of ‘subjects’ or ‘studies’ was “of most worth” to be included in the curriculum of the secondary schools.

At the time that Spencer raised the famous question, the dominant concept of ‘most valued knowledge’ in England and in continental Europe could be epitomized as the ‘Eurocentric liberal humanistic canon’ or the ‘Eurocentric liberal humanistic *paideia*’ with classical studies – ancient Greek and Latin languages and cultures – as its epistemic core. In France, it was intrinsic to the concept of *culture generale* (Halls, 1965), in Germany it was referred to as *Allgemeine Menschenbildung* (Lovlie *et al.*, 2003) and in Greece, as *enkyklios paideia* (Dimaras, 1973; Antoniou, 1987). The Eurocentric liberal humanistic canon/*paideia* denoted essentially ‘literary-philological studies’; it was ‘non-utilitarian’, ‘non-practical’ and economically ‘non-instrumentalist’ in its orientation; it was considered to be of higher status than vocational education; and it was legitimised epistemologically in terms of its mental disciplinary value, and morally, in terms of its intrinsic quality in cultivating Christian and other moral virtues, for example, piety, godliness, truthfulness, patriotism and the ideal of public service. Interpreted ‘sociologically’, however, school knowledge and the content of the curriculum are “socially produced and acquired” (Young, 2008, p. 88) and, therefore, they cannot be looked at as being independent of the social and political historical context in which they are developed; the dominance of the general ‘liberal humanistic *paideia*’ can be illuminated by viewing it through the prism of the elitist, nationally ‘monochromatic’ culture of nineteenth-century England, and the concomitant English elitist political power structure. In such a historical context, what was particularly “extraordinary”, according to the historian D. W. Brogan, “was the idea that only a ‘public school’ could give an education fitting a boy for command in business, in politics, in the army, the civil service, even in the arts” (Brogan, 1943).

In the ‘great controversy’ of the 1860s, Spencer and eminent scientists like T. H. Huxley, J. Tyndall and M. Faraday contested the hegemony of the classical literary humanistic education, and championed the cause of scientific education for an important place in the curriculum of the schools. These and others, like the classicists F. W. Farrar and H. Sidgwick, and poets like M. Arnold and J. Ruskin, argued in favour of a general liberal education that would include classical humanistic studies, sciences and other modern subjects such as history and modern foreign languages. (Kazamias, 1960; Jordan & Weedon, 1994). It was argued that the elitist Eurocentric classical humanistic type of knowledge and *paideia* could not meet the needs of a developing modern industrial and democratic society. The inclusion of science, for example, into the curriculum of the prestigious Grammar Schools and the Public Schools was advocated not only for its mental disciplinary value, but also for its instrumental utilitarianism,

“realism and naturalism” in an industrial society. As the historian J. S. Brubacher has noted, T. H. Huxley, the champion of scientific education, “took the general line that it was an extremely shortsighted policy for a great colonial nation like England with vast industrial and commercial interests to fail to give instruction in physics and chemistry on which its industrial and commercial greatness rested” (Brubacher, 1947, p. 265).

The questioning of the hegemony of liberal humanistic knowledge, with classical studies as its core, was also evident in France, Germany and the United States. In France, for example, where the dominance of a humanistic general culture was even more entrenched than in England since the days of Napoleon, according to the historian F. Ringer (1987), “from the 1870s to the end of the century the running debate over the special or modern programme ... was accompanied by an almost equally intensive discussion of the classical secondary curriculum” (for France, also see Talbott, 1969; for Germany, see Albisetti, 1987; for the United States, see Kliebard, 1986).

Although in England and in continental Europe the nineteenth-century educational modernists were calling for an expanded knowledge-based curriculum to include science and other modern subjects, their conception of an expanded general education, knowledge or *paideia*, ‘of most worth’, was still elitist, Eurocentric, theoretical, privileged and “liberal” in the Aristotelian meaning of the term. Except for Spencer’s conception, it did not include what Aristotle called *banaisic*, that is, philistine, non-theoretical, and “illiberal” practical studies/arts. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, in England, France and Germany, general education was expanded and modern ‘liberal studies’ were included in the curriculum of the English secondary Grammar schools, the French *lycées* and the German *Gymnasias*.

Spencer’s idea about curriculum knowledge ‘of most worth’ was not heeded in Europe. It was heeded in the United States, where Spencer was widely read, as reflected in the Cardinal Principles Report on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in the United States. According to Kliebard, an authority on the history of the American curriculum, “By far the most prominent portion of the report”, which was a major landmark in secondary education in the United States, “was the statement of the seven aims [principles] that would guide the curriculum: 1. Health. 2. Command of fundamental processes. 3. Worthy home membership. 4. Vocation. 5. Citizenship. 6. Worthy use of leisure. 7. Ethical character” (Kliebard, 1986, pp. 112–114). In his historical analysis of the development of the American curriculum, Kliebard further noted “that 1918 may be regarded as the year when the humanist position reflected in Eliot’s Committee of Ten Report [published in 1893] was forced to go on the defensive, no longer playing the dominant role it once did in the battle for the American curriculum” (Kliebard, 1986, p. 115).

What Knowledge Is of Most Worth in the ‘Europe of Knowledge’? The Late Modern Sequel in the European Union

In Western Europe and America, what knowledge is of most worth, what the essential knowledge ingredients of the curriculum of the schools should be, and how school knowledge should be organised and taught continued to be themes/questions that were

discussed at different historical periods in the twentieth century. Debates of this nature have been especially manifest in the decades following Second World War. The question posed by Herbert Spencer “what knowledge is of most worth?” is as basic and thought-provoking today – in what I have called in another chapter in Section Seven of this Handbook, “The Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation” and “The Information/Technological Knowledge/Learning Society” of late modernity even postmodernity (also see Castells, 1998) – as it was in the nineteenth-century industrial *cosmos* of Euro-American modernity. The literature on this theme is vast and even a cursory review of it is beyond the scope of this chapter. I examine some post-war key developments and discourses on this theme in the Anglo-Saxon world in another context in another chapter, already mentioned, in Section Seven of this Handbook.

Knowledge Society

Knowledge society (KS) and such co-extensive terms as ‘information society’ and ‘learning society’ have recently become dominant discourses with respect to the economic robustness and development of European Union (EU) and its member states. “The Europe we are building”, the French minister of education is said to have declared in 1998, “is not only the Europe of the Euro, the Europe of Banks and the economy; it must also be the Europe of Knowledge”. In the White Paper *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment* issued in 1993, it was stated that, in view of such changes in the world as ‘globalisation’, the coming of ‘information society’, and the rapid development of techno-science, it was imperative that the EU be transformed into “knowledge- based” societies (European Commission, 1993). And in the much-publicised and influential White Paper *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* of 1995, one reads: “Be that as it may, the countries of Europe today have no other option. If they are to hold their own and continue to be a reference point in the world, they have to build on the progress brought about through closer economic ties by more substantial investment in knowledge and skills” (European Commission, 1995, p. 1).

What is a knowledge society? Knowledge society has been conceptualised in various ways. A. Hargreaves, has conceptualised KS in terms of three dimensions:

First, it [KS] comprises an expanded scientific, technical and educational sphere. ... Second, it involves complex ways of processing and circulating knowledge and information in a service-based economy. Third, it entails basic changes in how corporate organizations function so that they enhance continuous innovation in products and services, by creating systems, teams and cultures that maximize the opportunities for mutual spontaneous learning. (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 9).

From a Marxist critical perspective, C. Stamatis, a Greek scholar, has conceptualised KS as follows:

The conceptual nucleus of a ‘knowledge society’ echoes, in substance, an actual capitalist trend, which is also ratified ideologically. It signifies the use of knowledge as a productive force in labour process under the conditions of late capitalism. The type of education that is cultivated in educational institutions is

accordingly called upon to be adapted to such knowledge use. (Stamatis, 2005, p. 115. Translated from the Greek text)

In the prevalent discourse, the following *epistemic* elements appear to characterise the emerging KS:

- Enormous development of ICTs and sophisticated learning technologies; the rise of what M. Castells has called “Network Society” and the “Information/ Technological Epistemological Paradigm” (Castells, 1998/2000).
- Knowledge as a factor of production; increased importance of information technologies and what D. Guile has called “codified knowledge” (Guile, 2002) for the accumulation of capital and for sustainable development in a competitive global economy.
- Techno-scientific instrumental rationality.
- Knowledge as a trading commercialised commodity.
- Changing forms of organization of living and work: a “learning organization”. (Senge, 1990); a “flexible workforce”, a “knowledge worker” (Drucker, 1994); the “shamrock organization” (Handy, 1989).
- A renegotiation of power among established power formations (e.g., states, markets, civil societies, international organisations).

A ‘Europe of Knowledge’ Through Education and Training

Discourses about KS and about ‘knowledge’ – what it is, what its forms are, and how it is acquired – invariably have included references to education and training and to the sites that have traditionally been responsible for the production, reproduction and dissemination of knowledge, namely, schools, colleges and universities. In the EU texts, a European educational discourse (policy talk and policy practice) is propounded *that* emphasizes the development of “skills” and “competencies” to meet the needs of the Single European Market, and integrated European KS and a European “knowledge-based competitive economy”. Although in some of the texts reference is made to “solid based- broad education”, what is more salient in the EU discourse is the privileging of certain kinds of knowledge, skills and competencies, for example, education in ICTs, techno-scientific instrumental rationality, and vocational skills, for “competitive advantage”, so that, as the Lisbon Council put it in 2000, the EU by 2010, will become “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth accompanied by quantitative and qualitative improvement of employment and of greater social cohesion” (Conclusions of the Lisbon Council, 2000). The instrumentalist knowledge bias in the EU’s educational discourse is patently clear in the text *Towards a Europe of Knowledge*, which was issued in 1997. In this text one reads:

Noting that we are entering the ‘knowledge society’, the Commission in its *Agenda 2000* proposes making the policies which drive that society (innovation, research, education and training) one of the four fundamental pillars of the Union’s internal policies...Economic competitiveness, employment and the personal fulfillment of the citizens of Europe is no longer mainly based on the

production of physical goods, nor will it be in the future. Real wealth creation will henceforth be linked to the production and dissemination of knowledge and will depend first and foremost on our efforts in the field of research, education and training and on our capacity to promote innovation. This is why we must fashion a veritable ‘Europe of Knowledge’ (European Commission, 1997).

In the aforementioned widely quoted *Teaching and Learning – Towards a Learning Society* (1995), one gets a clearer picture of the EU’s educational discourse in relation to the European KS and the Europe of Knowledge. This important text pays homage to globalisation, namely, “the internalisation of trade, the global context of technology and above all, the arrival of the [global] information society”. In the global “learning society” of the future, according to it, knowledge and cognitive skills will be of pivotal importance, especially knowledge and skills in techno-science and mathematics, particularly for purposes of economic growth and prosperity. At the same time, however, the White Paper urged that education and training in the “learning society” (also read ‘knowledge society’) should not be narrowly instrumental, but multi-purpose. It should (a) focus on “a broad knowledge base” and emphasise breadth and flexibility rather than narrowness; (b) build bridges between schools and the “business sector”; (c) combat “social exclusion”; (d) develop proficiency in “at least two foreign languages”, that is, in “three Community languages”; and (e) “treat capital investment and investment in training on an equal basis”. The White Paper, further, talked about the importance of “personal development”, the “passing of cultural heritage”, and “the teaching of self-reliance”. Finally, it referred to the development of “human values” and “citizenship” which, according to it, “is essential if European society is to be open, multicultural and democratic” (European Commission, 1995).

However, from a careful reading of this text, it appears that in the envisaged ‘Europe of Knowledge’ greater emphasis and space were placed on the acquisition of certain kinds of knowledge and on the development of cognitive and vocational skills that would be instrumental for the productive employability of the worker, for the accumulation of wealth and economic growth, and for European Union prosperity. In this connection, John Field’s critical comments on the White Paper’s reformist orientation are well taken. “Although the White Paper”, Field has observed, “paid lip-service to the need for personal development and social learning, and even active citizenship, as well as training, there was no sign that the Commission had any concrete proposals in these areas”. In fact, Field has added, “the White Paper simply replicated the established boundary between vocational training and general education” (Field, 1998, p. 75). And, according to J. Spring, even subjects such as literature and philosophy, not to mention science and mathematics were viewed not for “their intrinsic beauty or personal satisfaction”, but for their instrumental value in improving Europe’s position in the global economy” (Spring, 1998, p. 105; also see Grollios, 1999).

The educational discourse that is being promulgated by the European Union for the imagined Europe of Knowledge, may be epitomized in terms of the following key ideas:

- Education and training, instrumental rationality, not *paideia*
- Techno-scientific knowledge/information base, not general/liberal education and humanistic culture/*paideia* (*culture generale, Allgemeine Bildung*)

- Cognitive, vocational, flexible and social skills that are readily assessed and constantly renewable; competitiveness, entrepreneurship, employability, innovation, creativity, productivity, accreditation
- Emphasis on competencies (theoretical, practical, cognitive), mostly instrumental; underemphasis of aesthetic and ethical dispositions and civic virtues – what I would call the *paideia* of the soul

Lastly, it would be pertinent here to refer to A. Hargreaves' astute observations about the contemporary reform discourses on teaching (and education) in the 'knowledge society' and the related 'knowledge-based economy'. Hargreaves argues that contemporary capitalist societies that are also knowledge-based economies serve primarily the private good; their schools are geared to develop primarily cognitive learning, instrumental skills and competencies for a knowledge society and a knowledge economy. But a knowledge-based economy, according to him, is a "force of creative destruction". On the one hand, "it stimulates growth and prosperity", but on the other, "its relentless pursuit of profit and self-interest also strains and fragments the social order". In the knowledge-based economies, school systems "have become obsessed with imposing and micromanaging curriculum uniformity", instead of "fostering creativity and ingenuity". Hargreaves adds:

In place of ambitious missions of compassion and community, schools and teachers have been squeezed into the tunnel vision of test scores, achievement targets and league tables of accountability. And rather than cultivating cosmopolitan identity and the basic emotion of sympathy, which Adam Smith called the emotional foundation of democracy, too many educational systems promote exaggerated and self absorbed senses of national identity. (Hargreaves, 2003, pp. xvi–xvii, 9).

What Knowledge Is of Most Worth? – Looking Backwards into the Future

From the above, it can easily be inferred that the knowledge 'of most value' or 'of most worth' in the late modern globalised European 'Network Society' is different from that of the nineteenth-century industrial Europe of early modernity. In the early modern industrial Europe, the knowledge that was 'of most worth' was what could be called 'liberal humanistic knowledge'. In the contemporary post-industrial information-technological and globalised Europe of late modernity, the knowledge that is 'of most worth' and privileged is 'techno-science' and instrumental rationality. As I argued in another chapter in Section Seven of this Handbook, it appears that neo-liberal globalisation and the "instrumentalist ethos of market fundamentalism", with their emphasis, on instrumental rationality, the production of useful knowledge and what F. Furedi has called "philistine concerns", are having corrosive effects on liberal culture, the arts and "the life of the mind" (Furedi, 2004). Commenting on the European Union's action programmes, namely, SOCRATES, LEONARDO DA VINCI, ERASMUS, ARION

and COMENIUS, Field has noted that they are “relentlessly vocational, utilitarian and instrumental in their emphasis,” a “technological option”, according to him, that has created a tension between “instrumentalism” and the European attachment to the humanistic tradition of education” (Field, 1998, p. 8).

One could speculate that a resurrected Herbert Spencer would in all probability welcome such a swing of the epistemological pendulum from a predominantly ‘humanistic’ and “general type of knowledge to a predominantly techno-scientific, instrumental and pragmatic type. But, in my opinion, a resurrected T. H. Huxley, who also championed scientific education, would not. In the great controversy of the 1860s over what knowledge was of most worth, Huxley warned against “exclusiveness” and imbalance in curriculum studies; for, as he had aptly put it, “the value of the cargo does not compensate for a ship’s being out of trim” (Huxley, 1902, pp. 153–154).

Coda

Recently, Michael Young (1998, 2008), a noted sociologist of the curriculum, and a critic of the contemporary educational trends as they affect educational knowledge and the curriculum, urged that ‘knowledge be brought back in education’, and that a society of the future “embody an education-led economy rather than an economy-led education system”. In another chapter of this Handbook entitled “Agamemnon contra Prometheus: Globalisation, Knowledge/Learning Societies and *Paideia* in the New Cosmopolis”, where I examine critically the negative consequences of “globalisation” on education, I argue for the re-enchantment of “humanistic *paideia*” in the broad meaning of the term, for what I call “Promethean Humanism” that would include “all human arts”, theoretical and practical.

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WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS OF MOST WORTH? AN OLD QUESTION REVISITED IN ENGLAND

Denis Lawton

One assumption of this chapter is that education, and especially curriculum, should be examined within a specific location before even modest attempts at generalisation are made. In this paper the focus will be mainly upon England: the recent histories of Wales, Scotland and Ireland differ considerably from that of England. For example, since education policy in Wales was devolved from the UK Parliament to the Welsh National Assembly in the 1990s, much greater priority has been given to ‘Welshness’ in their national curriculum than Englishness in the English national curriculum.

The question ‘what knowledge is of most worth?’ has more usually been taken for granted in England than given specific attention. In England, politicians and other decision-makers, including educationists, have tended to look backwards to justify the curriculum in terms of tradition rather than more fundamental epistemological enquiry. When the question has been specifically addressed it has almost always been due to social pressure of a political or economic kind. These kinds of social change have tended to be of more significance than changes in ideas or educational theory and practice.

One of the best-known publications addressing the question of the worth of knowledge in the school curriculum was made by Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). In his essay ‘Education’ (1861) Spencer made it clear that his reason for questioning the content of the school curriculum was that tremendous social and economic changes had taken place in England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but these changes had not been reflected sufficiently, if at all, in school curricula. England had pioneered the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century which had then produced all kinds of social and economic pressures in the nineteenth century but schools largely ignored those changes. The curriculum of public or independent schools still concentrated very largely on Latin and Greek, perhaps with a little mathematics, when the dominant forms of knowledge were now science and technology.

In the twentieth century the education system, including the curriculum, was re-examined on a number of occasions: the 1902 Education Act and the Secondary Regulations of 1904; the 1944 Education Act; the 1988 National Curriculum, with subsequent additions and modifications up to the end of the century.

A major concern of this chapter is to look at those occasions of curriculum change and to attempt to analyse what social pressure or combination of pressures (economic, political and ideological) have been responsible for the re-examination of the education

system and any changes made to the curriculum. It is also suggested that these social changes have normally taken priority over changes in educational ideas.

The Education Act 1902 and Secondary Regulations 1904

The changes that Spencer was concerned with in the nineteenth century had by the beginning of the twentieth century produced something of a crisis in the availability of educated manpower in England. There was a much greater demand for literate and numerate clerks in the City of London and elsewhere than the school system was producing. Hence, for the first time in England, the government authorised the spending of public money for the purpose of state secondary education (the 1870 Education Act had only sanctioned the spending of public money on elementary schools – secondary education had been specifically excluded). The Balfour Education Act of 1902, accordingly, encouraged Local Education Authorities to use some of their funds to support secondary schools. Soon after the Act, the Board of Education in England produced a set of rules for the secondary curriculum — the Secondary Regulations 1904 — which tightly controlled what could or should be taught. (The notion, sometimes expressed, that there was no control of the curriculum until 1988 is complete nonsense. This is important because from now onwards one pressure on the curriculum was the political concern of the central authority in education to have some control over the content of the curriculum).

These events at the beginning of the twentieth century were not simply a question of the worthwhileness of knowledge but also the extent to which worthwhile knowledge should be shared amongst the whole population. Only a minority of young people aged 11 and over were to be given access to the new secondary curriculum: the vast majority of the age group from 5 to 13 or 14 was to be limited to the elementary school curriculum which consisted very largely of reading, writing, elementary mathematics and religious education. Those drawing up the secondary curriculum were conscious that it was important to preserve the distinction between elementary education for all and secondary education for a selected few who would follow a curriculum similar to that received by those who could afford to pay fees in independent schools. The 1902 Act has sometimes been hailed as a step on the way to education for all, but it was not at this time seen in that way, and could hardly be perceived as democratic in its intention or outcome; probably, quite the reverse.

The 1944 Education Act

In 1944, towards the end of the Second World War when egalitarian views were being expressed by many citizens, there was a much more significant step towards ‘secondary education for all’ when the 1944 Education Act decreed that all children should receive education from 5 to 16, free and compulsory, according to age, aptitude and ability. Once again this was not a complete move into democratic education because the Act was usually interpreted by Local Education Authorities to mean that all children would go to secondary schools but not necessarily to the same secondary schools and certainly not receiving the same access to knowledge. In answering the question ‘What knowledge is of most worth?’ there was still an assumption of differentiation, if

not according to social class then nearly always according to 'ability'. However, at this stage, the question of the content of the curriculum was not specifically mentioned in the Act. Some say that the question was deliberately avoided in order to achieve consensus in Parliament; thus it was left to Local Authorities to decide for themselves rather than being given any kind of direction from the central government. So the Secondary Regulations continued in spirit if not in legislation for those pupils in grammar schools regarded as academic and the Local Authorities allowed other kinds of schools (secondary modern and technical schools) to sort out the curriculum for themselves. Our question about knowledge and worth was answered differently for various social rankings within the community. Even at a time of heightened democratic pressure, the question was not seen as involving equality of access to worthwhile knowledge.

This neglect of a political priority 'secondary education for all' was, however, spotted by an independent, non-governmental group of educationists. A self-appointed group of educational experts formed themselves into the 'Council for Curriculum Reform'. They discussed the whole question of a new curriculum extensively, and eventually produced a very interesting report 'The Content of Education' (1945). This group launched the most intelligent review of the school curriculum available at that time although it received no official backing and in fact relied for its funding on £50 from the Institute of Education and £25 from the London Co-operative Society. Some of the answers that they offered were clearly much too advanced for the government and most Local Authorities at that time, and were not even considered by the new Labour Government in 1945. The proposal of the Council in 1945 was, however, that *all* young people should have access to the following kinds of knowledge: moral and religious education, aesthetic education (including literature and the visual arts), languages (English and foreign), mathematics, natural sciences, social science (social studies, history, economics and politics).

The recommendations of the Council were largely ignored, despite the fact that the question of the organisation of secondary education (but not the curriculum) was discussed frequently over the next 30 years. The debate centred more on the question of school structure (should there be comprehensive schools for all or separate grammar, technical and secondary modern schools according to ability) rather than tackling the more fundamental question of what kinds of knowledge all young people should have access to.

Changes in Educational Ideas: The Philosophical and Sociological Views of Knowledge

Meanwhile, at the University of London, Institute of Education, questions were being asked about 'What knowledge is of most worth?' In the philosophy department R. S. Peters in *Ethics and Education* (1966) had attempted to look at the criteria operating when our question was addressed from a philosophical point of view in the context of evaluating school curricula. Peters expressed dissatisfaction with the Utilitarian answer to our question, namely, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. One of his colleagues, P. H. Hirst, looked at the question of knowledge and schooling and came to the conclusion that many theories of education were incomplete if they did not work out some principles for deciding on which subjects should be taught. He was critical of some

extreme progressive views of education emphasising 'child-centred' curricula and also some ideas about education for autonomy. He asserted that it was no good talking about motivation, for example, whilst ignoring the fact that education is not simply concerned with learning how to learn but must also include ideas about the nature of knowledge and what should be learned. Accordingly, Hirst (1975) distinguished between seven 'forms' of knowledge, which had different key concepts and different kinds of validation procedures and sometimes methods of enquiry. He put this forward as one way of looking critically at existing school curricula. His seven forms of knowledge were: mathematics and formal knowledge; the physical sciences; the human sciences, including history; moral understanding; religion; philosophy; and aesthetics.

A little later D. Lawton (1983), without disparaging the value of his colleagues' philosophical views, suggested that to answer the question of knowledge and worth from the curriculum perspective, it was necessary to go beyond academic knowledge and beyond philosophical linguistic analysis. He suggested that sociological and anthropological approaches to knowledge should also be taken into account. His proposal consisted of two kinds of enquiry: the first being concerned with the human universals which, he suggested, existed in some form in all human societies, and that these human universals gave rise to different kinds of cultural systems involving different kinds of knowledge. Such differences would be more evident in more advanced industrial societies than in simpler, pre-literate communities despite sharing human universals. His second set of propositions was that the human universals could be analysed into distinctive cultural systems each containing different kinds of knowledge which should be used as a basis for curriculum construction. Essentially, his approach recommended that every school curriculum necessarily consisted of some kind of 'selection from the culture' but that many curricula had serious gaps and omissions. As one possible approach to analysing selection from the culture he proposed a number of cultural 'systems' derived from human universals: socio-political, technological, communication, economic, belief, moral, rationality, aesthetic, and physical or maturational. He suggested that these cultural systems could be used not as a basis for a curriculum design, replacing existing school subjects, but as a checklist to make sure that there were no important gaps left in the curriculum. In the case of England, the socio-political, economic and morality systems were strangely neglected or sometimes completely ignored. He recommended using the cultural systems as one side of a matrix, the other axis being existing school subjects. The intersection of these two could provide a means of analysing where knowledge omissions existed and should be filled. Such a matrix would not provide a complete answer to our question but would indicate the first stage of a cultural analysis in the curriculum design procedure.

Kenneth Baker's National Curriculum 1988 and Subsequent Changes

There were few official attempts to answer the question about knowledge and worth from the time of the first Labour Government (1945) until Kenneth Baker and the Thatcherite government put together proposals for a national curriculum in 1988. In 1979 when the

Conservatives came to office they did not initially propose a national curriculum and the second of Thatcher's Education Secretaries, Keith Joseph, was ideologically opposed to the idea, because he believed that schools should decide on their own curricula provided that parents had the right to choose a school for their children. However, his successor, Kenneth Baker, was both more of a moderniser and more of a centralist in education and saw the need to improve the performance of schools by greater control over what they taught. When Kenneth Baker decided that England should come into line with other advanced European countries and develop a national curriculum, he might have looked to his own body of experts, Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools (HMI), but if he did, his decisions did not show that he had asked the right HMIs. A group of Inspectors had been working for some years on the idea of a common curriculum for secondary schools and had even produced some booklets on the subject and encouraged some schools within a few LEAs to embark upon some experiments along the lines of the model they had developed. Although HMI had not explicitly addressed our question, they put forward some very sensible proposals: making use of the familiar school subjects, but going beyond that traditional approach by emphasising 'areas of knowledge and experience'. Like Lawton, they clearly wanted to move beyond the purely academic subjects of grammar schools and tried to produce a curriculum suitable for all young people – an 'Entitlement Curriculum'. It should be remembered that by then the majority of secondary schools were, officially, comprehensive – that is, all-ability schools. The eight areas of knowledge and experience suggested by HMI were: aesthetic/creative, ethical, linguistic, mathematical, physical, scientific, social/political, and spiritual (HMI, 1983).

It is not clear whether Baker knew about the existence of this HMI, 'Entitlement' model, or of the valuable experimental work undertaken by some secondary schools under the supervision of his Inspectors, or whether he was advised to ignore these innovations. In any case what happened was that his 1988 national curriculum was based purely on a list of conventional school subjects so close to the 1904 Secondary Regulations that many commentators have examined the two lists of subjects side by side; they drew the obvious conclusion that the Baker national curriculum was indeed backward-looking.

1904	1988
English	English
Mathematics	Mathematics
Science	Science
History	History
Geography	Geography
Foreign language	Modern foreign language
Drawing	Art
Physical exercise	Physical education
Manual work/Housewifery	Technology
	Music

See Aldrich (1988) in Lawton and Chitty (1988).

However, the 1904 answer intended for a small percentage of academic pupils was not adequate for a comprehensive curriculum more than 80 years later. In other words, Baker failed to ask the most important question about knowledge, being satisfied with the aim of improving the standards of schools in the pursuit of producing a more competitive manpower for a technological society. It would be unfair to say that he was not interested in the curricular needs of a democratic society, but he did not attempt to include ‘citizenship’ as a new subject although he had earlier – before he was Education Secretary – shown some interest in that development.

So obvious were the gaps in the proposed national curriculum that almost immediately the National Curriculum Council (NCC), a body officially set up to monitor the implementation of the national curriculum, began working on ways of supplementing the list of subjects by means of cross-curricular themes, to include other important educational priorities: for example, environmental studies, citizenship, health education and careers education (none of which had been officially part of the secondary curriculum post-1902).

Thus, hardly had schools got to grips with the new list of subjects in 1988 than they were encouraged to plan their own school curriculum so as to accommodate the other needs identified by the NCC. The Education Secretary had failed to ask the key question about knowledge and worth, but his NCC had seen that an opportunity had been missed. Unfortunately, whereas the national curriculum was mandatory, the NCC additions were only recommendations which could be ignored by schools if they found themselves already preoccupied with the management of the national curriculum.

Changes to the National Curriculum (1990–2000)

As we saw above one intention of the national curriculum was to have ten subjects, three of which were prioritised and that all ten subjects should be assessed regularly and rigorously. It was pointed out on several occasions that had this come about, England would have had the most prescriptive and the most highly assessed curriculum in the world. This was not to be because the teaching profession found the burden of teaching and assessment intolerable. In 1990 the retreat from the ten subject content began. First, subjects were pruned but when this reduction proved to be insufficient, the subjects themselves were gradually cut down so that eventually all that remained was the area of core subjects, namely, English, mathematics and science, plus religious education which was taken much less seriously. While this was happening the prospect of adding further material to the national curriculum in the form of the NCC cross-curricular knowledge was extremely unlikely, however much individual schools might have regarded such cross-curricular knowledge as worthwhile. It will not be necessary to go into detail about the retreat from the total Baker national curriculum to a slimmed-down version over the next 10 years. All that remained of the compulsory national curriculum for the 14–16 age group was the three core subjects and even they were reduced in content.

Without asking the question explicitly, the central authority in education had arrived at an answer that by the year 2000 the school knowledge that was considered of most worth was English, mathematics and science. But by the beginning of the new century a new subject was added to the compulsory national curriculum – education for citizenship.

The ‘Education for Citizenship’ Curriculum

During the 1990s, along with the reduction of emphasis on the non-core curricular subjects, one additional subject was emerging as ‘worthwhile knowledge’. The Conservative Party had remained in government from 1979 to 1997 when the Labour Party under Tony Blair emerged with a landslide majority. Given that Blair’s slogan was ‘education, education, education’ it might have been expected that a review of curriculum content would have been undertaken as part of a new vision. It was not. In education policy, as in many other respects, Blair was content to carry on with Thatcherite measures but pursued, he hoped, with greater efficiency and sometimes more money.

There was one exception to that general rule: the question of educating young people for democracy – a new subject ‘education for citizenship’ which was to be given high status by being compulsory for all in secondary schools and with some preparatory work in primary schools. This would indicate that someone in the government thought that this was knowledge of considerable worth. And it must have been backed by other members of the Labour Party and some in other Parties.

Several efforts had been made throughout the twentieth century to include citizenship or political education as part of the school curriculum. One problem was that even for those who regarded this knowledge as worthwhile it was, or might be, dangerous: ‘high risk – low pay-off’. One long-term advocate of the teaching of politics in schools was a professor of Politics at the University of London, Bernard Crick, who had worked in various ways to promote the idea of serious teaching of citizenship in the secondary school curriculum. Politics had been an optional subject for school-leaving examinations at 16 and 18, but Crick wanted the subject compulsory for all. The story of how he attempted to persuade educationists and politicians over a period of about 30 years that this knowledge was not only worthwhile but vital for democracy, is an interesting one which cannot be recounted in detail here. Crick had been involved in a variety of projects, notably one supported by the very respectable Hansard Society, which published ideas about ‘political literacy’ in schools in the 1970s. Nothing came of any of this during the Thatcher era, despite the tacit support of Kenneth Baker, and it was only with the change of government in 1997 that a serious project became official policy. One of Blair’s most ardent supporters was David Blunkett, who became Education Secretary in 1997. Much earlier, Blunkett had been one of Crick’s students and had been impressed by his ideas. He persuaded Blair to appoint Crick as Chairman of a Committee given the task of making recommendations for ‘education for citizenship’. The proposals were extensively discussed during a consultation period, and eventually passed into law as part of the national curriculum in the new millennium. All Party support was obtained.

The reason why political education became ‘worthwhile’ at the end of the twentieth century in England was that politicians as well as educationists, were worried by the fact that young people were extremely ignorant about this aspect of their own society, and secondly, that politicians in particular were worried about the low percentage of young people voting in general and local elections – especially the 18–30 age group and this was thought to be the result of ignorance and apathy rather than political sophistication.

At the turn of the century, as far as England was concerned, worthwhile knowledge consisted largely of English, mathematics, science and political education. Religious education was officially a requirement but did not carry the same kind of importance as the other compulsory subjects. This order of priorities was the result of, as we have seen, social and political pressures. But since the 1970s in England the major influence in education was economic: the need for better-skilled and better-educated workers associated with the desire to compete more efficiently with our industrial and commercial competitors.

What Knowledge Is of Most Worth — In the Twenty-First Century?

In the last section we gave the immediate answer to that question, but it is also important to have some concern for longer-term priorities in terms of knowledge and worth. What had not been seriously attempted, publicly, in the twentieth century, was the question, what else matters – what concerns, other than economic, should be reflected in the curriculum?

Educationists, including HMI, have from time to time voiced their concern about the lack of attention paid in primary schools, for example, to art, music and literature, and in secondary schools have bewailed the fact that few young people now continue to study such subjects as history and modern languages after age 14, when such subjects become optional. Any kind of cultural analysis has to address another question as well as what knowledge is of most worth, that is, the general purpose of education. And if it is the case that one important purpose of education is to pass on a selection from the culture in terms of what is regarded as of most worth, some attention has also to be paid to the question of balance. In other words, is the selection from the culture a balanced one? It is not enough for a young person to be educated in those kinds of knowledge which will enable him to earn a living; there are other requirements as well. For example, the kinds of knowledge that enable the young person to develop as an individual, such as the aesthetic subjects, or kinds of knowledge which make the individual a better contributor to society apart from citizenship; this would include such kinds of knowledge as the belief system, the morality system and the maturation system. All of which are comparatively neglected in most secondary schools. The immediate prospect for secondary schools in general having a balanced and worthwhile curriculum is, therefore, not good; we still need a thorough analysis of what constitutes a worthwhile education for all young people.

Summary and Conclusions

It is clear that the question enshrined in the title of this chapter cannot expect an answer which will be absolute, either in terms of time or place. Priorities will change from time to time and from place to place according to the social, political and technological pressures in a specific society. The best that educationists can do by means of cultural analysis is to settle for the parameters that should guide the selection from culture and

to point out when some forms of worthwhile knowledge have been neglected in the pursuit of more immediate priorities. If we go back far enough in our history – beyond the limits of our chapter title – the answer to our question might well have been theological knowledge. In the Middle Ages, theology was certainly ‘queen of the sciences’. After the Renaissance and Reformation, however, Latin and Greek history and literature became the knowledge regarded as worthy of the educated gentleman. Later, after the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century and then the industrial revolution, science and mathematics began to gain priority – more relevant in the modern world than Latin and Greek. Schools were sometimes slow to adjust to these social changes, but eventually the pressures on the curriculum were strong enough to ensure change.

Within the bounds of this chapter, that is, the twentieth century, we have looked at a number of political events in the history of education and tried to see what changes occurred and what social pressures brought them about. The extension of educational opportunity in 1902 was a mixture of demands for educated manpower as well as a reluctant acceptance of the need for a better-educated electorate. Even partial democracy strengthened the case for greater access to worthwhile knowledge. By 1944, secondary education for all was seen as an important principle due largely to the egalitarian changes brought about by the Second World War. But the chance was missed at that time of asking fundamental questions about what kind of education and therefore what kind of knowledge should be made available for all young people. After that, economic pressures, especially the demand for more skilled manpower, grew to such an extent that a common attitude to education was that its main purpose was ‘training for employment’. This philistine outlook was emphasised during the Conservative years 1979–1997, and contrary to the hopes of many in education, was continued under the Blair regime after 1997. The exception was the greater value that was placed on political education at the end of the twentieth century. It remains to be seen what will happen in the twenty-first century. Throughout the twentieth century it was often assumed and sometimes even explicitly stated, that a problem of knowledge and the curriculum could be seen in terms of a ‘common culture’. In the twenty-first century, this is unlikely to be an acceptable policy. England is now a pluralist society with strong cultural minorities. The most problematic of those is a large number of Moslem citizens (and perhaps non-citizens), who not only wish to retain their own belief system, but have also begun to demand their own morality system, their own language and their own schools. How to cope with that kind of pluralism is likely to be a major problem for some years to come.

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THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND RELIGION, KNOWLEDGE AND PEDAGOGIES IN EUROPE

Thyge Winther-Jensen

The last half of the eighteenth century is the period in European history which is normally known as the age of Enlightenment. The sources of this movement were tendencies which had already made themselves felt in the seventeenth century. John Locke (1632–1704), the English philosopher, had followed the tradition from Francis Bacon (1561–1626) by focusing on experience, particularly sense experience, as the foundation of human cognition. And rationalist philosophers like Descartes (1596–1650), Spinoza (1632–1677) and Leibniz (1646–1716) had supported the belief that it was rationally possible to solve the essential problems of human life. Both movements, empiricism and rationalism, were combined towards the end of the eighteenth century in a demand for enlightenment. The demand was based on a changed view on nature, society, and the human being. But it also influenced the view on education which itself was transformed and at the same time awarded a prominent role in the transmission of the new ideas. From now on education was seen as an activity which should be carried out independent of the church and serve only a secular society based on rational science, democracy and human rights (Grue-Sørensen, 1972; Winther-Jensen, 2004).

The society which gave rise to the Enlightenment was characterised by absolute monarchy. The social upheavals following the Renaissance and the Reformation had strengthened the power of kings and princes as both the Papacy and the Protestants needed them to fight each other. In the northern European Protestant countries, the king had been appointed supreme bishop and he had at the same time taken possession of church property. This was not the case in the southern European Catholic countries, but the Catholic Church needed assistance to fight against heresy in order to prevent the ideas of the Reformation from spreading further. Consequently, the church ended up being heavily dependent on the worldly powers. Only England avoided this concentration of absolute power, mainly because of inter-religious rivalry.

But the creation of absolute monarchies with supreme power in the hands of one person did not bring about the liberation of the individual which had prompted the creators of the Renaissance. One master – the church – had been replaced by another – the king – and the new master was as strict as the old one. Even though the medieval Christian teaching of equality and the Renaissance demand for individual liberty had prepared the ground for a different concept of what it was to be human it was

necessary to go back to pre-medieval times, to the Roman emperors, to find a similar concentration of power.

Everywhere a strict regulation of society was carried out by the monarch and the privileged classes, and everywhere the church, more or less reluctantly, blessed the absolute kings and princes. The alliance between the worldly and the clerical authorities appeared to be an invincible fortress, which on one hand made society safe, but on the other, kept it in fetters (Barth, 1925).

The ideas which in the long term would contribute to the breaking down of that fortress, however, had for a long time been on the drawing board under the unifying term 'The principle of Nature'. The last part of the eighteenth century is characterised by the fact that this principle is widely employed in the fields of thinking and in society. The principle was to become an important means in the struggle for more liberal enterprise for the individual and for society.

The Principle of Nature

Behind the principle of nature were a number of ideas with the mutual aim of creating a new basis for human thinking and cognition. Instead of the 'light of revelation' as the foundation for cognition there was to be the 'light of nature', that is, reason. 'Natural' was all that was left when the parts which could not stand up to a more thorough examination from human experience and reason had been cut away.

It began with the development of a so-called 'natural' religion. With the rediscovery in the Renaissance of the ancient philosophers it was revealed that many of the 'truths' which so far had only been revealed to us through Christ in the Gospels could also be found in the ancient philosophers. In Plato, and later on, the Stoics, the concept of one god was already active. In the work of the Roman philosopher Seneca the concept of the immortal soul was described vividly.¹ And the idea of Doomsday could be found in Plato's *Republic* (Plato, *Republic*, book X).

With the 'natural' religion eighteenth-century thinkers believed that they had created a religion which not only might help to reform the existing church, but would also bridge the different branches of the Christian faith.

But the principle of nature also became active and powerful in other fields of intellectual life. The name as well as the concept of natural law was already known from the classical concept of natural right, for example, with the Stoics, among others. It considered human reason as part of the universal divine reason. Natural right was consequently not the right of the strong, but a right based on universal equality and a universal personal liberty (Grotius, 2005). This concept was seized upon by all the great personalities of that age. John Locke, for example, compared natural law with the rational right wished by God (Locke, 2003; Russell, 1993, p. 603). Natural law gained substantial political importance, partly in the struggle for an improved state of law and partly in the designing of what later would be known as human rights. Locke (1964), in *Some thoughts concerning education*, advocated an upbringing based on natural principles. He spoke against an education through general rules and commands imposed on the child from outside and maintained through rewards and

punishments. Instead he recommended a character training matching the aptitude and nature of children.

An even more revolutionary use of the principle of nature was applied in the field of national economy. In his pioneering work, *Wealth of Nations*, 1776, the Scottish economist Adam Smith advocated 'natural freedom' as a principle when running the economy of countries. He strongly criticised the mercantile system and demanded that the state interfered as little as possible in the actions of the citizens, economic or otherwise. If only the economic forces were subjected to a free market in which the law of supply and demand had a free hand it would, like 'an invisible hand', regulate the economic forces to the good of the individual within a community as well as among nations (Smith, 1962).

The reduction of the religious contents in what stood up to the examination of experience and reason also gained importance in the field of ethics. The English philosopher A. C. Shaftesbury (1671–1713) claimed, in contrast to his master Locke, that ethics was independent of theology and that humans had a number of innate 'natural' moral urges which formed the basis for morality, the so-called moral-sense theory. Consequently, the age of Enlightenment contained a heavily moral, if not moralising, element.

Education would be another example. The principle had been in embryo with earlier thinkers like Montaigne (1533–1592). And in 1613 the German 'didacticus', Ratichius had asserted *Omnia juxta methodum naturae*, that is, all according to the method of nature, which to him meant, among other things, that learning your mother tongue should have priority over learning Latin (Vogt, 1894; Linderstrøm-Lang, 1903). Also the Czech educator, Comenius (1592–1670), who was influenced by Ratichius, included the principle of nature in his teachings (Comenius, 1910). However, it was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) who in *Emile* really established the principle in the educational field and who furthermore added a number of new dimensions (*Emile*, OC, vol. 4).

The Enlightenment View of Human Nature

One characteristic of man is that he explains and interprets himself, which again implies that he decides himself in whose picture he wants to form himself. While animals are born almost 'fully fledged', that is, with the capabilities and skills necessary to survive in their particular environment, but on the other hand disappear if this environment changes radically, man is capable of, through his formidable capacity for learning, adapting to all kinds of environments. Not only can he adapt to the physical or technological environment he is placed in, but he also has the capacity, through active learning, to form himself as a human being in harmony with the values on which his community is based (Winther-Jensen, 2004).

To throw light on the consequences of the human concept which stemmed from the Enlightenment it is useful to look at the previous period by considering some of the most influential views of human nature caused by penetrating spiritual and cultural upheavals.

The Classical View

According to the German philosopher Ernst Cassirer, the Greeks were the first to ask the question: What is man? In the pre-Socratic stages Greek philosophy was mainly concerned about the physical universe: cosmology overshadowed all other philosophical studies. Only Heraclitus was on the borderline between cosmological and philosophical-anthropological thinking. But Greek anthropology did not reach its zenith until Socrates. “Thus it is”, says Cassirer, “in the problem of man we find the landmark separating Socratic from pre-Socratic thought” (Cassirer, 1963, p. 4). Socrates’ entire search is aimed at the human existence. It is characteristic, however, that even though Socrates in all Plato’s dialogues analyses and discusses human qualities he never gives us a direct definition of man. Physical objects can be described through their positive qualities, but man can only be understood through his consciousness. Only through conversation – dialogue – is it possible to gain an insight into the very essence of man (Cassirer, 1963).

In Socrates’ and Plato’s preference for a pedagogy centred in dialectics and dialogue they used the analogy as a necessary method to examine the new problem they were facing: what is man? (Plato, *Republic*, book VII). When in the *Republic* Socrates is asked to define ‘a just man’ he does so indirectly by describing the just society and thus makes it possible here to read in capital letters what in man is written in small.

The classical Greek image of man is therefore a human being seeking to find himself through mutual questions and answers. It is a fundamental capacity in man that he is supporting himself by an unwavering faith in reason as the key tool available to him. It was this tool which Plato wanted to elevate to a supreme position in the lives of the community and the individual.

The Christian View

The classical human concept was carried on by the Stoics, but with the emergence of Christianity it was opposed by a new and powerful concept which added new dimensions. The Christian concept was particularly expressed in St. Augustine (354–430), a teacher of rhetoric and an admirer of Plato. As a Christian thinker, he criticised ancient philosophy for its optimistic belief in reason as the ruling principle in human affairs. With St. Augustine the biblical concept of human reason was introduced in Western culture. The classical concept of reason cannot be maintained, according to St. Augustine. It can only be saved through holy grace. Since the Fall, sin has become a fundamental feature in man. According to Cassirer: “Here, (i.e. in Augustine) we have come to a complete reversal of all the values upheld by Greek philosophy. What once seemed to be the highest privilege of man proves to be his peril and temptation; what appeared as his pride becomes his deepest humiliation” (Cassirer, 1963, p. 10). The encounter of the classical and the Christian concept can be traced right up to the seventeenth century. Comenius, for example, was indebted to Greek philosophy in spite of his Christian outlook. But in a less dogmatic way he placed education and enlightenment as a human-made means to give back to reason its original pure being (Winther-Jensen, 2004). Even though he at no time neglects to emphasise the importance of Revelation for the salvation of reason he became nevertheless with his universal educational ideal

– to teach all everything – a Christian example of what worldly means alone can do to save ‘reason’ about which Augustine was so suspicious.

The Rationalist View

In the wake of the Renaissance a new conflict between a Christian and a secularised concept of human reason began. The new concept was primarily a consequence of the so-called ‘new science’ announced by Francis Bacon (1561–1626) in *Novum Organum* (1620) and developed further in the fertile spiritual climate during and after the Renaissance.

Crucial for this new concept was Nicolaus Copernicus’ (1473–1543) discovery of the heliocentric system which launched human reason into a new crisis. The basic concept, up to then, that man was the centre of the universe, was abruptly ripped away. Man was now placed in infinite space. All at once human reason reduced man to an infinitesimal dot in an infinite universe (Landmann, 1964).

The Copernican picture of the universe meant a dethronement of human reason. It was no longer to be found in a hierarchical system ranked only second to God as the mediaeval line of thought had mainly emphasised. But it also gave ‘reason’ new challenges. By means of its new tool, science, it was given the new task to turn this apparent weakness into new strength.

The combined efforts of the seventeenth-century rationalist philosophers and scientists were needed, to overcome this new crisis in human self-perception, caused by the Copernican world system. People like Bruno, Descartes, Spinoza, Newton, Leibnitz and Galileo, each contributed to the solution of the problem, and their chosen means was *mathematics*. Mathematical reason became the bond between man and universe and mathematical thinking became the means to comprehend the cosmic and moral order. Humans had been forced to consider themselves as logical and rational beings who increasingly found support in the new science rather than in godly powers. Understandably enough, the relation between belief and knowledge became one of the key issues in the seventeenth century.

The Enlightenment View

These views about man, built up over time, were crystallised during the Enlightenment, into a new idea of man. The Copernican world picture had triumphed and the world was no longer a universe pervaded by God, but rather a machine regulated according to rational, that is, natural principles. God was only the initiator of the machinery. Human beings were looked upon as machines to be taken care of and to be regulated according to rational principles. To La Mettrie (1709–1751), author of the work *L’homme machine* (La Mettrie, 1996), education became a question of keeping the machine in good order and to add to it a big and carefully chosen range of sensations.

This kind of rationalistic thinking culminated during the Enlightenment and, at the same time, fused with empiricism. John Locke, whose thoughts had been introduced to the French philosophers of Enlightenment by Voltaire (1694–1778), considered conscious mental life as a product of the sensations reached through our senses. His *tabula rasa* theory which, however, also contained the idea of inner sensations and reflection,

emphasised that all spiritual powers develop through the senses, the only source of cognition. This is a prominent view in Condillac, for example (Condillac, 1984).

But both Locke and the French theorists, in contrast to the rationalists, considered experience to be the real source for our knowledge and denied all so-called a priori or innate factors. This concept necessarily had to ascribe greater importance than hitherto to education. “Poor education, few ideas” La Mettrie claimed, among others (Grue-Sørensen, 1972). It goes without saying that no religious ideas, but only rational ideas which could be the object of empirical experience, were allowed in such a programme.

It follows from this, that the Enlightenment was also a secular movement. The new science, for which the foundation was laid during the Renaissance, was meant to replace the church as an organiser of society and human relations. Worshipping was a personal affair that could take place irrespective of the church, and public institutions, including educational institutions, should no longer be subject to clerical supervision. Above all, human beings themselves were to be considered as products of their own personal endowments and individualities. This concept of what it was to be human had a crucial influence on educational theory, but it needed Rousseau’s eloquence before it was finally accepted.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Rousseau is, on the one hand, a representative of the age of Enlightenment, but on the other, not quite typical. In his treatise *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (OC, vol. 3, org. 1792) he strikes the theme which later becomes dominant in his work: precedence of nature and what is natural over art and artificiality. His works might fall into two parts. In the first part, which includes *Du contrat social ou principes du droit politique* (OC, vol.3, org. 1762), *De l’économie politique* (OC, vol. 3, org. 1755), and *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne et sur sa réformation projetée* (OC, vol. 3, org. 1772), he confronts existing social conditions with ideal demands for a different and better society. As far as education is mentioned it assumes the character of what we today would call a conforming, patriotic mass education in order to create and preserve an ideal society. This goes for *Considérations*, in particular.

In the second part, which apart from his classic educational/pedagogical ‘novel’ *Emile ou de l’Education* (OC, vol. 4, org. 1762) includes the second *Discours sur l’origine et les fondaments de l’inégalité parmi les hommes* (OC, vol. 3, org. 1755) and *La nouvelle Héloïse* (OC, vol. 3, org. 1761), the emphasis on society as a theme is less. In the *Second Discours* a paradisaical natural condition is praised. In *La nouvelle Héloïse*, family and family-based education in rural and idyllic surroundings are extolled, but in *Emile* too, society is kept at bay, at any rate for the first 15 years of Emile’s life. “How to live a human life”, it says, “is what I want him to learn. When he leaves me, he is – I admit that – neither, soldier, judge, nor priest; he is above all a human being” (OC, vol. 4, *Emile*, book 1). Man should be prepared for the fact that life only in rare moments will be ideal. Therefore, he must be educated to trust his own actions, experiences and thinking. This is the basic attitude in *Emile*.

In his works as a whole all the themes set out in the above are played through each in their own way. Among those the concept of *equality* is very dominant. In *Contrat*

social he combines the reform ideas in the two *Discours* into a radical political system which almost corresponds to direct democracy. The state was originally created on the basis of a social pact which everybody has subscribed to. Equality and personal freedom are considered to be ‘natural’ freedoms. Sovereignty lies with the people and cannot be disposed of or shared. The real ruler in the state is ‘the general will’ which absorbs the individual will. The law is an expression for the ‘general will’ and the people must convene regularly to give laws. The book became a bible for the men behind the French revolution and remains to this day, together with *De l’Esprit des lois* by Montesquieu (Montesquieu, 1949–1956), one of the most important documents from the Enlightenment in the development of modern democracy.

Contrat social contains no special emphasis on education, but the planned chapter on education appeared some years later as *Considérations*. In this Rousseau tries his hand at lawgiving, urged by a Polish patriot. The abstract state of *Contrat social* has now been replaced by the concrete fatherland or nation. In this treatise he ushers in the awakening European nationalism. The aim for education is now not only the republican or citizen of *Contrat social*, but the patriot who, for better or worse, has drunk in with his mother’s milk a passionate love for his fatherland. All means are used to further this attitude. For example, texts which are to be read must have patriotic contents which emphasise physical education with public and obligatory games and exercises, public competitions and a solemn awarding of prizes.

Further, in his works we see the concept of *reason* in the light of a new myth of the Fall of Man which in his version is secular and not religious. The Christian themes of stages of paradise, of sin and of grace are repeated in Rousseau with a secular emphasis: original natural stage, stage of culture, and a recreated stage according to the principles of nature. In Rousseau it is not the stage of sin, but the stage of culture which has corrupted and blurred human reason. The means of penance which must bring about recovery is not holy grace but a new education according with the principles of nature. This was the new and revolutionary education he described in *Emile*. In this he is in line with the philosophers of the Enlightenment when he demands that using the senses should be a central part of the new education. Reason was not – as in Plato – an innate quality characterising man from birth, but something which is gradually created through sense impressions, not through formal exercises, but through individually chosen activities in natural and realistic situations. Intellectual education through reading of books should be postponed until *Emile* is able to realise its usefulness. “Exercise his body, his limbs, his senses, his strength, but keep his mind idle as long as you can. Distrust all opinions which appear before the judgement to discriminate between them. Restrain and ward off strange impressions; and to prevent the birth of evil do not hasten to do well, for goodness is only possible when enlightened by reason” (OC, vol. 4, *Emile*, book 2).

With Rousseau, Plato’s thinking man is substituted with a *sensing* man. In this he agrees with the philosophers of enlightenment, but he differs from them by also pointing at *feeling* as an innate human quality. The strong emphasis on feeling which is so characteristic of Rousseau’s entire works is also a fundamental trait in his understanding of human beings. He considered feeling to be more original, valuable and ‘natural’ than reason and moved focus in our culture from reason, where it had been since Plato,

towards feeling. “Even though Spinoza, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume were his predecessors it is due to him that feeling has been recognized as an independent and particular feature in spiritual life ... (feeling) gives us our real merit: We are small in knowledge, but big in feelings” (Høffding, 1896, p. 101).

Man’s most fundamental trait he sees as his need to love himself. “Self-preparation requires, therefore, that we shall love ourselves; we must love ourselves above everything, and it follows directly from this that we love what contributes to our preservation” (OC, vol. 4, *Emile*, book 4). From self-love stems not only natural, human feelings like compassion, love for human beings, the religious feeling, but also fantasy and imagination.

His emphasis on feelings was without doubt contributory to the fact that he found himself in conflict with Diderot and the circle around *The Great Encyclopedia* (1755); they were all seized with – and, to a large extent, creators of – the spirit of rational enlightenment of the age. It was also due to his emphasis on feelings that posterity remembered him more as a forerunner of Romanticism than as a genuine representative of the Enlightenment.

The emphasis on feeling was also to influence his view on religion. The treatise *The Creed of a Savoyard Priest* which is included in *Emile* and rightly considered to be among the most beautiful he has written proves him to be a strongly religious person who may have taken up the “natural” religion of the age, but who at the same time bases it more on a subjective feeling than reason. (OC, vol. 4, *Emile*, book 4). The statement clearly indicates that the church no longer was needed as an intermediary between man and deity.

With the ideas presented by Rousseau and the philosophers of the Enlightenment the notion of education was changed forever: from a forming from the outside to a development from the inside of innate, ‘natural’ capabilities, from a curriculum based on bookish learning to an activity-oriented curriculum, and from a notion of knowledge as a product of deductive, rational thinking to a product of personal experience. The ideas became core elements in the educational reform movements that swept over Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and they are also recognisable in the American progressive movement. Although John Dewey (1859–1952) criticised Rousseau for elevating nature to a deity, many of Rousseau’s notions on education and knowledge are repeated in his pragmatic, child-oriented curriculum: the emphasis on growth, on problem-solving, on experience, and on activity-oriented teaching methods (Dewey, 1916, *Democracy and education*, MW 9). Especially Rousseau’s ideas gained their strongest foothold in the northern Protestant part of Europe (Germany and Scandinavia). His influence was less in the southern Catholic oriented part of Europe. This observation inevitably draws attention to the way in which the relation between state and church was dealt with during the Enlightenment.

State and Church

In the European Enlightenment you meet for the first time in history a concept of state which does not build on a religious ideology, but which constructs the state as a purely secular arrangement without divine authority or sanctions. But the path towards this concept had been long.

In 311 the Roman emperor gave up his struggle against the Christians and the following year Constantine the Great could appoint himself Emperor. Therefore, in 380 the government could officially offer its protection to all who followed the apostle Peter's creed, that is, Rome's, and denounce the adherents of different creeds as heretics. From that moment you can talk of a Christian state church – though not in a modern sense (Lindhardt, 1961). The theoretical argument was given by Augustine: God's state came to rule on earth, and did so through two regimes: the state as ruler of the earthly life and the church of the divine. Both were equal, but their fields were different (Augustinus, 1957–1972).

In the eastern Byzantine world this transition happened fairly easily. State and church merged totally. In the West it looked different as it proved very difficult in practice to define the limits between the two regimes. The Middle Ages were consequently characterised by severe struggles between church and state with the result that papal victory in the Middle Ages was turned into defeat when the national states came into existence and, through reformatory movements, led to rupture of the medieval church unity.

After the Reformation the states consolidated themselves with their state churches. In the Roman countries the Roman church kept its influence and remained a state religion, but in northern Europe the different national states allied themselves with mainly three reformatory types of churches, Lutheran, Calvinist or Anglican, and in 1555 in Augsburg in Germany the territorial system was phrased, which in practice became valid in all Europe. *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, that is, the political power decides the religion of the country (Bergmann, 1965–1972, vol. 2, p. 48). This was in harmony with the tendency of the times for Absolutism, and the church in all its forms considered it to be a natural task to state a dogmatic and biblical reason for the God given right of Absolutism.

But a state church often means coercion. Those whose beliefs did not coincide with those of the people in power had to escape and in America there was room for all. So here convened all those who had been persecuted in their home countries and when the North American free states broke away from Europe and created their own constitution – written by people with painful experiences of religious intolerance – built in the precondition that state and church must be independent of each other and that religious freedom was a human right and a principle of society" (Lindhardt, 1961).

This proclamation of human rights quickly reflected back on Europe. To the French democrats the existing alliance between royal power and papacy in France was the real enemy; the state only had their political interest; if the church was to exist it had to be in the form of an association of religiously like-minded people. As a consequence of this, the church programme of modern democracy was clearly expressed in two sentences: "Religion is a private matter, and as a consequence state and church must be separated" (Lindhardt, 1961, p. 46).

The new programme necessarily had consequences in the field of education. Following the age of Enlightenment the development moved towards even more separation between school and church, but with different speeds from state to state and slower than one should immediately think. Most radically they set about it in France with the Jules Ferry laws (1879). In this connection church and state had diverging

opinions, but the new school was altogether a state school (the *laïcité* principle). In order to emphasise this, religious instruction was abolished in public schools; it had to be a matter for homes and churches only. They were, however, so accommodating that one weekly day was free for religious instruction to be given outside the schools. Moreover, private schools, mainly Catholic, were allowed to give the religious instruction they wanted. The rules are still valid today and still cause frictions.

In contrast, England maintained religious instruction in the schools, according to the 1944 law, as the only compulsory subject. The Scandinavian schools also kept the religious instruction, but the clerical supervision of the schools was abolished in the first half of this century (in Denmark from the mid-1930s, when the vicar stopped being *ex-officio* chairman of the education committee).

If the principle of separation of church and state is carried out the problem seems to appear in a new disguise somewhere else. The USA can serve as an example. Although, from a *formal* point of view, there is no contact here between church and state, the contact is nevertheless widespread in practice. The state opens its festivities with religious ceremonies and its representatives must be very careful not to express themselves in such a way that one or more religious communities will take offence. More than 300 religious communities are reflected in the amount of private, clerical educational institutions (Lindhardt, 1961, p. 49). The complexity of the church–state issue in the USA has been manifested since the establishment of a free and universal system of public education in the nineteenth century and has been especially salient in the second half of the twentieth century. The central issue has been the meaning of the prohibitions that were set forth in the First Amendment of the Constitution, the so-called Establishment Clause which reads as follows: “Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof”. With the establishment of a public and state-funded educational system in the nineteenth century, one that would serve all classes and diverse religious groups, education became the site of the controversy regarding the constitutionality of (a) state aid to religious schools, and (b) religious instruction and other religious practices in public schools.

As to the former issue, the Supreme Court, which decides on such aspects of schooling when cases are brought before it, has decided that free school textbooks and lunches, auxiliary services such as public transportation, and public welfare benefits such as medical and dental services, for children who attended non-public schools did not violate the First Amendment of the US Constitution, that in Jefferson’s words established a “wall of separation” between church and state. Such benefits, according to the courts, did not imply public support of religious schools; based on the “child welfare theory” it was support of the children who attended such schools (Kliebard, 1968, p. 313).

The second issue, namely, religious instruction and other religious practices in the public/state schools, has taken several forms and continues to be problematic. The following Supreme Court cases involving the constitutionality of religious instruction and other religious practices in the public schools illustrate the complexity of this issue:

- a. In the state of Illinois (*McCollum v. Board of Education*, 1948), conducting classes in religion on school grounds, even by non-sectarian groups, has been judged to be unconstitutional (Kliebard, 1968, p. 313).

- b. In a celebrated “school-prayer” case in the state of New York, the Supreme Court decided that the daily recitation of a non-sectarian prayer in the public school system of the state was unconstitutional. The prayer read: “Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country”.
- c. In Pennsylvania (*Abington School District v. Schempp*), the reading of ten verses from the Bible, without any comment, at the beginning of each school day, was judged to involve the establishment of religion by the state, even though “the verses were to be read without comment, and any child could be excused from reading the verses or attending the Bible reading, upon the written request of the parents or guardians” (Spring, 2002, p. 262).

On the one hand, it is probable that the principle of a separation between church and state will go from strength to strength especially because of the increasing mixture of representatives of different religions in the European societies. On the other hand, history teaches us that religion and politics – that is, church and state – to a certain extent are inseparable and always will be related to one another in some form. But the whole problem deserves thorough comparative research. Lately the problem has appeared again in the question of whether the new EU constitution should contain a reference to the fact that Christianity is the basis for European civilisation.

Conclusion

The ideas and thoughts characteristic for the age of the Enlightenment are the result of developments that reach further back in time. Currently, there is increased interest which stems from the fact that new positions were taken on a number of inherited fundamental and principal questions about man, nature, society and education, which to a great extent also govern the way we organise our lives today; some would even suggest that we still live in the age of Enlightenment. For one thing the consequences of the scientific conquests and man’s new position in a world kept in balance by mathematical laws were realised. Even though faith in human reason was unabated, it was given a new interpretation. It was no more only considered to be an innate capacity in man, but also to be something which to a high degree is gradually built up through our senses. The idea that there is nothing in our minds which had not previously been in our senses had consequences for our concept of knowledge and its nature. Though knowledge was still considered an important product of reasoning sense experiences were from now on nonetheless regarded as a *sine qua non*. Locke’s empiricism and French sensualism left distinct marks on the educational thinking.

Rousseau deserves particular mentioning. On the one hand, he is a child of the Enlightenment. This made him an early forerunner of European reform of education. On the other hand, he distinguishes himself from it through his strong emphasis on feeling. This same emphasis also made him a forerunner of later romanticism and national movements.

The relationship between church and state was examined. The emergence of the modern liberal democratic nation state with its emphasis on freedom and equality necessarily led to confrontations with the church. The church was on the defensive and the concept of state, its role and function, were emphasised instead. This led to a demand for the separation of the state from the church. In other words, the foundation of the modern democratic state was laid and education was intended to play an important role in the new modernity project. When the nation states were created during the nineteenth century the educational ideas of the project became fused with the ideas of national navigators into different European traditions of education: French encyclopedism (Descartes), English humanism (Locke), North European naturalism (Décroly, Grundtvig, Kerschensteiner, etc.). This might not have been intended by the original representatives of the Enlightenment. They had a far more cosmopolitan approach.

Epilogue

But this approach might still be active. In the comparative literature you sometimes come across the concept, 'world system' which implies that certain demands on education become generally accepted across cultures and national borders (Boli et al., 1985). The explanation to this phenomenon is that the ideas which originated from the Enlightenment resulted in a new educational model which gradually became the foundation of European education. The model is characterised by a rational and secularised institutional structure, compulsory schooling and is based on values such as respect for the individual, religious tolerance, democracy and human rights. Apparently it has succeeded in establishing itself politically to such a degree – not least through the international organisations – that it makes sense to talk about a surprising universal uniformity along the lines modern mass education – though in different measures – develops worldwide. Observations of this kind have inspired some comparative scholars to talk about a 'world system', whose ideals the local national educational systems, more or less consciously, try to fulfil.

Whether justifiable or not to talk about a 'world system' *per se* there is no doubt that the ideas of the Enlightenment are still as active and influential as at the time in which they were fostered.

Notes

- 1 See two of his consolatory letters: *Consolatio ad Marciam* and *Consolatio ad Helviam*.

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THE CHURCH AND THE STATE IN ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL: KNOWLEDGE, RELIGION AND PEDAGOGY

Maria C. M. de Figueiredo-Cowen and Silvina Gvirtz

Introduction

In Latin America, the Catholic tradition is the basis of identity, originality and unity of the subcontinent. It is a historical and cultural reality, with only one exception in the twentieth century: the leftist revolutions in Cuba and in Nicaragua.

Historically and traditionally, the relations between the Church and the State have been very close, particularly during colonial times. The expansion of the Portuguese and Spanish empires, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries occurred in the name of the Crown and of the Church. In Brazil, for example, one of the first actions when the Portuguese first landed on the coast, of what is today Porto Seguro in Bahia, was the celebration of a Catholic mass.

With independence, later in the nineteenth century, tensions started to emerge in the new republics which came to favour a secular State, particularly under the influence of Comte's positivism among, especially, the military elites. Nevertheless, the Church continued to have a voice in public policies.

Education was one area of intense debates. Groups representing secularism and groups representing the Catholic Church, in their search to maintain political hegemony, had specific educational programmes which contained a vision of society and a pedagogical project.

This chapter will discuss the relationship between the Church and the State in different cultural, economic, political, and social periods in both Argentina and Brazil. The analysis will try to contextualise the efforts that different governments, the political and intellectual elites and the Catholic leaders undertook to define school curriculum, the knowledge to be offered to pupils and the many pedagogical practices to their individual political and educational projects. The chapter finishes with an identification of the Argentine and Brazilian similarities and differences in terms of the relations and patterns of their political ideologies, their different economic problems and their different educational practices.

State and Catholic Religion in Argentine Primary Schools: A Historical Approach (1884–2007)

The purpose of this section is to introduce a review of the historical development of the relation between the National State and the Catholic Church, as regards basic education in Argentina. Before 1880 education was basically provided by the families and the Church. The participation of the State in providing education increased dramatically in the last decades of the nineteenth century. At that time the conflict between the Catholic Church and the sectors who were running the National State increased dramatically.

So this part of the article comprises the period from the enactment of the national *Ley de Educación Común* (Common Education Law) no. 1420/84 (1884) up to the present. Special emphasis will be paid to the disputes by and between both actors about whether primary school should be Catholic or secular.

This analysis is structured on the basis of three relevant periods. The first one, where secularity prevailed in primary school, lasted from 1884 until 1930, after which Catholicism was re-established – starting with the conservative restoration of the 1930s and continuing during Perón's administration (1946–1955) – when the teaching of the Catholic religion in public schools became mandatory. The third and last period is from the end of the 1950s up to the present. Two aspects will be highlighted from this last period.

The Origins of the Argentine Primary School and the Regulation of Secular School Legislation: Public Law 1420 Passed in 1884

Different experts (Puiggrós, 1989; Tedesco, 1970) refer to the 1880s as a key decade for the construction of the Argentine National State and the simultaneous institutionalisation and massification of the basic educational system. During this period in Argentina, the different actors involved in the design of the national education agreed on the central role that the State should play in such affairs. However, they disagreed on whether the State should offer a secular or Catholic education. That is to say, if *public education* should be inspired in Christian doctrine and if the Catholic religion should be studied at schools.

As Braslavsky (1989) suggests, the convergence of opinions on the central position of the State as regards education, arose, among other factors, out of the institutional and organisational weakness of the Church.

Tedesco (1970) points out how religious freedom began to win the main battles as after Rosas' fall. Such freedom belonged to a project carried out by an entire generation of exiled liberals during Rosas' administration and was imposed in the discussion of the Constitutional Convention, which in 1853 and 1860 passed a Constitution rejecting Catholic standpoints and therefore the possibility of adopting the Catholic doctrine as the State's religion. However, the political strategies of the National State as regards the Church aimed at controlling it and thus avoided an institutional separation between the Church and the State.

During 1884, different actors, both liberals and Catholics, were faced in the national parliament under a process that finalised with the enactment of the *Ley de Educación Común* (Common Education Law) 1420.

Nevertheless, Tedesco (1970) points out that those liberals tried to justify secularity at schools on the basis of the strong immigration process undergone by the country during that time. To that effect, they focused on the immigrants from northern Europe, which resulted in the need of a school space characterised by its religious freedom.

The above mentioned Law 1420 set in place the gradual, free and secular nature of primary school in the City of Buenos Aires and National Territories. During the following years, the *Consejo Nacional de Educación* (National Education Council) constructed the necessary regulating measures to make effective “religious tolerance and neutrality”, which, pursuant to such law, should be obeyed at schools.

Therefore, the incorporation of secularity into primary school was a real defeat for the Catholic Church. The triumph of secularity in education crossed even the borders with national jurisdiction to provinces where the teaching of the Catholic doctrine was compulsory in official schools and, after 1884, was adjusted to the secular model embraced by Law 1420 (Campobassi, 1964).

Nevertheless, as time went by, the Church became stronger and thus its possibilities of offering education grew. At the same time, new social sectors began to consider Catholicism as a potential means to unify the nation. Therefore, the Church started to modify its viewpoint on educational matters and found the climax of its development during the conservative period that started in 1930 and continued during the Peronist period until 1954 and the last military dictatorship (1976–1983) (Braslavsky, 1989).

Catholic Education Is Back

Campobassi (1964) indicates that the first 45 years of enforcement of Law 1420 showed no major difficulties in applying the legal principle of school secularity and the teaching of the Catholic doctrine. Both conservatives (1884–1916) and radicals (1916–1930) respected and obeyed the legislation on “secular school”. Even the majority of the main educators of that time, such as Berra, Torres, Ferreira, Scalabrini, Vergara, Mercante, Senet, Ingenieros, Korn, González, Nelson and Vera Peñalosa supported the idea of the ‘secular school’ (Campobassi, 1964).

In 1930 (with a military coup) the conservative forces returned to the national and provincial political powers. During almost the three following decades there was, in the teaching in the primary school, an intense anti-liberal and anti-positivist preaching and action, developed under the consecutive protection of conservatism and Peronism. These were years of a strong offensive carried out by the Catholics in order to control public education. In these respects, Puiggrós (1993) points out how, as from 1930, the spiritual, nationalist-authoritarian movement began to advance in the political arena. At the same time, values and rituals of Catholicism started to gain space and influence, rather than the secular motif on discourses about school.

During the first years of the conservative administration, the resistance of different actors impeded the Church's offensive to defeat school secularity from resulting in national laws. However, this was not the case in the provinces. Some jurisdictions that had failed to adopt the Catholic doctrine as the official religion, during such years passed laws or decrees by which the teaching of Catholicism was implemented in primary schools. Among such jurisdictions, the cases of Buenos Aires and Santa Fé stand out (Campobassi, 1964).

The clerical offensive became stronger as from 1943, when the Armed Forces dominated and focused on the public arena (Campobassi, 1964). Puiggrós and Bernetti (1993) considered that the government arising out the strike of 1943 represented an ideology that did not allow for the continuity of secular education. On December 31, 1943, Decree 18.411 was passed. The teaching of the Catholic religion became mandatory in Argentina's primary schools. Catholicism was to be taught as "ordinary subject" within the curriculum. A period of the decisive rise of the school Catholicism thus culminated. Its beginning dated back to 1930 and its first victory took place in 1937, a year in which Catholic teaching became imposed in Buenos Aires province, under the administration of Manuel Fresco (Puiggrós, 1993).

The "Catholic revenge" within the framework of elementary teaching did not preach tolerance towards secular values. In these respects, Campobassi (1964) highlights the infinite number of slanders against everything that was non-Catholic, presented in the text books used for religion teaching. Civil matrimony, "false religions", liberalism and school secularity were clearly among the references of this advanced Catholicism.

The victory of Peronism in the general elections of 1946 ratified the path that had been adopted as regards Catholicism and primary school teaching. Law 12.978 passed on April 29, 1947 implemented the teaching of Catholicism in public schools. Two years later, the amended National Constitution declared that both the family and the private institutions were the pillars of the school system. As noted by Puiggrós and Bernetti (1993), the Constitution, far from establishing the State's hegemonic role as regards education, indicated participation in supporting private or community activities. This constituted since the origins of the national educational system the strongest step towards the encouragement of the development of private teaching.

Nevertheless, by the end of the Peronist era, a crisis arose in the relations between the Catholic Church and the State, and the more relevant consequence was precisely the annulment of the Law that years ago had consolidated the teaching of the Catholic religion in public schools. Therefore, Law 1420/84 was enforced. Provincial legislatures followed the national Congress and also annulled the corresponding laws of jurisdictional enforcement. As Campobassi (1964) points out, the whole power that the Catholic Church had gained in elementary education disappeared within only 6 months of confrontation with the Peronist administration.

Together with the so-called *Revolución libertadora* (Liberating Revolution) that toppled Perón on September 16, 1955, the Catholic sectors began to argue for the re-enactment of the decree of the year 1943. However, the new government maintained Law 1420 in force and thus a policy of secularity for the elementary school.

Religious Education from the 1960s to the Present

As from 1958, together with the election of Frondizi as President of the nation, new perspectives arose about Catholic education, unexpectedly fostering private education. This was the beginning, for the first time in national education history, of the construction of private education as an organic system. As indicated by Narodovsky (2001), the sustained and progressive change of the State's regulations towards private schools – that granted them more autonomy and the same legal status as that of public schools – constitute one of the most relevant characteristics of the State's education policy from the 1960s until today.

Finally, during the last dictatorship, between 1976 and 1983, there were five consecutive ministers of education in the national framework. Nevertheless, two administrations stand out: those of Bruera and Llerena Amadeo, characterised by their explicit interest in restoring order, hierarchies and authority, and for consolidating social sciences (Tedesco, 1983).

Special interest shall be paid to Llerena Amadeo's project, and his commitment to traditional Catholic ideology. He followed the most traditional line of the pedagogic authoritarianism. One of his fundamental goals was the limitation of the secularisation process. Therefore, during these years, the values of the Catholic doctrine were incorporated as components of moral education into the curriculum of the national elementary education. All through the country, there were different expressions of this incorporation. In some cases, the Catholic religion overlapped with the contents of moral education and, in others, it was directly taught as a school subject (Tedesco, 1983).

Catholic Education Today

According to the poorly developed school census of 1883, at that time there were a total of 437 private primary schools, 109 (25%) were religious. Today, almost 120 years later, one out of four Argentine non-university students attend private institutions (Morduchowicz, 2001); more than half of them (57%) get their education in Catholic schools. Even when the primary stage (EGB) is relatively the less developed within private education (it gathers 21% of students, against the 79% of the public sector), its participation in Catholic institutions in comparison to the total in the private sector is higher (63%) than that of the middle education (55%).

The encouragement of private education that the National State started, either in an explicit or implicit manner, by 1960, has modified the public tradition of the elementary school in Argentina. Braslavsky (1989) points out that, in this process, the Catholic Church succeeded in becoming the most powerful private education entrepreneur, currently the majority of the institutions offering private education in Argentina.

Perhaps, in conclusion, it is plausible to assume that, even when the Catholic Church as from 1960 began to develop a strong presence in Argentine education, based on its main role in the private education sub-sector, it has never ignored public schools, taking advantage of each opportunity offered by the different historical circumstances to

incorporate its religious values and ideology into the national curriculum. The Catholic Church is now one of the main actors in the educational arena.

The Church and the State in Brazil

Religious education in Brazil since colonial times was based on the official religion of the Portuguese Empire, later adopted by the Brazilian Empire – the Roman Catholic religion. With the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889, the legal separation between the Church and the State took place, as stated in the Constitution of 1891. The State became laic. No particular religion was named as an official religion, but, in practice, the teaching of religion continued to be the teaching of Catholicism (Cury, 2004). The most recent educational legislation – the Constitution of 1988 (Art 210) and the Law of Directives and Bases of 1997 (Art 33) declared religious education to be an integral part of the basic education of the citizen. It also established religious education as a discipline, with optional attendance in the school curriculum in primary and lower secondary State schools. Details such as the definition of the model of religious teaching, the curriculum organisation, the methodology and the kinds of teachers who should teach were given special attention.

Indeed the relationship between the Catholic Church, the State and education in Brazil has always been very close. It has taken different characteristics historically: the actors and roles have altered from the Jesuits and the overall control over education (in the colonial times) to ecclesiastics and Catholic intellectuals (in the early twentieth century) opposing the so-called educational reformers in debates on school curriculum, and higher education.

This second section of the chapter proposes, therefore, to analyse these tensions between the Catholic Church and the State in Brazil, particularly in significant *momenta* of the trajectory of the Brazilian educational system. It will try to point out the struggles the Church went through in trying to maintain a continuous and stable presence in the educational scenario, sustaining (or fighting to sustain) a hegemonic role in the formulation of educational policies. The counter-reactions from intellectuals and politicians advocating a free and laic educational system will also be sketched. Each group had a specific educational project with a model for the school curriculum, the kinds of knowledge that should be offered and the pedagogical methods to be used.

The Jesuits, the Colony and the Empire

With the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil, in the sixteenth century, the Jesuits were granted a privileged and hegemonic position in setting up and controlling the cultural and educational scenario of the new colony. They set up schools for catechisation of the native Indians and to provide basic education for the children of the administrators.

The Jesuits believed they had a supernatural right to be in charge of education. This right was taken away from them when they were expelled from Brazil by the

Marquis of Pombal, an influential politician and Prime Minister for King Joseph I, in the eighteenth century.

Thus, for about two centuries, the Jesuits controlled the school curriculum and the knowledge offered in schools in the Portuguese empire, metropolis and colonies. Overall, the educational principles of the Jesuits included: the search for perfection; total obedience to the superiors; and a very strong discipline. Education was at the core of their work: it served the purposes of catechism (for the native Indians), for evangelism (as an efficient instrument of counter-reform) and for the training of the elites in the colonies (Schwartzman, 1979; Maciel & Neto, 2006).

The Jesuit pedagogical experience was based on the *Ratio Studiorum*, according to which theology was at the top of the pyramid, followed by philosophy. The choice of books and texts was under strong control. New questions or opinions formulated by pupils were not permitted (Schwartzman, 1979; Alves, 2007).

The concept of pedagogy and the knowledge that should be offered in schools, according to the Jesuits' educational project, were subordinated to the Church and the religion. As Alves states:

The main objective of the Jesuits was to spread the gospel, and all the activities carried out by the priests in Brazil were subordinated to the Church and religion. The labour of the Jesuits required them to involve themselves in domestic political and educational matters, as well as meet the needs and interests of the Catholic Church. (Alves, 2007, p. 15)

Two Jesuits did a remarkable job in the provision of education in the newly conquered colony: Father José de Anchieta and Father Manuel da Nóbrega. They established a large number of missions in different regions of the colony, they created large schools and they were very inventive: with the constant lack of pedagogical material, they used songs composed by themselves, they distributed books and texts they wrote themselves, they set up dramas to teach Christian morals and religion (Alves, 2007).

The curriculum, the knowledge content and the methodology of the educational project implemented by the Jesuits in the colony, therefore, were mainly associated with the training of priests, the men of letters and the scholars. The teaching of Latin, grammar, rhetoric, humanities, and religious doctrine was the basis of the curriculum. The main concern was with moral education and saving souls.

The Jesuit control expanded so much that the Jesuits were asked for advice by the King and the politicians on matters of the State. Any important position in government or inside the Church was decided only after consultation with the Jesuits. The overall dominance of the Jesuits was also perceived by some politicians as blocking Portugal from modernisation, as if a barrier all around Portugal isolated it from the modern culture. Such a power started to upset a very influential politician, the Marquis of Pombal. When he became Prime Minister, he banned the Jesuits from Portugal and all Portuguese territories (Schwartzman, 1979, p. 14).

The Marquis of Pombal was Prime Minister from 1750 to 1777, under King Joseph I. Very controversial and charismatic, the Marquis of Pombal represented Enlightened Despotism in Portugal in the seventeenth century. Two places, London and Vienna,

where the Marquis de Pombal served as diplomat, had a remarkable influence on his pedagogical project of renovating Portuguese and colonial education. In London, he became convinced that the English economic success resulted from applying scientific knowledge to the productive sector (Falcon, 1982). In Vienna, as Serrão puts it:

[I]t was in this capital that the spirit of the Portuguese Minister, in contact with the world of politics and diplomacy, drank the great principles of the Enlightened Despotism which he would apply to his country on his return. From there he also brought, as understood by Maria Alcina Ribeiro Correia, the economic and cultural ideas which were the key elements of his government. (Serrão, 1982, p. 22)

While he was Prime Minister, Pombal promoted a series of reforms in the country, at the administrative, economic, educational and social levels. According to Maciel and Neto (2006), with the Marquis de Pombal, the Jesuit traditional methodology was replaced by a pedagogical proposal that advocated State and lay schools. The position of director of studies, with an advisory and quality-control role, was implemented; isolated classes (*aulas régias*) replaced the course in humanities, created by the Jesuits. Such innovative pedagogical proposals and new forms of curriculum aimed at offering the necessary conditions for the modernisation of Portuguese society.

The Pombal reforms – primarily secular – were indeed extensive. They expanded the school curriculum, with the creation of schools of mathematics and philosophy. Knowledge was fundamentally based on sciences and applied knowledge. Secondary education was changed radically, with special attention given to Latin, Greek and French. Vocational education was introduced with classes in trade and artillery. The dual system of education was implemented: popular education, with emphasis on spelling, grammar, arithmetic, Christian doctrine, and social and civic education, and education for the nobility through the ‘College of the Nobles’ (Avellar, 1983, p. 12; Teixeira Soares, 1961, p. 218; Schwartzman, 1979, p. 18).

Inspired by Luiz Antonio Verney, a philosopher of the Enlightenment, Pombal’s pedagogical project included the secularisation of teaching, the importance of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, French, Physics, Anatomy, and free and laic schooling. Azevedo summarises well Pombal’s pedagogical proposal:

Instead of a single system of education, the duality of schools; instead of an education entirely classic, the development of scientific teaching ...; instead of the exclusive teaching of Latin and Portuguese, the progressive penetration of modern languages and literatures (French and English); and, finally, a variety of trends ... open up the ways to the first conflicts between the old ideas, embedded in the Jesuit teaching, and the new pedagogical thinking, influenced by the French encyclopaedists. (Azevedo, 1976, pp. 56–57)

In the colonies, the educational reforms under Pombal aimed at restoring the State control over education, secularising education, and standardising the curriculum. Schools were set up in different villages, one for boys and another for girls. The curriculum and

knowledge content was also differentiated according to gender: boys would learn how to read, write and count, and the Christian doctrine. Girls would learn how to look after the house and how to sew (Salem, 1982; Maxwell, 1996).

One direct consequence of Pombal's pedagogical reforms was the progressive loss of prestige and power of the Catholic Church at the educational and political arenas. However, the Church never gave up hopes of regaining the same privileged position – of playing a major role in education in Brazil. The loss of power resulted initially from Pombal's policies, then from the impact of the French Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, and, particularly, under the French Positivism wave that influenced the political, cultural and educational stances of Brazil.

The Republic, the New State, and the Military Regime

During the Empire, in the nineteenth century, right after Independence, following the Constitution of 1824, the Catholic religion was declared the official religion of Brazil. But the Church had a very submissive position to the government (Iglesias, 1971). The situation became much worse with the Proclamation of the Republic, in 1889. Brazilian generals, politicians, and intellectuals, under the leadership of Benjamin Constant, favoured the ideas of Comte and of the French Positivism in politics and in education.

Indeed, in Brazil, as well as in Argentina, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, among other Latin American countries, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, educational policies were framed by the principles of Positivism. Sobreira points out:

[T]he Positivism answered the issues raised by the Republicans i.e. the split between the Church and the State, the idea of a republican dictatorship, the appeal to a strong and interventionist power, the progress through the State, the rejection of the monarchy and the incorporation of the proletariat to the new society. (Sobreira, 2003)

Positivism influenced profoundly the Republican leaders. As Carlos Roberto Jamil Cury states:

From an officially Catholic country through the Imperial Constitution, we became laic with the Magna Carta of 1891, which proclaimed freedom of religious and freedom of expression, but prohibited the State from establishing any religious worship, from having any financial responsibility, and from creating any form of alliance. (Cury, 2004, p. 188)

At the time of the proclamation of the Republic, industrialisation was emerging; the urbanisation process was gaining strength; immigration from Europe was increasing; and a strong urban middle class started to grow, similarly to emerging industrial and working classes. Therefore the new social and economic classes hoped to have a more effective participation in the rapidly changing society. In counterpart, in politics, the

new political regime was becoming weaker. The elites, from the coffee-based oligarchies, were facing opposition from the new social classes. Different political, social, mainly urban, movements emerged, with proposals for the reformulation of society, education included. An example of such social, political and cultural commotion is the Week of the Modern Art in 1922 and the founding of the Communist Party (Iglesias, 1971).

The Catholic elites (ecclesiastics and intellectuals) started to reorganise themselves in order to offer alternative proposals for the reformulation of society and education. The journal *A Ordem* (*The Order*), launched in 1921, and the creation of the Centre D. Vital, in 1922, played a very important role in what Salem calls the “Catholic renaissance” (Salem, 1982, p. 4).

The Catholic movement was not an isolated action. The weak political frame of the First Republic stimulated the emergence of different movements which were advocating their own proposals for reforming society, as it happened with the Catholic movement. With the Revolution of 1930, the Church did regain some legitimate power. Thus, education became an important element of bargain. Educational reforms were seen as paramount for the reformulation of society (Salem, 1982; Cury, 1978).

Soon, two pedagogical proposals dominated the national debate on education for almost a decade, during the 1930s. The Catholic group interpreted education from an ideological perspective – education would serve as a basic instrument for structural transformations in society. What became important was a version of education framed by the teachings of the Christian doctrine (Cury, 1978; Nagle, 1974; Salem, 1982). The Catholic proposals involved the dissemination of a higher Catholic culture and the insertion of Catholic legislation in the Constitution.

Intellectuals such as Jackson de Figueiredo, Alceu de Amoroso Lima, Father Leonel Franca, Sobral Pinto, and the Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, D. Leme, played a major and extremely important role in the Catholic movement of the first half of the twentieth century. They all shared the same vision of transforming society through education (Cury, 1978; Salem, 1982).

The Catholic movement gained a new impetus during the 1930s, with a series of organisations such as the Association of the Catholic University Students, the Catholic Institute of Higher Studies, the National Confederation of Catholic Workers, the Confederation of the Catholic Press, the Association of Catholic Bookshops, the *Mariana* Congregation, the Workers Circles, the Association of Catholic Teachers. Such organisations had an impact on different sectors of national life. Very important also was the Brazilian Catholic Action, created in 1935.

During the 1930s, education became a major issue nationally. As Schwartzman states:

[I]t was only with the so-called “Revolution of 1930”, which brought Getúlio Vargas to power and began a new period of political centralization, that education finally appeared as a national priority. (Schwartzman, 2004, p. 17)

It is precisely in the period between 1930 and 1945 that the Catholic movements enjoyed its major prestige. Of course this was helped by the political situation before and just after the 1930 Revolution. The State formed a heterogeneous coalition of rather weak political parties. This gave to the Church more bargaining power including

the redefinition of its influence vis-à-vis the relationship with the State. This is well illustrated by Salem:

D Leme ... in the inauguration of the statue of Christ the Redeemer in 1931, which gathered several groups of Catholics ... warns: "The name of God is crystallized in the soul of the Brazilian people. Either the State acknowledges the God of the people, or the people will not acknowledge the State." The warning ... was immediately understood by Vargas. From that time, a new phase in the relationship between the temporal and ecclesiastic power begun to consolidate; from a situation of separation and lack of harmony between the two institutions it moves to a situation of cooperation and progressive closeness. (Salem, 1982, p. 10)

Four main themes were consistently important issues for the Church. The first was the fight against communist infiltration in Brazil; the second, the non-legalisation of divorce; the third, the official recognition of the Church, by the State, to be inserted in the Constitution; and, the fourth, the introduction of religious teaching in schools.

The battle against Communism was going to be a long process but the output for all the other policy-areas were almost straightforward gains. In the Constitution of 1934, for example, the religious wedding was made official; religious education was reintroduced in the school curriculum. Education was a kind of important negotiating tool used by politicians and by Catholic intellectuals in order to bring together the Church and the Vargas government. The Ministry of Education, in the early 1930s, Francisco Campos, for example, wrote to Vargas arguing the necessity of re-establishing an alliance with the Church through education (Lima, 1931; Cury, 1978).

Opposing the Catholics in the debate about education was the group known as the Pioneers of Education, followers of the New School Movement. This movement, which had its origin in a similar movement which emerged in the USA and in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, was based on John Dewey's ideas. It represented a reaction against the traditional pedagogical practices and aimed at an education which would promote the integration of individuals in society and a wider access to schools. This group consisted mainly of the so-called progressive educationists and important scholars such as Lourenço Filho, Afrânio Peixoto, Hermes Lima, Carneiro Leão, Anísio Teixeira, Fernando de Azevedo who conceptualised education on a different basis. They published in 1932 the *Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New Education*, written by Fernando de Azevedo, based to a large extent in the ideas of Anísio Teixeira and signed by a large number of the Pioneers (Azevedo, 1932). The *Manifesto* soon became the clear divider between the progressive group and the Catholic group. For the Pioneers, education and the expansion of schools was an important mechanism that could guarantee the insertion of the country in the developed world.

Educational reforms should take place following a specific pedagogical epistemology, which was based on John Dewey's philosophy, mostly on the concept of education as the only means for the implementation of a truly democratic society where individuals would be respected. Teixeira, after reading Dewey and after becoming acquainted with the American pragmatism, was greatly influenced by ideas on democracy and science; he believed that education was the only instrument able to generate changes in the modernisation needs of the country. The Pioneers of Education of the New School,

similarly to the Catholic groups, gained institutional support through the creation of the Brazilian Association of Education, in charge of organising lectures, courses and conferences (Cury, 1978; Salem, 1982; Piletti, 1996).

The main ideas of the *Manifesto* included the following themes: education is a means of reconstructing democracy in Brazil; it ought to be essentially public, compulsory, free of charge and lay; any discrimination based on differences of race, sex or kinds of study should be excluded; education must also be carried out inside communities; education ought to be unified and suited to attend all stages of human development; unity does not mean uniformity; education must be adapted to take account of regional characteristics; the pupil ought to be the focus of education; and the curriculum must be adapted to the pupils and their interests; every teacher, even those who teach in primary education, ought to be educated at a university (Piletti, 1996, pp. 177–178). These themes translated the pedagogical project of the Pioneers of Education, which clashes with the Catholics pedagogical project particularly in two areas – the confessional and the private aspects of education.

Some of the scholars of the New School, at the time, held important positions in different states of Brazil. They transformed their pedagogical principles into public policies through educational reforms in different states and in the Federal District. The political moment in Brazil was very favourable to reforms and new educational policies. The country was undergoing important political, economic and social changes – urbanisation was under rapid progress, the expansion of coffee plantations brought along industrial and economic progress, and liberalism emerged as a strong political and philosophical ideology (Schwartzman, 2004; Piletti, 1996). Anísio Teixeira, for example, was State Secretary of Education of the Federal District, Rio de Janeiro, from 1931 to 1935. He was able to plan and implement educational reforms locally, within the principles that oriented the New School Movement. Teixeira created a municipal system of education, from primary school to higher education. He introduced modern school architecture, expanded the number of places in schools, introduced the system of secondary technical schools and transformed the Normal School into an Institute of Education. Teixeira also assured the dissemination of his educational ideas and projects by his writing. Publications such as *Educação Progressiva – uma introdução à filosofia da educação* (Progressive Education – an introduction to the philosophy of education) and *Em marcha para a Democracia* (Towards Democracy) were published in 1932 and 1934, respectively, during his term of office at the Secretariat of Education in Rio (Cury, 1978; Schwartzman, 2004).

The principles the Pioneers believed in and fought for included the restructuring of educational systems which would lead to national reconstruction. This meant that those in control of educational systems were those who would hold power. More important than power in Teixeira's concept of education in a changing society is the notion that the school should be prepared to train the new man, a modern man integrated to a democratic society. Hence, Teixeira's beliefs in science, in the scientific method and its technical applications (Teixeira, 1968).

The Catholics too believed that new pedagogical projects were of a political nature. Thus education would be an important instrument of power. Like Teixeira and other Pioneers of Education, Alceu de Amoroso Lima and Father Franca offered their

arguments as advocated by the Church in a number of books and articles (Franca, 1931; Lima, 1931). One argument put forward by Alceu de Amoroso Lima was about spiritual revolution as the only basis for the re-implementation of order in society:

[T]he spiritual unity of the nation is no longer, for the liberalism, a concern of a public nature. All sorts of unity are considered: political unity, legal unity ... The only unity that the political liberalism of today has no interest in is the spiritual unity which is, however, the basis of all others. (Alceu, 1931, pp. V–VI)

At the core of the criticisms of the New School Movement by the Catholics was the concept of the laicisation of education, a key idea in the project put forward by the Pioneers of Education. For the Catholics, the pedagogy advocated by the New School educators had to be opposed as it had no consistent pedagogical principles. In such a project, sciences dominated philosophy and ignored the supernatural aspect of the human being. Such pedagogical projects presented a purely utilitarian and pragmatic character. Education, for the Catholics, had to be religious; the lay school, because it rejected education, was unable to educate (Franca, 1931; Lima, 1931).

Another issue in these debates referred to who should be in charge of education. The pedagogical proposal of the Pioneers of Education argued for the pedagogical monopoly of the State. The Catholics' proposal referred to the Church and the family as the main institutions in charge of education. The State would have just a coordinating role in the provision of education (Cury, 1978; Salem, 1982).

Finally, the legislation of 30 April of 1931 established the optional character of religious education in State schools. It satisfied the claims of the Catholics. However, the conflicts between the two groups did not cease. Rather than consensus, with the *fait accompli* – the 1931 legislation – the two groups continued the debates.

Thus, after 1931, under the pressure of the Catholic movements, religious education was included in the school curriculum as a discipline, but of an optional attendance. In subsequent Constitutions, including the last one in 1988, religious education remained legally part of the school curriculum in both State and private schools. But the matter continues to be highly complex and controversial within the context of a laic State, a secular culture and the multiplicity of creeds (Cury, 1993).

The late 1930s were marked by a sequence of activities. The Association of Catholic Teachers and the Brazilian Catholic Confederation of Education started to promote conferences and courses nationally. The aim was to formulate an educational policy based on the Christian doctrine. There were gains from both sides – the Catholics and the Pioneers. The Constitution of 1934 recognised semi-officially the Catholic Church by inserting articles stating the recognition by Civil Law of the religious wedding, the dismissal of divorce, and the incorporation of facultative religious education in state schools. As a counterpart, in the same Constitution of 1934, it was stated that it was the privilege of the State to intervene in matters related to the National Plan of Education. It also stated that primary school would be free and compulsory for all. Therefore, both groups had their basic claims approved by the State. However, Lima speaks of the lack of a precise pedagogical project from both groups:

If the merit of the Catholics was to emphasise the national dimension, that of the reformers was to open an opportunity that the non-dominant social groups did not benefit from. ... The birth of the school of the people was far away. Education continued to be an agent of the dominant classes. (Cury, 1978, IX–X)

In the pedagogical proposal of the Catholics, the knowledge that should be offered in the schools is the Catholic vision of the world and of men:

Such a pedagogical ideal is provided not by the experimental sciences but by a concept of life dictated by the speculative sciences. These, in turn, are governed by ethics which are subordinated to theology. (Cury, 1978, p. 54)

In contrast, the Pioneers of the New School argued for a pedagogical proposal whose knowledge content is based on sciences:

Hence such (educational) sciences are to be based on the social sciences and those which intend scientifically to discover the normal processes that act upon the human being. They are, for example, Physiology, Biology and Psychology. Biology requires the harmony of education with the tendencies of children. The social sciences locate the role and social function of the school. This forms the *scientific basis* of the school organisation. (Cury, 1978, p. 83)

Thus the tensions between the Catholics and the liberals lasted almost 20 years. These tensions were also evident in relation to higher education. The first movements from the Church to the creation of Catholic institutions of higher education in Brazil emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century. The aim, similar to the creation of the Centre D. Vital, was the co-optation and the religious teaching of the elites. A few institutions, such as the Association of Catholic University Students and the Catholic Institute of Higher Studies, were implemented to offer support to the Church in relation to their proposals for a Catholic higher education (Salem, 1982).

The first attempts to offer formal courses at higher education level were provided by the Catholic Institute of Higher Studies. Initially the curriculum was limited to three compulsory disciplines (Sociology, Philosophy and Theology) and three facultative ones (Introduction to Law, to Mathematics and to Biology). Later the curriculum expanded considerably. As pointed out by Salem, in the late 1930s, the number of students rose to 200 (Salem, 1982, p. 18).

Of course, the task of providing Catholic studies at higher education level was not an easy one. According to Decree 19.851, of 11 April 1931 which implements the Statutes of the Brazilian Universities, the State was given a strong role in terms of administering and controlling higher education, thus keeping the Church away. So for the Catholic leaders and scholars it became clear that they would not have the support of the State to implement their Catholic model of university. The Catholic Institute for Higher Studies, created in 1932, set out the first grounds of the future Catholic University. As Salem points out:

[T]he Catholic University is considered by the Catholic and Church leaders of the time as having a dual political meaning ... it would be an institution which would oppose the laic education and mentality, it would guarantee the solution of national crises; and it would block the penetration of the communist ideology in the country ... the Church supposedly would reach its aims of re-evangelisation of society and of the State itself. (Salem, 1982, p. 21)

The Catholic Institute for Higher Studies was meant to provide an alternative model of university in Brazil. The belief among the Catholic scholars and ecclesiastics was that this would liberate the university from State rule, as it should always belong to the Church. Naturally, the Catholics were upset with the creation of the first state university in 1934. They considered the University of the Federal District, implemented with the support of Anísio Teixeira, as laic and anti-Catholic. There were even claims that the new institution would make easier the Americanisation of Brazilian education or even favour the transformation into a Communist institution (Salem, 1982).

The need and urgency to have a Catholic University was claimed in the First Council of Brazilian Bishops in 1939. Two years later the first Catholic Faculties were implemented, after having received the official approval of the National Council of Education. The courses included Law, Philosophy, Literature and Languages, Geography, History, Social Sciences and Pedagogy. They were geared mainly to the training of secondary school teachers, within the Catholic pedagogical framing. All the Faculties included in the curriculum a course of religious culture (Salem, 1982). In 1942, by governmental legislation, the Catholic Faculties were granted power to award their own certificates, similarly to the federal and state universities. In 1946, through Decree 8.681, the Catholic Faculties were upgraded to university level, the Catholic University.

Today, the knowledge and curriculum provided by the Catholic Universities go beyond religious education. Almost all areas of knowledge are offered, from humanities to sciences in almost every state in Brazil. They are private, as are 2,000 institutions. Still today, the Federal and State universities in Brazil fight vigorously against any government financial support of any kind for the private universities. Most of the Catholic universities are institutions of excellence.

In the second half of the twentieth century, there were dramatic changes in the Brazilian economic and political life. The military elite, associated with the economic elite, took power, in 1964; democratic elections were banned; educational reforms at primary, secondary and higher levels took place in the 1960s and 1970s, following the economic and political ideology of the military regime (Figueiredo, 1986, 1987). The Church had a different role in the political and cultural life, during the military regime. Initially allied to the military government, in 1964, it opposed the regime when issues about torture started to emerge.

The Episcopal Latin American Conference in Medellín (Colombia), in 1968, was a turning point in the position of the Church. Inspired by the principles of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the actions of the Church moved towards the material conditions of the population. In Brazil, certainly the Church was vital in the process of re-democratisation of the country through the Basic Ecclesiastic

Communities (Comunidades Eclesiais de Base) and the Theology of Liberation (Castro, 1984; Pucci, 1984).

Religious Education Today

The teaching of religion in state schools cannot be treated as a simple question of curriculum. The dialectic between secularisation and laicism embedded in sociocultural contexts has to be considered.

In fact, the Constitution of 1824 established Catholicism as the religion of the Empire (Pauly, 2004). The Republican Constitution of 1891, under the influence of the Positivism, abolished religious education from the school curriculum, declared education as secular, and the Church was separated from the State (Pauly, 2004). In all subsequent Constitutions, as mentioned previously, religious education became a constitutional matter. Through Decree 19.941 of 1931, Vargas

reintroduces the teaching of religion in state schools, authorize the Church authorities to design the programmes, to choose the textbooks, appoint teachers and supervise their fidelity to the doctrine and moral. (Cury, 1978, p. 175)

Since 1931, overall, the teaching of religion, although optional, was rather of a catechist nature and remained outside the list of regular disciplines of the school system. The teachers were not allowed to be in the state payroll. There was no consensus on the content of teaching. The majority of teachers of religious education in schools normally belonged to a specific religious order. In other cases the teachers were members of the community, involved in catechism or other religious activities. Such *status quo* remained until the 1990s.

New definitions about the kind of knowledge religious education should offer, and its place in the school curriculum, started to emerge when Law 9.394 of Directive and Basis of National Education, of 1996, Article 33, confirmed religious teaching as a duty of the State, as an optional discipline: “Religious education, of an optional enrolment, is a discipline within the normal timetables of primary and lower secondary education in state schools, and will be offered, without costs for the State” (Cury, 2004). The counter-reaction of the Catholics was immediate and effective. In 1997, Law 9.475 amended Article 33 maintaining the compulsory provision of religious education in the curriculum and its optional nature. It also opened up the possibilities for using public money for teachers’ salaries (Cury, 2004). At the same time, the new text of Article 33 introduced some innovations: religious education would integrate the education of the citizen; each educational system would regulate the process of the definition of the syllabus as well as the training and recruitment of teachers (Cury, 2004, p. 186). Heavily involved in the discussions about and advice on the kinds of knowledge to be offered in religious education is the Permanent National Forum of Religious Education (Forum Nacional Permanente do Ensino Religioso – FONAPER), created in 1995. The FONAPER has been very active in the promotion of courses, in writing documents and publications, in the definition of the knowledge that ought to be

in the curriculum, as well as in the training of teachers. The Curriculum Parameters for Religious Education, as set out by FONAPER, include the emphasis on the importance of a pluralist and diversified society, on the religious traditions in different sociocultural contexts, and on the moral attitude of human beings.

The implementation of the curriculum parameters have, though, varied in the different states of the country. The discussions are still very much on. The association of politics has some bearings with the past. Recently, schools managers and teachers have been suggesting that a pedagogical school project is a political project as it is based on a certain vision of the world and a certain ideology.

Finally, the discussions about secular education and lay education go beyond a “curricular component in schools”, according to Cury (2004, p. 183). The lack of continuities in educational reforms planning and implementation is far more complex. The difficulty may reside in the historical social-context in which such reforms take place.

Conclusion

Argentina and Brazil have kept, perhaps, a balance between what they have in common and their differences. Linguistically and culturally, the differences are quite striking. Portuguese and Spanish are Romance languages, sometimes leading to embarrassing confusions. The Argentine tango and the Brazilian samba are much embedded in each culture and do not transfer (in any serious way) between the countries. Politically, both societies have, since Independence, oscillated between strong, authoritarian (very often military), and democratic governments. Even a huge national shame – torture – has tarnished some periods in the history of both countries. Economically, both Argentina and Brazil have gone from real stages of economic stagnation to a flourishing economy – though not always at the same time.

In education, the similarities are evident since colonial times. As in Brazil, the Jesuits dominated the whole Argentine educational system. They built schools throughout the colony, and they were in charge, teaching and evangelising. Only a very few schools were under the control of municipalities.

With independence, throughout the nineteenth century, the political system was rather different in Argentina and in Brazil. So was the educational system. In Brazil, there was an Empire. Up to the Proclamation of the Republic, the Catholic Church was the official Church and religious education was compulsory. In contrast, in Argentina, for only 3 years, from 1943 to 1946, was religious education – compulsorily – part of the school curriculum.

In both countries, the tensions between the Church and the State loosened occasionally but never disappeared. A strong alliance had been formed with conservative governments. Whenever democracy is restored, as has happened in the late twentieth century, especially since Tancredo Neves’ election in Brazil and since Raúl Alfonsín in Argentina, the Catholic Church has maintained its influence in the formulation and implementation of educational policies. In Brazil, for example, the 1997 legislation resulted from pressures from the Catholics to change Article 33 of Law 9396 of 1996 – religious education, of an optional nature, remains integral part of the school

curriculum. In Argentina, it was again the Church which blocked the Kirchner government from introducing a new curriculum content based on the evolution theory.

Equally powerful in both countries is the presence of a high quality level system of private Catholic schools. A number of them have been able to get subsidies from the government in order to offer places to the working class. This is an invisible, very powerful action of the Church in Argentina and Brazil, as well as elsewhere in Latin America. It should not be underestimated.

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CONFUCIANISM, MODERNITIES AND KNOWLEDGE: CHINA, SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN

Terri Kim

This chapter offers a critique of the Confucian legacies in East Asian modernities, knowledge and pedagogies. Specific examples are drawn from China, Korea and Japan for comparative analysis. The three countries in East Asia have all experienced the historical repetitions of discarding and then reviving the Confucian legacy at different times of modernisation. However, they all have kept the strong Confucian *pedagogic* culture, which frames the ways in which knowledge is transmitted and applied to define modernities in East Asia.

Confucianism has a huge continuity – although it has been travelling widely and rewritten over time. There have been various East Asian historiographies, writing and rewriting the Confucian legacy in East Asian modernisation since the late nineteenth century. Scholars attributed the lack of development in East Asia to that tradition initially, before more recently attributing the success of these countries to the same tradition (Bellah, 1957, 1968; Eisenstadt, 1968; Morishima, 1982; Weede, 1996; Bell & Hahm, 2003).

In other words, Confucianism has been used to account for both the failure and success of modernisations in East Asia over time. Confucianism used to be condemned as a major cause for the economic stagnation of East Asian countries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and then started to be praised as a major constituent in the belated but rapid economic take-off and sustained industrialisation process in Japan first, whose path was followed by South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and now China (Berger, 1986, 1988; Tu, 1984, 1996; Tai, 1996).

Overall, Confucianism has been a frame of reference to explain East Asia as if the legacy of Confucianism is the key to understand the commonality of the East Asian enigma of late development and fast modernisation. The Confucian paternalistic modalities of family and social relations (Bell & Hahm, 2003), and the public significance of educational credentials in training and selecting the governing elite, Mandarin cadre (Zeng, 1999; Wilkinson, 1964, 1969) have been acknowledged as a chronic attribute to both the retardation and remarkable success in economic development in East Asia (Woo-Cumings, 1999).

Although interpretations of Confucianism have been written at different times in both positive and negative ways, it is argued that what has *not* changed is the acknowledgement of Confucian “pedagogic” attributes to East Asian education and societies. The pedagogic

attributes of Confucianism such as filial piety and patriarchal authority can be identified broadly in the characteristics of Confucian political and social relations sustained in the extended family-like “network institutionalism” (Ansell, 2006), which generates interdependence, mutual obligation and reciprocity, and strictly hierarchical social relations according to age, gender and status. However, these characteristics may be identified also as the common attributes of non-Western, and/or ‘traditional’ societies.

What is regarded as uniquely Confucian is the East Asian ‘secularism’ and ‘meritocracy’ epitomised in the tradition of exam-oriented schooling and the exam-based selection of the civil servants in East Asia. The state’s control over school curriculum and other facets of schooling and selection processes in East Asian countries in order to guarantee the merit-based equality of educational opportunity, in principle, can be regarded as a particular attribute of the Confucian pedagogic tradition.

Whether this proposition is true or not in practice, and how the Confucian pedagogic elements are sustained or distorted in the contemporary real-life contexts in China, South Korea and Japan will be examined. Accordingly, the chapter is organised in the following thematic order: (i) Confucian concept of modernity; (ii) the nature of knowledge and education in Confucianism; (iii) East Asian modernisation and the attributes of Confucianism; (iv) East Asian pedagogic commonality as the attribute of Confucianism; (v) Confucian impact on educational mobility in the twenty-first-century global knowledge economy and migration. The conclusion of the chapter will discuss a way forward by discussing Confucian pedagogy as dogma in the postcolonial discourse of Orientalism. A very basic question is raised first: what is ‘Confucian’?

Confucian Modernity and Knowledge

It was in the era of Han Dynasty (206 BC – AD 220) that the Chinese State and the ruling class of literati developed a strong commitment to the ancient virtues labelled ‘Confucian’. There is a corpus of literature dating from antiquity, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, and the *Mean*, in which Confucius (551 BC – 479 BC) is revered as a sage; and the literature, however obscure its origin, forms a body of tradition called Confucianism (Zeng, 1999, p. 20).

There is a Confucian belief that knowledge is the beginning of cosmic order in the following sequence: learning the Confucian ideas and canon, developing thoughts, maturing souls, self-cultivation, self-realisation, family regulation, the state in proper order, and the world in peace. In this order, Confucius perceived the State as a product of natural evolution and therefore it is only a part of society. Neither Confucius nor his disciples give any formal definition of the State. The existing Western literature shows that Confucian political thought does not have the idea of the State in Western terms: that is, the Confucian State does not originate in a “state of nature”, nor does it take its legitimacy from a “social contract” (*Book of Change*, Chapter ii, re-quoted from Hsü, 1932, pp. 33–36). From the formation of earth to the development of ethical State, there are eight steps of evolution symbolised by: Heaven and earth; material things; male and female; husband and wife; father and son; sovereign and subject; high and low; and propriety and righteousness. They signify, in order, the physical state,

the dawn of life, the dawn of man, the dawn of social life, the age of patriarchy, the political stage, the constitutional stage, and the moral stage. The ‘Great Appendix’ of the *Book of Change*, emphasises these principles of relation and of sequence, according to which the State should be organised (Hsü, 1932, pp. 61–89).

Confucianism is a system of politico-ethical ideas in which rules and principles for the guidance of private life are bound up with those for the regulation of the public careers of men entrusted with the responsibility of governing. Therefore, there is a close link between ethics and politics in the Confucian State. As the state orthodoxy, Confucianism laid down the principle of social order – that is, an ethic of filial piety and loyalty for social hierarchy as the key to social stability (Zeng, 1999; Tu, 1996).

Confucianism also connected moral virtue to knowledge. It then exhorted a meritocratic order by rewarding virtue and merit-based Confucian scholarship with official governing position. During the Han Dynasty (206 BC – AD 220), provincial schools were established and the Confucian tradition of education was spread across China. Since then, this corpus of literature was studied by the literate people throughout imperial Chinese history in the East Asian region. The Four Books were chosen as the curriculum for the civil service examinations *keju*. *Keju* was a government-orchestrated system of high-stakes employment testing, which started to run in AD 606 and officially ended in 1905, with a total span of almost 1,300 years. At its height of implementation, millions of examinees were tested in China in each 3-year cycle (Suen & Yu, 2006, pp. 48). At the national level civil service examinations, candidates were tested on the ability to analyse contemporary political problems, in addition to the usual examinations based on the Classics. There were also highly prestigious special examinations held occasionally by imperial decree. The less prestigious examinations were testing candidates in law, calligraphy, state ritual and military skills (Dawson, 1981, pp. 71–73). For the imperial civil service examinations, candidates had to memorise a vast amount of classic Confucian texts, but never needed to demonstrate the ability to either theorise or challenge a particular premise. The *raison d’être* of the scholar-Mandarin class after all was the reproduction of bureaucratic generalists familiar with an accepted ethical outlook and body of knowledge, but not engaging in epistemic disputation, nor academic specialisation. According to the exam results in the *keju* system, successful candidates were appointed to the government posts immediately or eventually. However, the success rates of these exams were extremely small. During the Tang Dynasty (618–907), which was a period of political stability and cultural progress on the basis of the Confucian civil service system, the passing rate of *keju* was only about 2% (Merson, 1990, p. 86). Overall, *keju* was a “high-stakes” assessment, as termed by Suen (2006). The personal endeavour and ordeal that individuals underwent both in the preparation and in the taking of these exams has become part of Chinese lore.

The strong Confucian culture of learning to succeed in civil service examinations was emulated in neighbouring countries, especially in Korea. During the Tang Dynasty, Korean Confucian scholars and students travelled to China to study and prepare for the Confucian civil service examinations. For instance, Choe Chiwon (857—tenth century), a distinguished Korean Confucian scholar Mandarin, philosopher and poet of the late Unified *Shilla* period (668–935), went to Tang China at the age of 12 to study Confucianism. When seeing off the 12-year-old son, his father told if he did not pass

the Chinese imperial civil service examination within 10 years, he would cease to be his son (*Samguk Sagi*, biography no. 6; quoted from Chang, 1977, p. 57). And within the decade Choe indeed passed the highest civil service exam to be appointed to high office in the Chinese government. He remained in China for another decade to serve as a high-ranking scholar-Mandarin in the Chinese government, close to Emperor Xizong of Tang China, before returning to Korea (ibid).

In East Asian societies, education has been a forceful instrument of the ruling elite to govern the state. According to Confucius, it was through education that the ruler should “learn to care for the people”, while the ruled “learn to be obedient” (Zhou, 1996, p. 242). The Confucian ideal was to put learning and meritocratic selection at the heart of governing elite culture. Throughout imperial Chinese history, emperors were regarded as grand patrons of education, paying formal visits to the national university, issuing edicts for the establishment of schools, and paying honour to Confucius as the ‘first teacher’. Chinese Emperors were lectured on Confucianism by venerable neo-Confucian scholars (Dawson, 1981, p. 20).

The democratic and meritocratic nature of Confucian education principle, that is, it offered a path of upward mobility to anyone who could survive the rigours of study and examinations, was established by Confucius himself. A traditional saying attributed to him states that “those who work with their heads will rule, while those who work with their hands will serve”. To that end, test-driven education became a strategy for survival and success in East Asian countries. The Chinese meritocratic principle of the civil service examination to recruit governing elites was also emulated by France and Britain in the nineteenth century when these countries were expanding their overseas colonies and thus needed public servants for their far-flung imperial outposts (Wilkinson, 1964, 1969).

The Chinese neighbouring countries of Korea and Japan in East Asia – and also Vietnam in Southeast Asia by extension – all absorbed and refined Confucianism in the state apparatus, though they had developed their separate versions of Confucianism, which increasingly diverged along with a different path to modernisation taken by each country (Pye, 1985, pp. 55–89; Smith, 1996, pp. 155–159). For instance, Confucianism in Korea transformed its originally matrilineal societal order into a patrilineal one (Deuchler, 1992) to establish a more hierarchical order, and at the same time to institutionalise the principle of meritocratic promotion through the civil service examination system – *gwageo* in Korean – which was fully adopted in AD 958 and lasted until the late nineteenth century. During the period of *Chosun Yi* Dynasty (1392–1910), which was the last and longest-lived dynasty in Korea and East Asia on the whole, Korea was a thoroughly Confucian State. The Confucian civil servant examination in Korea was formally abolished during the *Gabo* Reforms of 1894, along with legal class discrimination and the old rank system (Eckert *et al.*, 1990, p. 98; Jin, 2005, pp. 226–234).

However, the Confucian principle of examination-based selection of civil servants has survived strong regardless of modernisation and changes in political and education systems. The meritocratic principle of Confucian civil service examination is still applied: that is, anyone who passes the civil service examination is to be appointed as a public servant, and being a civil servant still means having power and security in Korea. Therefore, entrance into the civil service is highly competitive, and therefore, most of those who pass the civil service examinations are often from the most prestigious

universities in Korea (Kim, 1997). The Confucian scholar-Mandarin tradition has also survived in contemporary Korea, forming a close collaborative relationship between the government officials and the university academic profession. It is not so uncommon to see university professors being appointed as ministers or other high-ranking positions in the government in Korea, or occupying seats in the National Congress (Kim, 2001, pp. 227–228).

Japan also adopted an examination system, testing the Chinese Confucian classics in the Heian period (794–1185), but unlike in China and Korea where those who succeeded in the examination were almost always given a high-ranking civil service position, the main route to the highest positions in Japan was hereditary privilege based on the *on'i* system (Amano, 1990, pp. 21–23; Zeng, 1999, pp. 8–9). Japanese Confucianism started as a cultural ideology serving the political needs of the Tokugawa *shogunate* (1600–1868), forging alliances with Buddhism and Shintoism. As time went on, Japanese Confucianism increasingly diverged from its origin as a political ideology and became a collection of social and ethical codes (Hwang, 1979, p. 18; re-quoted from Smith, 1996, p. 158).

Overall, the great significance of Confucianism in the history of East Asian modernity is that Confucius himself was a model and inspiration for countless scholars who often had to undertake half a lifetime of study before they at last succeeded in passing the civil service examinations. If they were unsuccessful in these ambitions, for them, too, teaching was the only obvious alternative outlet for their talents. And many of them would keep the ambition to become a scholar-Mandarin in the future, especially at the time of a cabinet reshuffle. They would hope to take the call to assume high-ranking government positions then.

The Nature of Knowledge and Education in Confucianism

The Confucians believed that there was a body of absolute truths, which combined moral principles with cosmological laws, and that this body of knowledge had been already understood and written down by the Confucian sages (Dardees, 1983). This scholastic belief in a body of absolute truths directed energy towards mastering classical writings and standard interpretations (Wilkinson, 1964, p. 162). Therefore, Confucian scholarship was dominated by documentary studies that sought to observe and preserve the traditional conventions of the histories and the classics. Study of the Confucian cannon was the most valued knowledge in the Confucian State, while astrology and calendar making played a supporting role. Medicine ranked far down the list and the status of mathematics was even lower. Technology and applied science did not find favour in the Confucian World (Wilkinson, 1964, pp. 53–54).

In the Confucian tradition, knowledge *per se* is not important; it must be practised, though not pragmatically. Confucius himself dealt with neither theology nor metaphysics, but with moral and political conduct. For Confucius, and for the Chinese tradition in general, learning did not usually mean the accumulation of knowledge for its own sake. It meant the gathering of knowledge for the sake of guiding one's social conduct (Dawson, 1981, pp. 9–10). Given the emphasis on 'practising' knowledge, some

Confucian examination compositions demanded the application of general set rules to a particular situation or problem – as illustrated earlier, and through Zhu Xi's emphasis on self-discipline for the governance of men (*hsui-chi cihh-jen*), neo-Confucian knowledge was accepted as an ideal for social order in China and throughout East Asia, wherever the neo-Confucian curriculum became established.

Neo-Confucianism is based on the moral values of universal knowledge application such as self-cultivation, self-realisation, individual responsibility, family cooperation and local self-governance (Tu, 1996). Self-cultivation here means to determine one's proper position in the *network of social relationships* and to behave properly according to one's position. The principle of self-cultivation is applied to everyone, regardless of social status hierarchy. The ruler is obliged to set an example for all men of self-restraint, self-correction and self-improvement. In that sense, the central concern of Confucian knowledge is how to learn to be human. Learning to be human in Confucianism is not simply learning the skills of a particular profession or becoming proficient in one specific task. The learning process is continuous and holistic in Confucianism.

There are five types of knowledge Confucius saw as being crucial in the process of learning to become human. Each of these five areas is articulated in one of the Five Classics: The *Book of Poetry*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Book of History*, and the *Book of Change*. During the later Han dynasty, the incorporation of the *Analects* and the *Book of Filial Piety* into the "Five Classics" made up the "Seven Classics". The basic neo-Confucian texts, the Four Books, the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects*, and the *Mencius* are centrally concerned with self-cultivation of the person as the prospective bearer of leadership responsibilities (Hsü, 1932).

The neo-Confucian doctrine was established on the premise that the nature of man is fundamentally good, but it is also a metaphysical system of thought that endeavours to find the roots of this premise in the natural order of the cosmos – with a philosophical account of sagehood, self-cultivation, and, ultimately, the universe. Through deductive reasoning, neo-Confucians divided all existence into two inseparable components, *li* and *qi*. *Li* is a patterning or formative element that accounts for what things are and how they behave, or normatively should behave, while *qi* is the concretising and energising element. The two are interdependent and inseparable. In this dualism, two distinct neo-Confucian Schools developed further in Korea since the late fifteenth century: one giving primary emphasis to *li*, the other arguing the primacy of the role of *qi*. These different intellectual visions also competed for political endorsement in Korea (De Bary, 1981; Eckert *et al.*, 1990).

In China and Korea, the Confucian State organised the education system to transmit this knowledge based on (neo-) Confucian orthodoxy, and subsequently to recruit into government service those who had best mastered the (neo-) Confucian classics. The core values exhorted in the (neo-) Confucian classics – humanity, empathy, harmony and the reciprocity of public and private relations and responsibility, civility, and communality – seem to offer a timeless relevance and universal validity as the ideas of modernity.

However, can we actually ascertain that Confucianism has survived as a dominant moral pedagogic creed in contemporary China, Korea and Japan? How do we legitimatise the relevance of Confucianism in the contemporary East Asian contexts of modernity and knowledge?

East Asian Modernisation and the Attributes of Confucianism

Apart from the origins and deep traditions of Confucianism in China, Korea and Japan before they followed the Western paths of development, it has been controversial to discuss the relevance of Confucianism as an epistemic frame of East Asian modernisation and industrialisation. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930) and *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (1951), Max Weber argued that the reason why modern capitalism did not develop independently in Asia is primarily because of the restraining influence of religion: in China, Confucianism and Taoism.

Soon after the Second World War, however, many scholars, journalists, politicians and other pundits started to reverse Weber's thesis on Confucianism. While accepting Weber's (1930) thesis of a cultural basis for economic activity, they reject any notion that Western Protestantism is the only, or the best, religious foundation for capitalism. The successful nation building and economic development of post-war Japan, and then the East Asian newly industrialised countries (NICs) was then attributed to their common heritage of Confucianism – as something equivalent to Protestant ethics contributing to industrialisation in Western Europe. Central to the Confucian values are hard work, education, merit and frugality, and these values are also essential to the development of modern capitalism, as Weber viewed the Protestant ethic as the engine of Western capitalism.

During the second half of the twentieth century, the success of strong government-led economic development in East Asia has offered a new model for modernisation with the concepts of 'Confucian Capitalism' (Yoshihara, 1977, 1994; Kahn, 1979; Vogel, 1979) and the 'Developmental State' (Johnson, 1999; Thompson, 1996). The Confucian characteristics identified by scholars are strong government, tight bureaucratic structure, hierarchical order of social relations and networked social structure, a high level of educational aspiration and attainment, emphasis on diligence, thrift, cooperation, and loyalty to one's group/organisation, etc. Accordingly, Yoshihara Kunio, a well-known Japanese Development economist, argued that the best way to hasten economic development is through the strong government or a developmental state which 'educates' the people and initiates a dynamic private sector (Yoshihara, 1977, 1994, pp. 196–197, 202; Berger, 1997, p. 269). Also, in *Ideology and National Competitiveness: An Analysis of Nine Countries*, edited by Lodge and Vogel, for example, the concept of a neo-Confucian 'Developmental State' is offered to account for the rise of East Asia (Lodge & Vogel, 1987).

Overall, Confucianism has been interpreted as a frame of reference to understand the pattern of East Asian political and economic activities in the process of rapid industrialisation. It has been suggested that the Confucian traditions of patriarchal authority, filial piety and loyalty in the extended family-like social relations, thrift, hard work, and most of all, the respect for scholarship and learning and the bureaucratic privilege, were all embedded in the East Asian political and economic development (Tai, 1989; Tu, 1996; Berger, 1997).

In Korea, social relations and activities involve concern for *inhwa*, or harmony based on respect of hierarchical relationships, including submission to authority. For

Japan, public relations operate within the context of *wa*, which stresses group harmony and social cohesion (Alston, 1989). In both Japan and Korea, employees were often indoctrinated to regard their workplace as a family environment with the company director as a family head. They were taught to identify themselves as members of a big family, typically organised in the order of a Confucian family hierarchy, which is especially visible in big business companies, conglomerates (i.e., *Zaibatsu* in Japan and *Chaebol* in Korea). Given the group orientation demarcating the social boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, academic bonding (*hack-yeon* in Korean) has been regarded as crucial for successful employment and career development in Korea, in particular. In the academic profession, academic power networks have been most evident in the proportion of alumni faculty members at major universities; for instance, in 2002, the proportion was 95.5% at Seoul National University, 80% at Yonsei University, 68% at Korea University, and 60% was the national average. In comparison, at Harvard and Stanford, the proportion of alumni (who gained a bachelor's degree from the university) among the faculty members was only 12% and 1% respectively (KBS 1TV Report, 10 June 2006).

In China, social relations and organisational behaviour revolve around *Guanxi*, or personal connections. The Chinese place great emphasis on rank, but *Guanxi* operates on the individual level. *Guanxi* links two persons, often of unequal ranks, in such a way that the weaker partner can call for special favours for which he does not have to equally reciprocate (Alston, 1989). In the Chinese social relations determined by *Guanxi*, personal rank or organisational position may not be indicative of his or her power; a person of low rank, in government or elsewhere, may in fact be very influential because of *Guanxi* relationships with those in higher positions. This individualistic aspect of *Guanxi*, apart from the primary stress on family ties, seems to allow Chinese workers to change employment easily. Given the cultural terms of the Chinese social relations, the Chinese-based economies in both mainland China and overseas experience a large rate of both job mobility and entrepreneurship (Alston, 1989; Buttery & Wong, 1999).

Despite these intra-East Asian variations, it can be suggested that the overall terms of social relations have been derived from Confucianism, which in this context emphasises the regulation of 'unequals' for a harmonious social order. Such interpretations of the social regulation of Confucianism as attribute to East Asian modernisation and industrial development are often compared with Weber's thesis on Protestantism in the rise of Western capitalism – as indicated earlier.

In this line of discourse, metaphors like dragons, tigers and even cubs have been adopted to describe the rapid and successful economic developments of East Asian countries. However, it can be argued that these metaphors are the actual sign of persistent Orientalism applied to the contemporary East Asia. Lee (2006) also contends that it is a little too far-fetched to emphasise Confucianism as the main cultural attribute to the capitalist economic success in the East Asian region extensively. For instance, economic advancement of Hong Kong and Singapore may have been attributed more to the legacy of British capitalism, and therefore should be differentiated from the Korean and Japanese pattern of economic development, which was based on a close relationship between political and business circles. Similarly, Kwon (2007) argues that Confucian virtues

can be better seen as the products of the State's inculcation and social engineering for modernisation and economic development rather than culturally inherited and embodied social values.

Staying on this line of argument, it is suggested that what makes Confucianism significant in the trajectory of East Asian modernisation in general is not so precisely related to economic development per se as the pattern of education and pedagogic relations.

East Asian Pedagogic Commonality as the Attribute of Confucianism

Some major characteristics of the Confucian pedagogic tradition are embedded in the East Asian State systems and sociocultural habitus – as incorporated in the concepts of 'Confucian Capitalism' and 'the Developmental State' as discussed earlier, in which the relations of high level of educational attainment of the populace and economic development have been acknowledged. By the 1970s, all children in South Korea and Taiwan (as well as the rest of East Asia) were in primary schools, and a third or more were in secondary schools. In contrast India had only 50% of girls in primary schools, while in Bangladesh it was 34% and Pakistan 22% (Pempel, 1999, p. 170). It has been suggested that the Confucian ethics and values in learning and hard work are both directly and indirectly contributing to the rapid and successful national development in East Asia.

Confucian values stress the importance of education and the ethics of hard work, and harmonious but hierarchical social relations, and the Confucian literature equates education with 'moral training'. In the *Book of History* and in the *Mencius*, it is reported that the legendary sage-emperor Shun appointed a Minister of Education to give instruction to the people because they were not observing the five basic relationships – that is, the duties involved in the relationships between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother and friend and friend (Dawson, 1981, p. 11). The Confucian stereotype of the gentleman also epitomises the Confucian advocacy of learning and the virtue of frugality, which was much admired by Confucius: a poor scholar strives for examination success despite his humble origins. Overall, it can be argued that Confucian pedagogic legacy of 'filial piety' and 'meritocracy' continued to serve in the East Asian schooling systems in the course of rapid industrial development.

A notable commonality in the East Asian schooling systems is that school education is serving the purpose of examination-based selection. (The educational selection system for university entrance has been most controversial in education reforms in Korea, for example. It has changed more than ten times since 1945.) Arguably, however, the strong zeal for learning in East Asian societies often does not derive from intellectual curiosity or thirst for knowledge per se, but from the single-minded pursuit of a successful university entrance and a successful job. Lack of curiosity in learning is closely related to lack of creativity in education.

Overall, the strong culture of learning across East Asian societies is often a highly focused and purposeful activity to prepare for various kinds of examinations and

eventually to gain certificates. The pragmatic value and use of formal education has been highly appreciated by the common people themselves, who are eager to take and use education as an important conduit for upward social mobility. It has been reported that 72.6% of all Korean students take additional private tuitions after school to prepare for and excel at the competitive university entrance examinations (Choi, 2003; KEDI, 2003). Given the culturally deep-rooted stress on higher learning and significant rewards afterwards when successful in examinations, the enrolment rate in higher education in East Asian countries is very high in general. The case of Korea, for instance, shows that 97% of 18-year-olds graduated from high schools, with 81.3% of these advancing to higher education institutions in 2005. Similarly, in Japan, 97.5% of 15-year-olds proceeded to senior secondary education, and 76.2% of 18-year-olds went on to higher/post-secondary education institutions in 2005 (Yonezawa & Kim, 2008). Other East Asian countries such as Taiwan and Hong Kong, which are often identified as 'mini dragons' as inheriting the Chinese Confucian traditions, have also shown high levels of educational attainment. China is moving towards mass higher education since 1999, given the rapidly increasing gross enrolment rate in higher education from 9.8% in 1998 to 22% in 2006 (MoE, PRC; *China News*, 10 March 2007: www.china.org.cn).

Whilst serving individual pragmatic needs for education, the modern schooling systems in East Asia have been carefully designed to meet the State's political and economic projects such as mass socialisation into the prevailing values of the predominant regime, unifying society, producing skilled labour for rapid industrial development, and regime continuity (Pempel, 1999, pp. 137–181). The government's regulations over educational institutions for the state's purposeful, utilitarian, technically functional uses of (higher) education are the common characteristics in China, Korea and Japan, denoting the mixed historical legacies of the Confucian, Japanese imperial/colonial State, and Mao's cultural revolution and Chinese communist education. All in all, it can be argued that the trajectories of East Asian modernisation and political and economic developments have been closely linked to the Confucian legacy of valuing education in general. The Confucian political ideal was 'to rule the state by moral virtues', which had to be developed by 'education'.

In the Confucian tradition of education, stress is always on living well, living properly, *here* and *now*, and by one's own actions. According to Confucius, society is made up of five basic relationships: Confucius laid great emphasis on harmony and his teaching was largely concerned with the problems of good government: "Only after the self is cultivated, can the family be regulated; only after the family is regulated, can the state be governed; and only after the state is governed, can peace be brought to the land" (Confucius, 2006, p. 8). Thus, the most distinct value of Chinese society is harmonious relationships, not only within oneself, but with other people, or even nature and the whole world. The Confucian concept of learning can then be considered as humanistic, universal lifelong education which starts with self-cultivation and continues in day-to-day social actions as praxis. Such a group-oriented attitude has been believed conducive to both economic productivity and social cohesion in East Asian countries.

In the Confucian culture-framed East Asian societies, learning together in a 'social setting' is highly treasured (Yang, 1981). This may be related to the group orientation (like a web-like extended family relations) in Confucian pedagogic traditions, which is in contrast to the individual-centred learning in Western/European pedagogic tradition. At the micro level of observation on East Asian instructional practices, we can also find the continuity and commonality in the pedagogic style in East Asia. For instance, in China, Korea and Japan, classroom teaching is conducted typically in a whole-class setting where the role model of the teacher is essential. The expectation of the teacher in Confucian East Asia is still that he be a scholar gentleman with good subject knowledge. Expertise in pedagogy is secondary. This results in a direct teaching to the whole-class mode in East Asian countries. Such an expectation of a 'scholar-teacher' and a modality of whole-class teaching can also be found in the old European university lecture tradition; but not so much in the contemporary Anglo-American pedagogic model. Overall, in the Confucian framed East Asian education tradition, a teacher should be primarily a scholar before he is able to play the role of a facilitator of learning.

Can we say then that there is a Confucian pedagogic element embedded in the commonalities of East Asian instructional practices? And what are the values implicit behind these common instructional practices? The curricula in the East Asian schooling systems are content-oriented and test-driven, in general (Zeng, 1999), and accordingly, East Asian education has often been criticised as learning by rote. However, the scholars in the Effective Schools movement have revalued the East Asian mode of 'learning by repetition', arguing that repetition in the East Asian pedagogic context is a conduit to deeper understanding and thus it should be differentiated from the much criticised concept of 'rote' learning in the West (Biggs, 1994, 1996; Marton *et al.*, 1996).

However, an obvious problem with the East Asian whole-class teaching and learning by rote and exam-centric systems is that only a certain type of individual is chosen: that is, those with a good memory, who are extremely hardworking, pliant, and good at tests, even though there is no strict proven correlation between possessing these qualities and being a good administrator or bureaucrat as idealised in the Confucian tradition.

Overall, it can be said that the main goal of East Asian schooling has been to produce literate, disciplined workers for factories and offices; and the secondary goal is that by pushing students through a tapering hierarchy of universities, the graduates of top-tier universities are likely to be successful in the meritocratic competitions to enter the best jobs in government ministries and major corporations. In East Asian schools, the pecking order comes straight from grade scores. In fact, this type of elitism, over time, has engendered insularity, cronyism, arrogance, and an ideological and intellectual conformity and rigidity in Korea, which eventually can corrupt the Confucian principles of egalitarian educational opportunity and meritocratic selection. The current pattern of educational mobility and migration from East Asia, notably from Korea and China nowadays, to other countries, e.g., to the United States, in particular, and other English-speaking countries, points to the fact that there is strong public demand for alternative 'internationalised' education at all levels in East Asian countries.

The Confucian Impact on Educational Mobility in the Twenty-First-Century Global Knowledge Economy and Migration

An ancient Chinese story about Mencius' mother, who moved home three times to provide her son with good teachers, good neighbours, and good peers for a good education, is still very much relevant to contemporary East Asian mothers – the image of the 'education mother' is well known.

Educational migration has become a new trend in East Asia. There has been steep increase in the number of Korean students going abroad more recently. According to OECD, Korea has the second largest absolute number of students (after China) studying abroad. The number of primary and secondary school students in Seoul who have gone abroad to study was 7,001 between March 2005 and February 2006, marking an increase of 15% (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education; reported in *Dong-A Ilbo*, 11 May 2006). The number of Korean students studying in the United States alone is estimated at 93,728 in April 2007. According to the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) report, this is the largest absolute number – 14.9% of the total number of foreign nationals studying in the United States, 630,998 – followed by India (76,708), China (60,850), Japan (45,820), and Taiwan (33,651) (US ICE; re-quoted/ reported by *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, 5 April 2007).

The number of Korean students going abroad, especially to the United States for studying purpose (at all levels from primary to higher education) has continued to increase, more than 10% per annum (*Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, 5 April 2007). The contemporary trend of educational migration notably from East Asia (Korea, China and Japan and Taiwan) to the United States and other English-speaking, advanced countries is an interesting and significant phenomenon to re-posit as entwined with the deep residual Confucianism in the minds of East Asian people, creating a new geography of transnational academic mobilities and networks in the twenty-first century (Kim, 2008).

Conclusion

The importance of Confucianism as a major reference for understanding East Asia has pervaded the dominant Western discourses on the rise of East Asia. In the political economic field, Confucianism was first seen as inhibiting development by Western theoreticians, and then was seen as encouraging it.

In China, Confucian thought was essential to the Empire – and then Mao attacked it in the course of Chinese communist modernisation. During the Cultural Revolution, an anti-Confucius campaign was organised and many Confucianists and intellectuals were killed and some Confucian temples and statues were destroyed. However, now that China has become a major player in the global market economy, the Chinese communist government has begun to promote Confucianism as well in order to wield China's 'soft power' across the globe. More than 120 Confucius institutes have been set up around the world – all sponsored and promoted by the Chinese National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, attached to the Chinese Ministry of

Education. The official aim of Confucius institutes, since first opened in Seoul, South Korea, in 2004, is to promote Chinese culture and language (Hyland, 2007). These overseas Confucian institutes are seen as part of a diplomatic strategy for China to gain global influence through education and culture capital. Such ‘soft power’ is particularly influential in Asia-Pacific countries, where large ethnic Chinese communities, natural resources and close relations with the United States are the incentives to the Chinese government.

Overall, in East Asia, Confucian thought has been moving, and has been changed and institutionalised in different ways. In terms of education, however, Confucianism gives a number of simple *unchanging* pedagogic patterns – such as the status of teachers, exam-driven schooling, the culture of patriarchal authority and hierarchy, respect for seniority, conforming to group norms, and individual success in education tied to ‘family face’ (Watkins & Biggs, 1996).

However, even in the field of education, Confucianism has been subject to a double interpretation – for example, the typical East Asian emphasis on memorisation and rote learning has been appraised both critically and positively. A number of authors – for example, Watkins and Biggs (Eds.) (1996) – have tried to explain the phenomenon referred to as ‘the Asian learner paradox’. This is the apparent contradiction between the teaching methods/educational environment in East Asia (i.e., large classes, a teacher-directed whole-class teaching, examination-driven, content-oriented curriculum rather than process, emphasis on memorisation, etc.), and the fact that East Asian students have regularly performed better than their Western counterparts in international measurements – such as the IEA Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the OECD’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). In the PISA results reported in 2003, Korea, Japan and China were all highly ranked. Korea, for instance, was near the top of the league in mathematics, reading literacy and science, and at the top for problem-solving (www.pisa.oecd.org). Having noted the successful performance of East Asian students in international tests, however, it should be equally noted that Confucian thought has always stressed the moral, and this has affected the culture of schools (and not just the formal curriculum).

So there is something odd about Confucian thought – sets of double and changing interpretations in many places. Despite all these changing accounts and contradiction, Confucianism has always been used as a major explainer of ‘East Asia’. The over-generalisation of East Asian commonalities as ‘Confucian’, however, could easily trap us in the (self-) Orientalising discourse. This may distract us from the possibility of new alternative interpretations.

The academic practice of Orientalism¹ is found among contemporary East Asian scholars as well, whose analyses actually refer to the Western narratives of East Asia. As Meredith Woo-Cumings argued, “the East Asian response is reactive” (Woo-Cumings, 1993, pp. 142–143). For instance, Michio Morishima (1982), in his book *Why Has Japan ‘Succeeded’?: Western Technology and the Japanese Ethos*, explains Japan’s success as part of the wider Confucian heritage of East Asia. Morishima emphasised the importance of the role played in the creation of Japanese capitalism by ethical doctrines transformed under Japanese conditions, especially the Japanese Confucian tradition of complete loyalty to the firm and to the state.

Critics have used the term ‘new Orientalism’ to denote the notions of an essentialist approach to Confucianism. The contemporary “Asian Values” discourse, for instance, can be understood as a postcolonial Asian remake of Orientalism, which serves some political agendas in Singapore and Malaysia (Berger, 1997, pp. 265–275). Hung-chao Tai asserts that the “cultural setting” of Japan and the East Asian NICs creates what he describes as an ‘Oriental’ economic development model, which rests on “human emotional bonds, group orientation, and harmony”. He argues that the “Oriental model” is the first “meaningful alternative” to the Western model (Tai, 1989, pp. 6–7).

Overall, such a postcolonial discourse of ‘new Orientalism’ can be understood as a dialectical movement in East Asia. East Asian ‘Orientals’ have been incorporating Confucianism in their making and remaking of an East Asian version of modernity – given the Western reprises of revaluing Confucianism to classify East Asia over time. In that sense, Confucianism has been a dogma in the postcolonial discourse of Orientalism. The use of Confucian pedagogic attributes in the account of East Asian ‘modernities’ and modernisation will continue to change and evolve – obviously. The trouble is that we do not know yet how.

Notes

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HINDUISM, MODERNITY AND KNOWLEDGE: INDIA

Joseph W. Elder

Introduction

Four thousand years ago on the Indian subcontinent priests (Brahmans) were teaching Hinduism's most ancient texts, the Vedas, to the sons of privileged families. These Vedas, preserved and memorized in a liturgical language, included a curriculum of sacrificial formulas, incantations, and magical spells that assumed a host of deities capable of responding to appropriately framed human petitions. Brahmans specialized in framing those petitions to the deities by performing fire sacrifices accompanied by correctly intoned Vedic recitations.

After 1947 India became a sovereign democratic republic committed, according to its constitution, to social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; and equality of status and of opportunity. Article 45 of India's constitution declared that "the State shall endeavour (sic.) to provide, within a period of ten years ... for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years". The language used by India's national leaders while drafting their constitution was English – the language of a foreign power that had ruled sections of India since 1757.

During the intervening 4,000 years, what happened to the knowledge of those ancient Vedas, to the language in which they were composed, to the training in textual memorization by which that knowledge was transmitted, and to the Brahman priestly reciters, preservers, and expanders of the Vedic curriculum? This article will examine the Hindu knowledge traditions in ancient India, their differences from Buddhist and Jain knowledge traditions, their modifications in subsequent centuries, the knowledge traditions of the Jews, Christians, and Muslims who settled in India, the educational policies introduced by the British colonial rulers after 1757, the educational policies adopted by independent-India's government after 1947, and the emergence of militant Hindu groups with their own views of educational knowledge and how to introduce that knowledge into India's current school curricula.

Knowledge Traditions in Ancient India

For centuries before the Vedas were written down, they were transmitted orally from Brahman (priest) teachers to young men of the three higher ranks (referred to as *varnas*):

the priests, warrior-administrators, and wealth-producers. According to Brahman texts, women and those of the fourth (servant) *varna* were prohibited from learning either the Vedas or subsequent Hindu texts such as the Brahmanas, Aranyakas, and Sanskrit Upanishads, Sutras, and Shastras (Van Buitenen, 1970, pp. 4–7). By the end of the fourth century BCE the grammarian Panini had generated over 4,000 rules for a “purified” Sanskrit language. Subsequently, elite young men sitting in the presence of their teachers (gurus) memorized Sanskrit grammar rules, learned to chant accurately intoned Vedic passages, and debated points of complex schools of Hindu philosophy (Ghosh, 2002, p. 18). According to tradition, in time the Brahman Kautilya authored a Sanskrit text on statecraft, Caraka wrote a Sanskrit text on medicine, and Bharata composed a Sanskrit text on performing arts. Again according to tradition, the Brahman sage Manu produced one of many *dharma Shastras* (treatises on correct moral conduct) that mandated Brahman superiority, prohibited inter-*varna* marriages, and stigmatized categories of polluted people.

In northern India Mahavir (the founder of Jainism) and Buddha (both fifth century BCE) preached their doctrines of enlightenment denying the authority of Brahman priests and the usefulness of the Vedas. Their teachings and subsequent commentaries in liturgical or Buddhist Sanskrit and the spoken Pali and Prakrit languages were transmitted to the young not by individual gurus but by groups of monks in monasteries called *viharas*. Some of the *viharas* (both Mahayana and Theravada) evolved into monastic universities. A major Buddhist university in Nalanda (in present-day Bihar) founded in the fifth century CE flourished for six more centuries. According to a visiting Chinese monk, Nalanda University offered extensive training in Buddhist, Jain, and Vedic knowledge to as many as 10,000 students (including foreign scholars) at any given time (Basham, 1959, p. 165).

During the millennia before and after the start of the Common Era, major cities such as Kashi (Banaras), Prayag (Allahabad), Taxila, and Kancipuram became centers of classical Hindu learning. During this period new narrative texts were added to the Sanskrit Hindu corpus: the massive epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* and shorter *Puranas* describing gods and goddesses unheard of in the Vedas. Although such Vedic gods as Agni, Indra, Mitra, Soma, and Varuna continued to be addressed in Brahman-administered rituals, popular devotions focused on such deities of the epics and *Puranas* as Vishnu, Lakshmi, Ram, Sita, Krishna, Radha, Shiva, Parvati, monkey-bodied Hanuman, elephant-headed Ganesh, and many others (Roy *et al.*, 2005, pp. 76–87). The narratives describing these deities’ adventures, passions, and foibles were typically recited in public settings open to all Hindus. Geographical sites in India became associated with specific deities and events: Brindavan where Krishna sported with the milkmaids; Rameshwaram from where Hanuman’s monkey army attacked Sri Lanka; Ayodhya, one of Lord Ram’s birthplaces; Janakpur, Sita’s hometown; and Banaras, Shiva’s shining city. Beginning around the fifth century CE Hindus built temples near these sites and often attached to them schools in which high-ranking neighborhood children, particularly Brahman boys, could study. When Hindu monastic orders began to appear, some of the ashrams or monasteries where their founders and propagators lived, such as Sringeri and Srirangam in southern India, became centers for the transmission of *their* Hindu philosophical systems.

Jews, Christians, and Muslims, when they arrived in India, established their own schools where their children could learn Hebrew, Persian, or Arabic and study the Bible or Qur'an, and related commentaries. The Jews along India's Malabar Coast built their own synagogues and trained their own rabbis. As Muslims built mosques throughout India, they frequently constructed *maktabs* or *madradas* (Qur'anic schools) with their mosques. There, local *maulvis* could teach neighborhood children about Islam and encourage them to be better-educated members of the Muslim *ummah* (community) (Ghosh, 2002, pp. 138–139). When Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries came to India, one of their first acts often was to establish schools for Christian converts and potential converts in order to establish congregations that would continue to propagate the faith.

Throughout the centuries Brahmans wrote Sanskrit texts not only on *dharma* (correct moral conduct) but also on such topics as theories of esthetics and performance. However, India's musical, dance, and artistic knowledge traditions, although they might have made reference to those Sanskrit texts, were primarily transmitted from gurus to students, often in the gurus' homes. Artistic lineages evolved, known as *paramparas* (Ghosh, 2002, p. 140), that traced their training through a succession of gurus back to a presumed "original" guru. Some temples and royal courts provided financial support for performing artists and their *paramparas*, but the transmission of the performing arts themselves required years of disciplined learning by students from their gurus. In similar ways medical practitioners acquired knowledge from various texts (Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic, etc.) but primarily through apprenticeships with active medical practitioners. The skills of artisans, carvers, calligraphers, painters, and weavers were likewise typically transmitted through households, relatives, and kinship lineages.

British Colonial Educational Policies

In 1757, following the battle of Plassey, the British East India Company acquired administrative control of sections of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. For several decades the Company had no formal policy regarding education. Meanwhile, the Company acquired control of ever larger sections of the Indian subcontinent. Finally, in 1817 the Company founded Hindu College in Calcutta, followed in 1827 by Elphinstone College in Bombay. By now a debate had arisen among the Company's directors over whether the language of education in their territories should be Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, local languages, or English. In 1835 the Company chose to follow the recommendations of Thomas Babington Macaulay's "Minute on Education." Macaulay's "Minute" declared there were no Indian books on any subject that deserved to be compared to British books. Macaulay argued that the purpose of education in Company-controlled territories should be to form a class of Indians who could interpret the Company to their fellow Indians – "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour [sic.] but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. (DeBary *et al.*, 1958, p. 601) In subsequent decades such educated Indians came to be called "brown Englishmen".

The Company's decision to use public funds for public education, mandate English as the all-India medium of instruction, and adopt the English curriculum for academic

content had far-reaching consequences. One consequence was that no efforts were made to incorporate Vedic, Jain, Buddhist or Muslim “other” knowledge into the schools’ curriculum. At that time the Vedic, Jain, Buddhist, and Muslim centers of “other” knowledge were too varied and too locally based to mount a coherent opposition to Macaulay’s “Minute”. The centers for such “other” knowledge were left to support themselves – or disappear. Another consequence was that many upper-caste young Hindus, recognizing career possibilities with the British, enrolled in the Company schools, exposing themselves to English “intellect”. Muslim young men were less eager to do so (DeBary *et al.*, 1958, pp. 739–740). Another consequence of the Company’s decision was that for the first time educated Indians throughout India, regardless of their birthplaces or mother tongues, could communicate with each other through a common language – English.

In 1854, following Charles Wood’s recommendations, the Company established throughout British India an English-model school system topped by universities teaching British-university curriculum. The Company also established “aided” schools. Privately funded schools that met certain requirements regarding curriculum, staffing, and external examinations could receive government grants-in-aid. The Company forbade mandatory religious instruction in any “aided” schools. This “aided-school” policy encouraged educators to found schools of widely differing religious preferences and accept government money on condition no students were required to attend religious classes.

In 1857 the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were established with affiliated colleges patterned directly after the British university system. 1857 also marked a transition in British-Indian history. Following widespread violence in northern India suppressed by British military retaliation, Queen Victoria replaced East India Company rule with direct rule from Britain’s parliament. India was now the “crown jewel” of the British empire.

In 1883, a retired British-India civil servant, Allan Octavian Hume, addressed a letter to Calcutta University graduates declaring they were the salt of the land and should lead in shaping their country’s future. Partly in response to Hume’s letter, a group of university graduates gathered in Bombay in 1885 and founded the Indian National Congress. One of the Congress’s first acts was to call for greater Indian participation in the British-Indian civil and judicial services (DeBary *et al.*, 1958, pp. 660–663). The Congress also advocated increasing involvement of Indians in determining their own destinies, drawing on principles enunciated by British authors such as Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill whose writings they had studied in college. For generations of upwardly mobile Indian youths, the path to success required an ocean voyage to England, a British higher degree, and a career back in one of India’s growing cities sharing a social life with other middle-class English-educated Indians.

Some Indians were sensitive to the cultural denigration implicit in assumptions of Britain’s intellectual superiority and the need to study for higher degrees in England. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817–1898), an Indian Muslim, studied in England, returned to India and in 1875 founded an Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh where students could study classical Arabic and learn about the Qur’an and Muslim jurisprudence alongside European knowledge. In 1916 a Hindu, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,

founded Banaras Hindu University where students could learn Sanskrit and Pali and study Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain texts alongside European philosophies and sciences. These two universities' endowments mandated the imparting of Muslim and Hindu instruction respectively. Mohandas Gandhi, who too as a young man travelled to England and earned a law degree, became increasingly critical of British-style education. In the 1930s Gandhi advocated the replacement of British-style education from bottom to top with self-supporting village-level "basic education" schools teaching local languages, training children in village crafts, and preparing them to remain, and improve the quality of life, in India's hundreds of thousands of villages.

Despite the introduction of publicly funded schools by the British during the final century of their rule in India and their establishment of some centers of academic excellence, illiteracy remained a major fact of life in most of India. In 1947, when India became independent, 85% of India's population over age 10 were considered illiterate – 73% of the men and 93% of the women (Davis, 1957, p. 151).

Hinduism in Post-Independence India

The Constitution that came into effect January 26, 1950, stated that India was committed to securing to all its citizens "liberty of ... faith and worship." Article 25(1) declared that "all persons are equally entitled ... freely to profess ... practise [sic.] and propagate religion". Article 27 announced that "No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated ... for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion" Article 44 stated that "the State shall endeavour [sic.] to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code" No place of importance was given to Hinduism, the religion most closely associated in the public eye with the Indian subcontinent.

India's Constitution further established that matters of education were to be primarily in the hands of state governments rather than the federal government. The pre-Independence policy of "aided" schools continued in post-Independence India. It fuelled a rapid expansion of privately initiated elementary and high schools, colleges, and universities, with state governments providing supplementary financial support, controlling the curriculum, and administering the examinations. Article 28(3) of the constitution continued the principle of religious neutrality in "aided" schools declaring that no such schools could require their students to participate in religious instruction or worship. This principle was applied across a wide range of institutions: government schools, Muslim madrasas, Sikh schools, Christian convents, Dayanand Anglo Vedic schools, and Ramakrishna Mission educational centers. The relatively even-handed allocation of funds to a wide variety of educational institutions has done little since 1951 to improve educational levels of low-caste and tribal children (Govinda, 2002, pp. 72–95).

According to India's Constitution, in elementary schools throughout India the medium of instruction would be the children's mother tongues, that is, India's regional languages. It was hoped that this would facilitate the rapid expansion of literacy. According to the constitution, India's official language was to be Hindi, a language

spoken in the “Hindu belt” of northern India by about one-third of India’s population. Throughout the non-Hindi-speaking regions of India, Hindi would be introduced in schools as a second language. According to India’s constitution, in 15 years English would be replaced by Hindi, and English would no longer be the official language of India.

Outcries arose in regions of India where Hindi was not spoken. Millions of citizens felt threatened. If the policies enunciated in the constitution were implemented, in less than two decades they would permanently become disadvantaged citizens in their own homeland – disenfranchised because *their* mother tongue was not Hindi. Anti-Hindi protests in the southern states where Dravidian languages were spoken led to threats of secession from the Indian union. Anger against the constitutional policies was expressed in a series of national elections. Finally, in response to the agitation, parliament passed the 1967 Official Languages Amendment Bill indefinitely extending the use of English in India. This brought a temporary end to the anti-Hindi agitation. It also brought a renewed interest in English-medium education. A young English-trained job-seeker could look for work anywhere in India; whereas a Hindi-only or regional-language-only trained job-seeker could look for work only in a specific region of India.

In the 1980s and 1990s, as India increasingly participated in the global economy, students’ and their parents’ demands for English-medium education at all levels increased dramatically. Many primary and secondary schools and most colleges began to provide additional classrooms for students wishing to study in English. Evidence of the high quality of one’s education could be seen in one’s excellence in pronouncing and writing English and obtaining admission into graduate programs in the United States or Great Britain.

During the early decades following India’s Independence school curricula gradually shed their British past. Writings by Shakespeare and Tennyson were replaced by poems by Rabindranath Tagore and Henry DeRozio. Stories of Helen of Troy and the Trojan horse were replaced by episodes from the Hindu *Ramayana*, *Mahabharat*, and *Puranas*. In their textbooks children now read about Lord Krishna and the milkmaids, the monkey-bodied Lord Hanuman, and the elephant-headed Lord Ganesh. At all levels textbooks reminded India’s schoolchildren that Gandhi was the father of India and India had won its independence from Britain by following Gandhi’s nonviolent leadership. Other heroes of the children’s textbooks were the Emperor Ashoka, who renounced war and implemented Buddhist teachings throughout his land and the Emperor Akbar, who, though a Muslim, encouraged interfaith dialogue throughout *his* empire (Elder, 1971).

Policies adopting and increasing the use of regional languages in elementary schools raised fears at the highest government levels that such policies might generate fissiparous tendencies. In time such tendencies might lead to the division of the Indian subcontinent into a collection of small countries with their own languages, flags, and armies. In 1956, the redrawing of India’s internal state boundaries along linguistic lines appeared to some to be an ominous step toward India’s fragmentation. In 1961, to offset these possibilities, the central government set up a National Integration Committee to encourage cooperation between India’s regions and religions. The government

recognized school textbooks as possible vehicles for conveying to children messages of regional harmony, interreligious respect, and national integration. Textbooks carried stories of children from different regions in India – West Bengal, Kashmir, Kerala, Punjab – describing their homes, food, dress, and regional festivals, and stressing that they were fellow citizens of India (Bhattacharya, 1998).

The Partition of the Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan appeared to some to ease the problem of Hindu-Muslim relationships. Before Partition, Muslims comprised 24% of India's population; after Partition they comprised only 11%. Now that Pakistan existed, Muslims who wanted to live in a Muslim-majority region could migrate to East or West Pakistan. Inside India the only state with a Muslim majority was the former kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir where 77% of the population were Muslims. But Kashmir's inclusion in the Indian union remained disputed.

At the time of India's and Pakistan's independence, over 500 princely states existed on the Indian subcontinent, each of which had been assured by the British that as long as it had a male heir and paid its taxes to the British treasury it could indefinitely retain its semi-autonomous princely state status. Independence and Partition ended those arrangements. Each princely state was required to accede to either India or Pakistan depending on its geographical location within the new national boundaries. For most princes the decision was simple; their state was either inside India or inside Pakistan. For the Raja of the kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir, however, the decision was more difficult. His kingdom adjoined both India and Pakistan; he could, therefore, accede to either country. The majority of Kashmiris were Muslims; the Raja and his family were Hindus. The Raja vacillated. The date for signing the articles of accession came and went; on August 15, 1947 India and Pakistan became independent. Muslim militants in Kashmir took matters into their own hands. Trying to force the Raja to accede to Pakistan, they threatened to overrun Kashmir's capital, Srinagar. The Raja called on India for military assistance. India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru insisted that India's military units could not enter Kashmir unless it was formally a part of India. Under those conditions the Raja signed the articles of accession – with the understanding that when all foreign troops had vacated Kashmir the citizens could hold a plebiscite to determine whether to join India or Pakistan. Indian army units flew into Kashmir and drove the militants back from the capital (Wirsing, 1994, pp. 39–41). In 1949, the United Nations mandated a cease-fire between India and Pakistan with UN observers stationed along a defined Line of Control separating Pakistan-occupied and India-occupied Kashmir.

Within the next few months all foreign troops did not vacate Kashmir. A plebiscite was *not* held. An uneasy peace settled over the region periodically broken by cross-border incursions and civilian and military deaths. In 1950, India's constitution (Article 370) guaranteed a special status for Kashmir differentiating it from all other Indian states. Inside Kashmir only Kashmiris could own land. Furthermore, the Kashmir state assembly would be allowed to oversee most of its internal affairs except for defense, communications, and foreign policy, where final decisions would remain in the hands of India's federal government. In 1956, seeing no evidence of change in the Kashmir situation, India declared that Kashmir was now an "integral part of the Indian union." Pakistan objected strongly. Between 1965 and 1999 India and Pakistan fought three

wars, in two of which the status of Kashmir played a major role. Each war aggravated tensions in India between Hindus and Muslims, recalling the terrible days of Partition and raising Hindus' doubts about the ultimate loyalties of those Muslims who chose to remain in India instead of joining their Muslim relatives in Pakistan. Within these contexts, India's constitutional commitment granting equal rights to Muslims and Hindus did not go unchallenged. Some Hindus felt that independent India gave special privileges to Muslims inasmuch as the majority-Muslim state of Kashmir enjoyed greater autonomy than any other state in the union, and India's Muslims were not obliged to conform to India's uniform civil code – being informally permitted to observe their own *shariah* law regarding such matters as marriage, divorce, and inheritance. While textbooks declared that all of India's citizens – its Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, and others – lived under the same law, it was apparent, nevertheless, that in certain respects Muslims lived under their own Muslim law.

The Rise of Militant Hinduism

In 1924, a Maharashtrian Chitpavan Brahman, V.D. Savarkar, whom the British had previously jailed for terrorism, published a pamphlet titled *Hindutva! Who Is A Hindu?* According to Savarkar, a Hindu was a person who regarded the Indian subcontinent as his fatherland, his holy land, and the cradle of his religion. Savarkar advocated the re-conversion to Hinduism of all former Hindus who had become Muslims or Christians. He described Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolence as "absolutely sinful" and criticized Gandhi's often-expressed concern for the well-being of India's Muslims. During World War II Savarkar coined the phrase "Hinduize all politics and militarize Hindudom." (DeBary *et al.*, 1958, p. 886) Savarkar provided moral support to the Chitpavan Brahman who assassinated Gandhi in 1948 for Gandhi's efforts to protect Muslims. In time *Hindutva* came to mean militant Hinduism.

Savarkar's call for *Hindutva* resonated among various groups in India. The Hindu Mahasabha ("Great Assembly of Hindus"), founded in 1919, elected him president for 7 consecutive years. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) ("National Association of Volunteers") incorporated some of Savarkar's statements into their para-military training of youth volunteers. The RSS adopted saffron, the color of Hindu renunciants' robes, for its flag. The term "saffronization" was applied to efforts to extend *Hindutva*'s ideologies.

Starting in 1951, three Hindu political parties, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh ("People's Association Party"), and the Ram Rajya Parishad ("Council of Lord Ram's Reign") ran Hindu-focused candidates in India's national elections – with mixed results. A cultural movement founded in 1964, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) ("World Hindu Council"), sought to invigorate Hinduism throughout India with well-organized rallies and cross-country chariot processions. In 1966, the Shiv Sena ("Shiva's Army") was founded in Bombay, originally to discourage "outsiders" such as south Indians from coming to work in Maharashtra, later to strengthen Hindu positions on political issues.

In 1980, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) ("All-India People's Party") emerged from several parties' reorganizational efforts. Starting by winning only 7% of the seats in India's parliament in 1984, the BJP gained more seats in each subsequent national

election until, in 1995, it won 30% of the parliamentary seats. As the largest party, the BJP was invited to form the national government. However, because of the BJP's links with Hindutva and Hindu "communalism," other parties refused to join a coalition, and the BJP lost that opportunity to form the government. Two years later, in the 1998 elections, the BJP won 33% of parliament's seats and again was invited to form the government. This time the BJP *was* able to organize a coalition government (Puri, 2005).

Militant Hinduism, Educational Knowledge, and Pedagogical Transmission

In its powerful position in the 1998 coalition government, the BJP could finally begin to implement policies it had advocated for nearly two decades. During those decades the BJP had witnessed the Islamization of Pakistan, the Khomeini-ization of Iran, and the Talibanization of Afghanistan. In each case Muslims had molded their political structures to project their religious pride and religious convictions. Now the BJP could try to project its Hindu religious pride and religious convictions through the "saffronization" of India's political and educational structures. The concept of a secular state was criticized as a Western imposition on an intrinsically spiritual India. Educated Indians speaking flawless English were criticized for being modern versions of Macaulay's "brown Englishmen".

During the 1980s and 1990s, such groups as the RSS, VHP, and BJP had begun to write a "saffron" history of India. Based on their interpretation of the Vedic term "Aryan" ("noble ones"), their history declared that the Aryans antedated by 2,000 years the "Harappan-civilization" cities discovered in the Indus river valley by archaeologists in the 1920s (Elliott, 2001). The archaeologists' theories (discredited by later archaeological findings) proposed that sedentary dark-skinned *Dasyus* (referred to in the Vedas) had occupied the cities for hundreds of years before they were replaced by mobile Aryans. Hindutva advocates, despite considerable counterevidence, proposed that the Aryans had originated in India and had developed the original Indo-European language, branches of which eventually spread to Europe to become Greek, Latin, the Germanic languages, and English. According to Hindutva historians, the Aryans in India developed highly sophisticated knowledge of philosophy, psychology, anatomy, medicine, chemistry, astronomy, astrology, physics, and engineering. They developed flying machines, long-range missiles, and weapons of mass destruction. They also developed a superior form of social life and organization spelled out in the Brahmanical literature. In the Aryan golden age, people, fulfilling the duties of their birth-assigned *varnas*, lived in harmony, following ethical principles taught by Vedic sages, Brahmins, and renunciants. The Aryans developed unique forms of music, dance, drama, art, and architecture. Neither famines nor epidemics nor wars disturbed the Indian subcontinent.

After centuries, however, this harmony was disturbed. The disturbances arose from foreign invaders. First came the Muslims, loyal to Arabia, plundering temples, destroying sacred images, and forcing conversions to Islam by the sword. "Muslim" rulers fought "Hindu" rulers until "Muslim" rulers controlled much of the Indian subcontinent.

Then came “Christian” Europeans, loyal to Jerusalem, the Vatican, European nations, or Great Britain who defeated both “Hindu” and “Muslim” rulers, drained India of its wealth through taxation and economic manipulation, and acquired Christian converts by offering them education and government jobs. According to the Hindutva historians, in 1857 Hindu soldiers, supported by Hindu citizenry, rebelled against their British officers in India’s first war of Independence. By 1858 the soldiers and citizenry had been brutally suppressed by the British, but the Hindu fight for independence had been launched. For eight more decades Hindu freedom fighters struggled – violently when necessary – to dislodge the British from India. In 1947 they succeeded. The Hindu citizenry and leaders won India’s independence (Bhambhri, 2001).

Hindutva historians selectively ignored “positive” contributions Muslims had made to India during those years. Missing were accounts of the religiously tolerant Muslim emperor Akbar and such Muslim freedom-fighters as Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Missing also were such magnificent architectural monuments built by Muslims as the Taj Mahal and Humayun’s tomb. Ignored were the forms of art, music, dance, and cuisine incorporating Muslim and Hindu elements, historical documents written in Persian by Indian Muslims, the Urdu language, festivals combining Hindu and Muslim features, sites sacred to both Muslims and Hindus, and accounts of kingdoms with Hindu rulers and their Muslim retainues and Muslim rulers with their Hindu retainues that refused to be defined as either “Hindu” or “Muslim”.

Hindutva historians also selectively ignored “positive” contributions the British had made to India. Missing were the British concepts of the “rule of law” and an impartial judicial system, the network of railways and postal and telegraph services that linked together India’s remotest regions, the English language by means of which Indians working for Indian independence communicated with each other, institutions of higher learning whose graduates participated on a world stage, and internationally acclaimed English-language writers such as Rabindranath Tagore.

According to the Hindutva historians, the British had left India an impoverished third-world country facing a staggering legacy of economic problems. After Partition the British had continued (unsuccessfully) to try to exploit India. But at least the British were gone. The Muslims, however, had remained. As India’s independence was approaching, they had demanded the subcontinent’s partition and a separate Muslim nation. Despite many Hindus’ reservations, in 1947 the subcontinent had been divided, and the Muslims had gotten their Pakistan. But that did not end the matter. Since 1947 Muslims in Pakistan had repeatedly conducted cross-border incursions into Kashmir, killing thousands of Hindu soldiers and civilians. Furthermore, ever since 1947 Muslims inside India had demanded – and gotten – special privileges including a uniquely autonomous Kashmir under the constitution’s Article 370 and preferential exemptions as Muslims from portions of India’s uniform civil code.

To add to the anti-Muslim sentiments they were fanning, Hindutva supporters were identifying Muslim-inflicted historical “wrongs” that now needed redress. One particular target was a mosque built in Ayodhya during the sixteenth century by the Muslim emperor Babur. According to the VHP and RSS, Babur had built his mosque on the birthplace of Lord Ram, hero of the Hindu epic *Ramayan*, after destroying and using in his mosque pieces of a Hindu temple consecrating that spot. In the VHP and RSS

interpretation, Lord Ram, a mythical hero with many attributed birthplaces, became a historical human being with an established time and place of birth. Members of the VHP and RSS defined Babur's mosque as a humiliating relic of Muslim dominance needing to be destroyed and replaced by a temple to Lord Ram. On December 6, 1992 thousands of Hindu activists broke through a protective fence and reduced Babur's mosque to a mound of rubble. Shock waves spread through India's Muslims. Anti-Muslim riots broke out in several cities. Before the rioting ended, hundreds of Muslims had been killed. Again, in 2002, anti-Muslim violence related to Babur's mosque erupted, this time in the state of Gujarat. Once again hundreds of Muslims were killed. In both cases of anti-Muslim violence the BJP did little to halt the violence or punish the perpetrators. If anything, the BJP endorsed the Hindutva construction of history that made Lord Ram into a historical person whose birthplace had been desecrated.

After the BJP's successes in the 1998 elections, the party began implementing its views of Hinduism through India's political structures (Ahuja, 2004, pp. 48–58). The BJP appointed Murlī Manohar Joshi, a BJP supporter, to head the Union Human Resource Development Ministry that dealt with education at the federal level. Joshi had declared he wanted to “Indianize, spiritualize and nationalize” India's primary and secondary schools (Singh/Waghāi). M. M. Joshi, in turn, appointed BJP supporters to key positions in the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the Indian Council of Historical Research, and the University Grants Commission. The Indian Council of Historical Research halted the publication of two volumes of documentary sources dealing with India's independence movement from 1937 to 1947 on the grounds that the volumes were overly secular and Marxist and under-represented the RSS's role in the independence movement. The normally rigorous University Grants Commission began to fund dubious courses in Vedic mathematics and astrology.

In 1999 M. M. Joshi appointed J. S. Rajput, a member of the RSS, to chair the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) that supervised government curricula and textbook publication. In 2000, J. S. Rajput directed all Central Board of Secondary Education affiliated schools to delete certain “objectionable” pages from current history textbooks. “Objectionable” pages included references to the founder of Jainism not changing his clothes for 12 years before adopting nudity; Tamil Brahmins eating beef; a Muslim ruler being generous to Hindu court musicians; Sikhs, Jats, and Shivaji (a Hindu ruler) “plundering” nearby regions; and British citizens condemning atrocities committed by their own British troops in India. None of these passages fit the BJP view of Hinduism's spiritual superiority over Muslims and Christians.

J. S. Rajput introduced new history textbooks written by BJP supporters. Among these new textbooks' inaccuracies were references to India being the original home of the Indo-European speaking Aryans; castes being unrelated to Hinduism; Muslims bringing into India little except oppression and temple-destruction; and any Muslim rulers who were wise or tolerant originally being Hindus who were converted to Islam. One of the new textbooks describing India's religions failed to mention either Muslims or Sikhs.

Scholars protested the new BJP textbooks. In 2003, a committee of the Indian Historical Congress published a 155-page *History in the new NCERT Textbooks:*

A Report and an Index of Errors criticizing many items presented as facts in the BJP-sponsored textbooks. Scholarly reviewers found the textbooks to be chauvinistic, communally biased, and hostile to the idea of India having a composite culture invigorated by Muslim and European elements.

In India's April 2004 elections India's voters replaced the BJP-led coalition with a Congress-Party-led coalition. The BJP's M. M. Joshi stepped down as head of the Union Human Resource Development Ministry. In his place the winning Congress Party appointed Arjun Singh, who quickly selected a three-person committee to study the controversial textbooks and suggest appropriate next steps. Inside India the "saffronization" of textbooks began to recede. But this did not automatically stop "saffronization" processes outside India. One noteworthy process occurred in far-off California, United States.

Every 6 years the state of California had to approve a list of history books from which school districts could select textbooks. In 2005, some history books that dealt with India contained accurate but "offensive" statements that Hindus had many gods and goddesses, that Hindus considered some people to be untouchables, and that in ancient India men had many more rights than women (Taneja, 2006, p. 78). In California the Hindu Education Foundation and the Vedic Foundation (based in the United States but with links to Hindutva groups in India) requested the California State Board of Education Curriculum Commission to make certain changes that modified history and enhanced the glories of ancient India. Harvard University Professor Michael Witzel, upon learning of the Hindu foundations' efforts, sent a letter to the Curriculum Commission, co-signed by nearly 50 scholars, charging that the recommended revisions were "un-scholarly [and] politically and religiously motivated".

The California Board and Commission found themselves caught in a cross fire. On January 6, 2006, they heard Professor Witzel debate Professor Shiva Bajpai, a supporter of most of the Hindu foundations' requests. After the debate both scholars agreed to a few specific sentence changes. Then the matter was referred to a subcommittee for future reference (Center for South Asian Studies, 2006, pp. 3–7).

When faced with a choice between full academic rigor and cultural sensitivities, the California Board and Commission preferred to err on the side of sensitivity toward those Hindus who, with their families, had moved to California. Militant Hindus among the new arrivals tried to define for other Indians and the California Board a Hindutva view of history and Hinduism that ought to be taught in California's public schools. If their Hindutva views were validated by a school board in the United States, that "international" validation would strengthen their position back in India. As the Indian Diaspora extends around the world, and Hindus describe their heritages to their new neighbors, future debates will occur regarding what did or did not happen years ago on the Indian subcontinent and how that should or should not be incorporated into systems of educational knowledge and forms of pedagogical transmission outside of India.

To return to questions raised at the beginning of this chapter: during the 4,000 intervening years after Brahman priests transmitted knowledge of the Vedas through memorization to the sons of privileged families, what happened in India to the knowledge of those ancient Vedas, to the language in which the Vedas were composed, to the

training in textual memorization by which that knowledge was transmitted, and to the priestly reciters and preservers of the Vedic curriculum?

Today outside India's mainstream educational institutions, the Vedic curriculum is still taught in isolated locations presumably much as it was 4,000 years ago (Fuller, 2003, p. 123). Young men (primarily Brahmans) memorize correctly intoned Vedic passages under the tutelage of Brahman gurus. The Vedas they memorize still include a curriculum of sacrificial formulas, incantations, and magical spells. Priestly reciters of Vedic rituals are still in demand in major Hindu temples today, including Hindu temples in Great Britain and the United States. Sanskrit as "purified" by the fourth-century BCE grammarian Panini is still taught in Indian schools and universities, and Panini's grammar is studied in linguistics departments inside and outside India. Today Kautilya's Sanskrit text on statecraft is read only by the curious antiquarian. In several locations in India today students can earn degrees in Ayurvedic medicine and astrology. Bharata's Sanskrit text on performing arts is still referred to in India's academies of dance and music in efforts to link today's artistic performances with classical Sanskrit aesthetic principles. Today Manu's Sanskrit *Dharma Shastra* is burned in public protests by one fifth of India's citizens, members of lower castes, who define themselves as *Dalits* ("the oppressed") and blame Manu's stigmatization of categories of polluted people for two millennia of their oppression at the hands of India's higher castes (Zelliot, 1972, p. 77).

At most, however, this Vedic knowledge and its curriculum are peripheral to most of India's ongoing educational strategies. India's declared policy of public funds for mandatory education – though still unrealized – is enshrined in India's constitution. Schoolchildren are not required to memorize the Vedas. Training is not restricted to sons of the three highest *varnas*. India's educational policies are heavily shaped by the federal and state governments, both of which have continued, with modifications, much of the curriculum introduced by the British when they ruled India: mathematics, science, regional language, Hindi and English (both India's official languages), geography, history, and literature. By now the classroom materials dealing with geography, history, and literature have abandoned much of their former British content. Instead of reading about Robert Bruce and the spider or the Dutch boy and the dyke, India's schoolchildren read stories of Ram's victory over the demon Ravan, Krishna stealing the butter, and Arjun winning the archery contest and thereby the hand of the princess Draupadi. When not tied to a Hindutva agenda, these stories from the epics and *Puranas* are viewed as common culture narratives rather than as actual historical events that occurred in some fixed times and places. To pass the external English exams in high schools and colleges, students memorize the plots of Shakespeare's major dramas. During the months preceding the annual high school examinations many families hire private tutors to come to their homes before and after regular school hours to prepare their children to write the external examinations, practicing on exam questions from previous years. At college and university levels measures of distinction include admission for postgraduate study in leading universities in Britain and the United States.

India's educational policies have included the founding and maintenance of over 200 universities with thousands of affiliated colleges following the British model, and external examiners and examinations in place to maintain standards of academic

integrity. National policies have included the establishment of Indian Institutes of Technology and of Management that have produced world-class computer engineers, information technologists, and corporate executives. India's educational curricula are selected by state-appointed boards of education – not by Brahman Vedic specialists. The decisions of boards of education, however, are capable of being shaped by the ideologies of those in political power making appointments to the boards of education – witness events during the BJP's 5 years in power from 1999 to 2004. During those years a Hinduism was promulgated that did not exist 4,000 years ago – invented and elaborated as Hindutva in the twentieth century. It was a Hinduism defined largely by rejecting “other” non-Hindu components of India's history – components contributed by Muslims, Europeans (primarily the British), and, more recently, Americans.

India's electorate voted the BJP out of office in 2004 and with it the BJP's educational policies. However, passions will continue to surface regarding India's national identity and, hence, the goals of India's educational system. Is one of those goals to produce contemporary versions of Macaulay's brown Englishmen? Is one of those goals to produce Hindutva graduates denying events in India's history and marginalizing significant portions of India's current populations? Is one of those goals to produce graduates participating in the most significant issues of our time while drawing on the rich histories and cultures of the Indian subcontinent? Or is one of those goals some as-yet undefined Indian participation in the twenty-first century? Regardless of eventual outcomes, for the foreseeable future Indians will continue to debate the usefulness of ancient versus contemporary knowledge; the advantages of rejecting, adapting, or adopting “outside” bodies of knowledge; and the ways in which Hinduism can be incorporated into contemporary education while Hinduism itself continues to change – as it has for thousands of years.

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REFLECTIONS ON EDUCATIONAL TRANSITIONS IN EGYPT, LEBANON AND TURKEY

Jennifer Ashkenazi

The historical intercultural encounters between Islam and the West in the Middle East have intrigued numerous historians, political theorists, anthropologists and sociologists. Within this context, one of the most debated topics has been the actual influences of Westernisation on the Islamic World and the actions and reactions of the Islamic World during the periods of intense Westernisation. Education was a key element of the traditional Islamic societies that underwent dramatic change. Alongside its vital role of training new generations of Islamic intellectuals, education was of major importance in the process of spreading new ideologies that accompanied the modernisation of Middle Eastern societies, and in particular, in the emergence of Islamic national movements.

Since the nature of Western influence differed across the states that emerged in the Middle East, it is impossible to point to a single general pattern of development in national education in this area. In order to exemplify the variations and similarities in the changes of knowledge traditions, this chapter will describe and compare the essential characteristics of national education development in three Middle Eastern countries: Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon. The study will concentrate in each country on the negotiations between Islamic educational traditions and modern (Western) reforms. Generally, the crucial moment for each country was manifested in the attempt to create a national system of education, and thereby create national citizens. It will be shown that these key transitions, which occurred in the political and social spheres, and their effects, are still visible today. In their transformations into “modern” nation states, Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon adapted key aspects of Western, often secular, traits into their traditional educational systems; the resulting systems reflected the differences in the political and national developments in each state.

This chapter will begin with a general overview of traditional Islamic education, which was similar in form and content in most Middle Eastern and North African societies. Islam was fundamental not only to education, but was the base of most formal and informal cultural and social institutions and practices.

Islamic Educational Traditions

The Ottoman Islamic empire, from which Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon emerged as nation states, lasted for over 600 years (1299–1922) and is credited with extraordinary

achievements in philosophy and science, in addition to its essential religious philosophy. Education and the acquisition of knowledge were interwoven into Islamic culture and played a central role in a Muslim's life. Major centres of learning existed across the Middle East in Baghdad, Damascus, Isfahan and Istanbul. A tradition of Islamic education, emphasising rhythmical and chanting methods of memorisation, was developed early in medieval times and is still maintained today (Hilgendorf, 2003).

The fundamental theory of Islamic education is based on the first verse revealed to the Prophet Mohammad: *Read, in the name of Thy Lord and Cherisher Who created ... and taught the use of a pen*. Studying, and the transmission of knowledge to others, were fundamental themes in the Islamic tradition and were based on the memorisation, recitation and discussion of the Qur'an, the only text required for Muslims to study (Massialas & Jarrar, 1991, 92 ff). Because of the high value placed on education, mosques became the first schools in Islamic education, in addition to their function as places of worship (Grabar, 1969; Berkey, 2003). The importance of the mosque for Muslims, as a place for gathering and worshipping cannot be overemphasised, for it had implications beyond the religious and social aspects of the community, namely, in the political sphere (Tibawi, 1972). The mosque was and continues to be a symbol of Muslim identity in many communities. According to one scholar, "the first school for all Muslim children, even today, remains the mosque, where he learns to read and memorise portions of the Qur'an and the tenets of the creed" (Saqib, 1983, p. 66).

The early forms of Islamic learning which showed the connection between school and mosque (Berkey, 1992; Lapidus, 1988), focused on younger children and eventually encompassed all ages. Over time, separate free primary schools, the *kuttabs*, were created for young children in order to learn to recite the Qur'an and learn Arabic, the language of the Qur'an. Later on, institutions of higher Islamic learning were established, such as Al-Azhar in Cairo, and a system of preparatory schools called *madrasas* were established to support the higher level of education (Nakosteen, 1964).

Within the system of *madrasas*, the great centres of religious studies were formed. These centres had operated since the Middle Ages and continued well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The curriculum was relatively standard. The Islamic intellectuals/ men of learning (*ulema*) mastered the following disciplines in order to understand Islamic faith: Arabic grammar (*sarf*), Arabic syntax (*nahv*), *Qur'anic* commentary (*tefsir*), Islamic law and jurisprudence (*fikh*), prophetic traditions (*hadith* or *hadis*), logic and dialectics (*mantik*), rhetoric (*belagat*) and scholastic theology (*kelam*) (Berkey, 1992).

It was important in the philosophy of Islam to provide all Muslims, regardless of social class, the opportunity to learn and participate in the sharing and the propagation of religious convictions. In fact, however, the majority of the students could only attend primary school. Those who attended higher education came from wealthier social classes, or they were supported by *waqfs* (endowments made by individual Muslim believers) (Stanton, 1990). Generally, education beyond the primary school level was not funded by the state.

Upon completion of their education in the *madrasas* the students joined the ranks of the *ulema*, a group of men who had important roles in Islamic society as intellectual, cultural and educational consultants. The *ulema* were also the teachers in the mosque

schools and/or preachers themselves. In addition to their educational roles, they were often called upon to act as mediators between the state and the people in regulating political and social policies.

Important for this study were the changes in attitude of the state towards the *ulema* and the highly stratified system of Islamic education, which existed in the Ottoman empire and its more autonomous region in Egypt. Lebanon also experienced the changes regarding the role of the *ulema*, but the system of religious education differed significantly and followed a different path of development from Egypt. In the 1800s, it had become obvious to the Ottoman leaders that in order to maintain an active role in the European and Asian trade and politics, new kinds of knowledge and techniques were required. To meet this need, a “modern” curriculum, that included Western sciences and medicine, was incorporated into traditional education. The *ulema* had mixed feelings about these innovations. They welcomed change that would strengthen Islamic moral and ethical traditions but felt threatened by reforms which could lessen their authority, claiming that new knowledge from the West may contradict and possibly challenge Islamic values and traditions. Egypt, traditionally an important cultural and educational centre of the Middle East, developed some of the first reforms for the Westernization of its educational system.

Egypt

The early influences of Westernisation in Egypt occurred with Napoleon’s invasion in 1798 and continued under the leadership of Muhammad Ali after 1801. Ali introduced many innovative reforms that laid the foundation for the creation of the modern Egyptian state. A Westernised education system was an important component of Ali’s plan. Although the institutional reforms of the first half of the 1800s did not last long in and of themselves, the spirit of Western education carried enough momentum which ultimately contributed to the disestablishment of Islamic educational traditions and the development of a national education system.

The French invasion and occupation of Egypt lasted only 3 years (1798–1801). During this period, the French abolished the established system of Islamic education, which did not regain its prominent status thereafter. The French founded two schools in Cairo, which were modelled on European patterns. Furthermore, an order given by Napoleon in 1798 provided for Egyptian students to travel to France to study. According to Silvera (1980), Napoleon used education “as a tool to win over the minds of the native elite to the revolutionary principles he incarnated” (p. 3). One of the consequences of this policy was the creation of a separate class of Western- oriented Egyptian intellectuals and state administrators.

From 1801 to 1805, Ali constructed a centralised Egyptian state, albeit within the overarching structure of Ottoman imperial power (Boktor, 1936). Significantly, the *ulema* came to Ali and requested that he take over as *pasha*, signifying his acceptance by the Islamic elites. Although he was respected by the *ulema*, which helped lead to his success, Ali oftentimes bypassed their traditional role in Egyptian society in order to advance his own modern reforms. In addition, he instituted a number of economic

and social changes to Westernise the country. As Saqib (1983) has argued, “[f]or his brilliant projects, aimed at an all-round transformation of his country into a strong, self-sustaining and progressive as well as independent nation, [Ali] has been rightly hailed as the father of Egyptian nationalism” (p. 83).

Ali’s primary targets for reform revolved around the modernisation of the military, the initiation of industrialisation and the development of Western education. His endeavour to establish a modern economy included a major land tenure reform; an extensive irrigation project; the establishment of cotton as a prime crop; the development of a communications infrastructure; the initiation of new trade policies; and industrial development (Issawi, 1961). The land tenure reform abolished the Ottoman practice of tax farming; henceforth, peasants began to pay their taxes directly to the government, which allowed Ali’s new administration to build new factories and to support the improvement of the military. The planting of cotton and the improvement of a communications infrastructure facilitated foreign trade with Europe and Asia, and eased Egypt’s entrance into the international markets. Alongside these social and economic reforms, Ali introduced Western educational ideas, institutions and practices that were closer to his vision of a modern Egypt (Issawi, 1961; Silvera, 1980).

Ali sought to establish a Western-oriented system of schools separated from mosques and different from Islamic educational methods. The general aim was the establishment of a Western type of education, paralleling that of Europe, which would de-emphasise Islamic education and weaken the traditional cultural and political authority of the *ulema*. The de-emphasis of Islamic education, combined with other state administrative reforms, changed the role of religion in Egyptian society.

The Western-oriented system of schools, established under Muhammad Ali, focused originally on higher education institutions with a special emphasis on military education. Soon thereafter, however, he supplemented the system of higher education with public primary and secondary schools, the first time that a system of state-supported mass education was attempted in Egypt. In all of these schools, Islamic elements were de-emphasised in comparison to the secular and military curricula. The first official, fully fledged military school was opened in 1826; other schools connected to military education were established in the 1800s, in part replicating the French model for military education. Although after Napoleon the French were pushed out of Egypt, their authority in educational development continued to be invoked. With the growth of these schools and their secular, Western curricula, a new generation of Western-trained intellectual elite appeared in Egypt, challenging the conventional ideas and norms.

Ali’s Western-oriented reforms, though far-sighted in their aim to Westernise Egypt, were nevertheless narrow in scope. Throughout this period and into the early 1900s, the majority of Egyptians continued to receive elementary religious education in the *kuttabs* (Cochran, 1986). Gregory Starrett (1998) has pointed out that while this period saw the introduction of the idea and form of mass national education and the implementation of various Western reforms, such ideas and reforms did not take root in nineteenth-century Egypt. After Ali’s rule, the systems which he had created, both in education and in state administration, slowly disintegrated under the leadership of his followers. When the British took power in Egypt in 1882, the education system was still primarily centred on the transmission of religious ritual and text in the Muslim *kuttabs*.

An important period in Egyptian history was the occupation and rule of Great Britain, between the years 1882 and 1952. The British did not try to interfere with the Islamic beliefs of the vast majority of Egyptians. In fact, Islamic learning prospered during the early era of British rule (Cochran, 1986). During this early period (1882–1919), very little was undertaken to improve the public (secular) system of education; British educational policy could not be called progressive; it centred mainly in the education of government clerks, who were trained in technical and bureaucratic skills. On a small scale, the British Mandate helped establish a system of public elementary and primary schools: the elementary schools were controlled in large part by provincial councils and only partially by the Ministry of Education, but the primary schools were completely under the direction of the Ministry of Education. However, this system was inadequate for the vast population of Egypt, and no concrete attempts were undertaken to expand or improve the government schools (Tibawi, 1972).

When Egypt gained ‘conditional independence’ in 1922, the education system inherited from the British was criticised by the new Egyptian government. There was no unity in Egyptian education and the system was far from being a comprehensive national system. The Ministry of Education (MOE) tried first to tackle the problem of illiteracy, then to make the elementary system compulsory, and, at the same time, expand the system of the primary schools (Tibawi, 1972). The MOE also tried to unify the religious and secular systems of education and to construct a national curriculum that included Islamic learning. After 1928, the influence of Islam grew in the government schools. In that same year, the Muslim Brotherhood, a grassroots Islamic organisation was founded, and the government increasingly used Brotherhood members as teachers in their schools (Langohr, 2007).

When Egypt gained ‘full independence’ in 1953, the education system was still inadequate for the needs of the country, and not unified, despite the reform efforts of the previous government. There were still a large number of private religious institutions beyond the state’s ability to manage. During the early years of independence, however, this situation changed: the number of primary schools and the student population increased substantially between the years 1953–1963 because of incentives such as teaching a more expanded religious curriculum in the public schools (Starrett, 1998). The religious curriculum in the public schools included not only the material in the textbooks. It was also accompanied by such goals as the inculcation of Islamic morals and values, along with the grasp of the five pillars of Islam, namely, the development of faith in God; acquainting the child with the biography of the Prophet; memorisation of some verses and suras of the Qur’an; and knowledge and practice of the process of ablution and prayer (Starrett, 1998, p. 132). It was also important that the teachers understand the religious curriculum as part of a ‘life’ curriculum, including the home environment and society as a whole.

The main law enacted after Egyptian independence in 1953 established free, compulsory primary education for boys and girls from age 6 to 12 (Tibawi, 1972). The curriculum focused on Arabic, patriotic education and religion, in addition to numerous subjects like arithmetic, history and geography. The government succeeded in luring many students away from the private and foreign schools by the early 1960s because of the promise of free and equal educational opportunities offered in the public system (Cochran, 1986).

It is apparent that educational reform that aimed at Westernisation had a dialectical course in Egypt. In the early days of Westernisation, Muhammad Ali's reforms focused primarily on military education. Ali's system was unsuccessful owing to his failure to integrate the majority of the Egyptian population with the existing Muslim schools. However, despite the failure of his major efforts, Ali had initiated the first reforms to introduce secular and Western education, including a mass school system, into Egypt. Despite many setbacks subsequent to Ali's rule, after 1953 the government succeeded in nationalising and unifying the Egyptian school system.

The case of Westernisation in Egypt also reveals some of the typical conflicts between Islam and secularism. In Egypt, the conflict began during Ali's rule when the religious elites, the *ulema*, were slowly relegated to a lower social and political status in the society. At the same time, the benefits of secular, Western reforms were heralded as advantageous and necessary for the social and economic development of Egypt as a nation state. Hence, when many of Ali's Western reforms failed to produce the promised societal improvements, and the general population was left in the same impoverished condition as before, it was easy to link the secular reforms to the difficulties of the majority of the Egyptian (Muslim) population.

During the 1800s and early 1900s the social and cultural gaps between the secular elites and the religious majorities were a challenge for the Egyptian government and the British Mandate. Following the government's inability to improve the poor social conditions of the lower classes, grassroots Islamic organisations like the Muslim Brotherhood were formed in the 1920s to reach out and help alleviate the situation of these classes. The abject living conditions of these classes became associated with failed Western and secular reforms, thus deepening the conflict between secularism and Islam.

This pattern of conflict between Islam and secularism can be found throughout the Middle East, especially in the previous colonised territories, where secularism has been identified with the Western colonial powers, the disintegration of traditional Islamic cultural norms and the general worsening of social and economic conditions. The conflict between Islam and secularism has been a subject discussed at length in other studies, especially with the recent rise of political Islam (Tibi, 1998; Asad, 2003; Burgat, 2003). It should be noted, however, that despite the popular image that Islam hinders the process of Westernisation and modernisation, one can cite counter-examples, like Indonesia, where there is a 95% Muslim population and a functioning secular government, and Turkey, with an equally overwhelming Muslim population, which has managed to maintain a secular, albeit fragile Republic for over 80 years.

Turkey

The Turkish Republic emerged out of the multi-ethnic Islamic Ottoman empire, a great power that, at its peak, spanned a vast territory stretching from northern Africa, southeastern Europe and western Asia. In the nineteenth century the Ottoman empire began to decline, and after its disastrous participation in the First World War and a 3-year civil war, it finally collapsed. In 1923, after an internal war of independence

the Turkish Republic was established under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. One of Atatürk's top priorities was the development of a secular Western-oriented democratic Turkish – not Ottoman – nation state propped up by an equally secular Western-oriented national Turkish education system. The major aims of modern Turkish education have been to transform Turkish society from its 'traditional' and conservative Ottoman Islamic outlook to a contemporary Western/'modern' nation (Kazamias, 1966; Szyliowicz, 1973; DBerkes, 1998; Kaplan, 2006).

The earliest modern reforms of the Ottoman empire date back to the late eighteenth century and the Imperial Rescript *Nizam-I Cedid* (New Order) issued by Sultan Selim III. This Rescript called for a series of reforms to modernise the Ottoman military and political administration. In the nineteenth century, the reform efforts sought to Westernise the Ottoman administration, the economic system and the education system. In education, efforts were made to introduce Western types of educational institutions with secular curricula for the purpose of educating leaders for public service in the Ottoman empire. Two such institutions are of particular significance: the *Mülkiye*, established in 1859, and the *Galatasaray Lise* which opened in 1868 (Lewis, 1961; Kazamias, 1966). The language of instruction in the *Galatasaray Lise* was French, and its purpose was explicit: "to prepare young men of various religious groups for all the branches of the public [civil] service by providing a higher type of education consonant with the needs of the empire" (Kazamias, 1966, p. 65). The *Galatasaray Lise*, according to Kazamias (2006), was the most secular and Western of all the new schools opened during this period. The curriculum included the following subjects: Turkish, French, Greek etymology, the elements of Latin needed for the study of law, medicine and pharmacy, general and Ottoman history, European and Ottoman geography, mathematics, cosmography, elements of jurisprudence, physics and chemistry, physical history, elements of political economy, rhetoric, geometric drawing, ethics and practical mechanics (Kaplan, 2006). Karpát (2001) has noted that the *Galatasaray Lise* initially attracted non-Muslim students, but with later additions of Turkish courses, the Muslim student enrolment exceeded that of non-Muslim students, further enhancing the school by teaching both Muslim and non-Muslim students. The graduates of both the *Mülkiye* and the *Galatasaray Lise* were influential in the modernisation of the Ottoman empire (Lewis, 1961; Kazamias, 1966; Szyliowicz, 1973).

Unlike Muhammad Ali of Egypt, the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1908) tried to harmonise Islamic and Western traditions through Western reforms and the establishment of Western-oriented schools. As part of the Ottoman modernisation/Westernisation process, Abdülhamid II allowed the drafting of an Ottoman Constitution similar to those found in contemporary Europe and he invited European leaders to help with economic reforms and the improvement of the military. In addition to these measures, he promoted Islam along with an Ottoman national identity as common denominators for all the diverse Ottoman ethnic and religious subjects in order to increase solidarity among them. Despite these efforts, Abdülhamid II was unable to realise fully his goals. Owing to the powerful influence of the *ulema*, and the rise of nationalism in the Balkans and the Middle East in the late Ottoman period, his efforts were largely unsuccessful (Berkes, 1998; Karpát, 2001).

The second major modernising/Westernising reform movement took place concomitantly with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and under his successor, İsmet İnönü. This second period of reform, also called the Single-Party Era, lasted approximately from 1923 to 1949. Atatürk developed a new national ideology to bolster the establishment of the new Turkish Republic. Called Kemalism, this ideology consisted of six arrows as guiding principles for the new Republic: Nationalism, Republicanism, Revolutionism, Secularism, Etatism and Populism.

Atatürk's reforms entailed a wholesale transformation or "transitology" from an Eastern Islamic empire to a Western secular Republic, by disestablishing the traditional place of Islam in the state administration and promulgating a new, Western national ideology (Kadioğlu, 1996). Secularism also meant a shift of the primary Turkish identity from community and religion to country and nation (Lewis, 1961). The Kemalist version of secularisation disestablished Islam by abolishing the Sultanate and the Caliphate and creating the Directorate of Religious Affairs in 1924. Atatürk's aim was to disestablish the powerful role of Islam and the Islamic elites in Turkish society in order to further his Western reforms (Berkes, 1998; Szyliowicz, 1973; Lewis, 1961; Kazamias, 1966).

An important mechanism for the transformation and modernisation of the newly established Turkish Republic and for Turkish nation building was the modernisation/Westernisation of the educational system. In the new Turkish Republic education was brought entirely under state control and became the prime transmitter of the Turkish republican national ideology and culture. During the formative years of nation-building, the religious schools (*madrassas*) were closed, and Islam, which was seen by the Kemalists as an impediment to Western development, was disestablished.

A definite break from the past was made when the law of Unification of Education was passed on 3 March 1924, declaring that a "modern, unified, secular, egalitarian, and national" educational system must be adopted to ensure that all Turkish citizens were receiving the same standard and quality of education. Religion was officially eradicated from the public school curriculum in 1928, when the clause stating that Islam was the state religion was removed from the Constitution (Berkes, 1998). The Turkish public educational system was now unified under the direction of a central state body – the National Ministry of Education – with a new Minister of Education at the helm. The basic structure of education has remained substantially the same since 1924. However, recent years have witnessed the introduction of reforms that promoted the inclusion of religious schools into the national system and changed the recommended duration of the middle school. The pattern of schooling today consists of primary education, secondary middle education in *orta okuls*, upper secondary education in *liseler* and post-secondary education in state universities, and private colleges or vocational schools.

Although Islam was officially disestablished under Atatürk and secularism became the national ideology, Islamic elements remained in the official administrative and economic spheres, including state education (Akşit, 1991; Yılmaz, 2002). Moreover, while religious education was regarded by the Kemalists as a barrier to modernisation and Westernisation, it was not totally eliminated from the national

system. Instead, it was brought under the control of the state and modified to suit national interests.

Turkey experienced several acute conflicts after the end of the Single-Party Era between Islamic and secular political parties and among political leaders. The 1946 elections, which marked the commencement of the Multi-Party Era in Turkish politics, also marked the beginning of an era of a widespread reaction against the strict secular policies of the Atatürk period. Political parties with Islamic elements had developed and a number of educational initiatives were introduced. These included optional religious courses in the state schools; further support of state-funded religious vocational schools, the *Imam-Hatips*; and the opening of the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Istanbul. These developments were to a degree more or less under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. The loosening of the strict Kemalist secular policies in education, as in other areas, was not supposed to result in a fundamental change of the national secular ideology. Indeed, Kemalist secularism remained the cornerstone of Turkish ideology. Nonetheless, clear directives regarding the place of Islam in secularist Turkey were not decreed by the government. This ambiguous role of Islam in Turkish society resulted in political and social unrest, creating widespread tension between secular nationalists and Islamic religious supporters.

In addition to this tension, the tension between the secular political and military elites and the religious needs of the Turkish people reached new peaks with the rise of political Islam after the 1970s. Henze (1998) attributes the political crisis of the 1970s to a number of factors, not least of which was the cumulative result of the failure of Islamic and secular political leaders to govern effectively. This state of affairs created a hotbed for terrorist activities, which continued to increase and were supported in part by foreign powers. The continuing crisis reached its peak in September, 1980, when following a fundamentalist Islamic demonstration in Konya, the military seized power under the leadership of General Kenan Evren and established martial law that lasted until 1983.

Following the military regime and the accession of Turgut Özal as Prime Minister in 1983, a series of successful reforms was instituted to suppress political and social violence and to stabilise the government. This, in turn, helped to improve the national economy and to strengthen public support for the government. This success was partly based on a new attitude towards the role of Islam in Turkey. Instead of showing aversion towards Islam, the post-1980 governments took several steps to strengthen it: they opened new Qur'anic schools, made religious courses compulsory, and employed new preachers (Yavuz, 1996). This new stance of the Turkish state on Islam was clearly reflected in the new Turkish Constitution promulgated in 1982.

Articles 24 of the 1982 Constitution provided *inter alia* the following:

Education and instruction in religion and ethics shall be conducted under State supervision and control. Instruction in religious culture and moral education shall be compulsory in the curricula of primary and secondary schools. Other religious education and instruction shall be subject to the individual's own desire, and in the case of minors, to the request of their legal representative. (The Constitution, 1995, para. 8)

With these new measures, the Turkish government hoped to avoid any further religious politicisation of the Turkish society, and in the words of Yavuz (1996) “to fuse Islamic ideas with national goals, . . . to create a more socially homogeneous and less politically active Islamic community” (p. 80). Consequently, the Kemalist principles were strengthened and, at the same time, a liberal form of Islam was incorporated into the national ideology, in particular into national education. This development did not evoke the Islamic traditions of the Ottoman empire; Islam was included as part of the moral and ethical lessons in Turkish schools (Özdalga, 1999).

In 1983, Turgut Özal, the head of the Motherland Party, a political party with open Islamic affiliations, was elected as Prime Minister. With the backing of the ever-powerful military establishment, Özal inaugurated a new period in Turkish history, one with a different official approach to Islam and its social role in the modern state (Kadioğlu, 1996). Özal hoped to overcome the polarisation between the secularists and the anti-secularists by instituting a reform in Islam that, in his view, was in accordance with modern conditions. In his view, this reform would make Islam more palatable to the Western-oriented, secularist Turks who resented the strict overtones of the Qur’an and the Sunna.

Özal’s reforms sought to bring about what has been referred to as the Turkish Islamic Synthesis (TIS). The TIS was a philosophy developed by Ibrahim Kafesoğlu and a group of centre-right intellectuals who formed a group known as the Turkish Intellectual Hearth (Turk Ocağı). This group of intellectuals felt that the true Turkish culture was a synthesis of the pre-Islamic traditions and the Islamic traditions of the Turkic people (Copeaux, 2000). They held that Islam was an important cultural and historical tradition and should be part of contemporary Turkish society. Additionally, the Hearth advocated state control over Islam. In keeping with this philosophy, the Özalist reforms to a large extent were an expansion of state control over religious areas, including education (Akarsu, 2000). Özal’s perception of religion and its role in the society mirrored the synthesis of secularism and Islam, which would not threaten the Western secular aspirations of the Kemalists, but would make Islam a fundamental element of Turkish identity. The TIS was seen as a cure for the political and social unrest by both the religious leaders and the military regime. This continuation of Islamic values became part of the educational system.

The major educational reform of this period was the implementation of compulsory religious education, which was thought to answer a public call for morality and ethics in Turkish society. The system of semi-private *Imam-Hatips*, which had operated partly under the auspices of the state since the 1950s, was greatly expanded by the 1980s. However, the language of the national policies was vague and inconsistent; the TIS was not successful in helping to develop a practical framework for state policy beyond offering some general philosophical guidelines.

After these reforms were introduced, Islamic instruction was expanded across Turkey. It is important to keep in mind, however, that Islam was never entirely eliminated from the schools of Republican Turkey. Instead, it was brought under state control with a series of new Western-styled laws and religious reforms. In the 1980s, when the Turkish Republic reintroduced Islam into government policies and into the Constitution, religious education was made compulsory. This action strengthened the place of Islamic education in the schools and in the Turkish society.

In the 1990s, following the Özal era of support and tolerance for Islam, the place of Islam in Turkey and in its national education system again became controversial. The military's strict position on secularism remained the same, despite their tolerance for Islam in the early 1980s. When the number of students enrolled in the semi-private religious *Imam-Hatips*, grew to an unprecedented proportion (to almost 10% of the student population in 1997), the military intervened and forced the government to change the number of years of compulsory education to 8 consecutive years of regular public (secular) education (Özdalga, 1999). Until then, students attended 5 years of regular public schools and then they could attend the *Imam-Hatips* in order to fulfil their compulsory education obligations. The *Imam-Hatips* offered a broad range of religious curricula in addition to the standard public school curricula, and they were a popular choice for religious conservative families for their children. While this reform did not affect the compulsory religious education of the public schools, it indicated the lack of patience by the secular military establishment for a type of education that did not fall within the framework of Turkish national education, which guaranteed equal (secular) education for all students.

The current political situation in Turkey further reflects the tension between secular and Islamic interests. In the spring of 2007, large demonstrations took place in Ankara, the capital, in protest against Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, a conservative politician with a pronounced Muslim background, and his campaign to elect Abdullah Gül, a person known for his Islamic affiliations, as president of the Turkish Republic. Erdoğan's intentions sparked a strong opposition from secular Kemalists, who felt that the presidency should remain a secular political stronghold (*Turkish News Daily*, 21 April 2007). Following a strong opposition by the secular Republican People's Party and warnings by the military, Gül withdrew his candidacy. Erdoğan then called for general elections which were held in July, 2007, at which Erdoğan's ruling Justice and Development Party, a centre-right party with Islamic affiliations, won by a landslide, having garnered 46.6% of the votes cast (Bozkurt, 2007).

Turkey was and is a unique case in its implementation of secularist policies. The state control of religion did not imply separation between religion and the state, and certainly did not imply the removal of Islam from the ostensibly secular Republic. The degree to which Islam and Turkish nationalism can coexist without significant tension and instability, however, remains to be seen.

Lebanon

Unlike Egypt and Turkey, Lebanon is known for its multi-sectarian population that includes the following religious communities: Maronite, Sunni, Shi'ite, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Druze, Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Latin (Roman Catholic), Chaldean, Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Catholic, Alawi and Bahai (Crow, 1962). The extreme heterogeneous nature of the society has also made Lebanon vulnerable to internal conflict that has been reflected in civil hostilities from the 1860s until the more recent tragic civil war of 1975. The varied nature of sectarian expansion has been responsible for the unique national development of Lebanon. The lack of a

common national ideology between the Christian and Muslim confessional groups is reflected in the educational system, which was influenced by various religious traditions and which the state administrations have never succeeded in completely centralising.

Alongside the small state system of schools, each religious community has historically been given the right to maintain a private system of education according to a tradition that began with the period Ottoman rule (1516–1918); it continued under the French Mandate (1918–1943); and it has been sustained under the current administration (Crow, 1962; Hudson, 1985; El-Solh, 2004). After the French Mandate began in 1920, the borders of the State of Greater Lebanon were expanded to include coastal regions and the Beqa Valley. This expansion dramatically altered the population make-up because the citizens of the acquired regions were primarily Muslim. This development succeeded in eliminating the Christian majority and creating a population comprising several large religious communities (Crow, 1962).

There were two main thrusts of Westernisation in Lebanon: the first appeared with a burst of missionary activity in the second half of the 1800s and the second, under the French Mandate between approximately 1920 until 1943. Whereas other Middle Eastern nations, for example, Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Jordan developed Western and national education systems for military and secular purposes, in Lebanon Western education was introduced under the auspices of private missionary, and hence religious groups (Szyliowicz, 1973). Beginning in the 1600s, Jesuit, Capuchin, Lazarist, Maronite, Greek orthodox, Catholic and Quaker missionaries all founded schools and churches in Lebanon (AMIDEAST, 1993). In the 1800s, Sunni Muslim and Druze communities established their own schools to protect their cultural interests from foreign Western influences (Abouchedid, 2002; Frayha, 2003). These schools began a long-lasting tradition of formal education outside of the state system, based on private and religious community affiliation.

The majority of the private and foreign schools established were based primarily on French educational models (Massialas & Jarrar, 1991). Curricula were heavily influenced by the respective communities and the language of instruction was either French or English, reflecting the large number of European and American missionaries who valued educational freedom in Lebanon. Educational initiatives organised by the various missionary and private groups intensified existing cultural rifts and sharpened regional perceptions of identity. Although a state system of schools existed during this period, the perpetuation of sectarian differences strengthened regional values and objectives, and thwarted eventual efforts by civil authorities to promote a national social and cultural ideology, let alone a unified curriculum.

Western education in Lebanon was more pronounced in higher education. Two universities founded during this period were the American University of Beirut (1866) and the University of Saint Joseph (1875). Considering their American and French affiliations, respectively, and their Western and modern intellectual orientation it is interesting to note that one of the first formal political parties in Lebanon that called for Christian/Muslim cooperation for social unity was organised at the American University of Beirut (AUB) (Frayha, 2003; Barakat, 1977). However, admission into these institutions depended on university entrance examinations, which were part of the foreign schools and easier for the students of those institutions to pass. Students

of the state schools found it difficult to attend higher education because they were not trained properly for the entrance examinations.

The unequal system of elitist foreign and private education was perpetuated after the end of the First World War, when the Ottoman empire was defeated. In 1920, France was granted a Mandate in Lebanon that established the Greater Lebanon (Khalifah, 2001). The French crystallised the fragmented nature of Lebanon in granting a large degree of autonomy to individual confessional communities, giving priority to the Maronite Christians in order to increase French political control in the region (Khalifah, 2001; Hudson, 1985). Under the French Mandate the state administration was dramatically modernised; Lebanon 'acquired' a National Constitution in 1926, a parliament elected by popular vote, a president elected by the parliament, a council of ministers, an independent judiciary, a modern fiscal system and a national policy of education.

However, the French did not have the resources, or the motivation, to nationalise the extensive system of private and foreign schools in Lebanon and instead opted to create three systems consisting of state, foreign and private schools. In effect, the French were not able to unify the social divisions which had existed for decades in the education system. They opted, therefore, to link the public school system with the systems of private and foreign schools. This manner of maintaining the unequal educational opportunities has been perceived as an attempt to preserve the French Catholic influence in Lebanon (Frayha, 2003).

After Lebanon gained complete independence from France in 1943, education was assigned the important role of helping to create a common sense of Lebanese national identity. The major confessional groups in Lebanon agreed to the National Pact of 1943, a treaty that established a base of political cooperation among the different groups for the founding of an independent national state, a common government and a geographical political entity (Baaklini, 1976). In the creation of a national education system that was not to be based on religious affiliation, the Lebanese government centralised all education, including the various sectarian schools: new educational legislation was enacted and the use of textbooks was thereafter supervised by the Ministry of Education (Frayha, 2003). Although private schools continued to operate, they were required to implement the same curricula as public schools under the supervision of the government. It was important for the new government to emphasise Lebanese national principles and values and not religious affiliation. This goal was clearly salient in the 1943 Lebanese Government Platform, which stated the following:

The time of national awakening in Lebanon's history shall be when we can abolish Taifiyah (sectarian conflict). ... From now on, the government will offer the Lebanese youth an appropriate citizenship education and orient them toward freedom, independence and national pride. Therefore, the government will use all necessary means to enhance Arabic, the country's language, as well as Lebanon's history and geography in all educational institutions. (reprinted in Fraya, 2003, p. 82)

Furthermore, in 1950 a decree was issued that required that all private schools be subjected to national supervision (Abouchedid, 2002).

Despite the efforts to centralise state administration and create a national ideology the religious differences proved too convoluted for the sectarian schools to be effectively governed. Political disagreements between the sectarian groups about the appropriate formation of a national identity, among other inter-regional conflicts, culminated in a civil war in 1958, and later in 1975. Different educational reforms were instituted in order to try and surmount the lack of national integration. The most recent of these plans was the 1989 Ta'if Agreement, approved by the Chamber of Ministers on 10 November 1993. This agreement stressed the importance of national upbringing and “essential” values like democracy, tolerance and the elimination of violence. It called for three main objectives to standardise history and civics textbooks and their mandatory instruction in Lebanese schools, to protect private education, and to reinforce the public sector of education (Abouchedid, 2002, Frayha, 2003). Despite the attempts to unify education, the government has been unable to fulfil its goals in education, and there are no clear government directives about the teaching of religion because of the sensitive nature of the subject (Abouchedid, 2002). Furthermore, the private schools continue to teach religion according to their sectarian traditions.

Historical Perspective on Western Education in Nation-Building in the Middle East

In the Middle East and North Africa Western education was seen as an important tool in the reorganisation and reorientation of traditional Islamic nations to become part of the ‘West.’ It appears, though, that alongside the major Westernisation reforms that occurred in Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon, a strong tendency towards Islamic traditions remained, and has continued to exist in the national schools. Formal education presents a particularly compelling subject to study, as it demonstrates the multiple factors involved in the negotiations of Westernisation and nationalisation in traditional Islamic societies.

Formal education has a rich tradition in each of the nation states examined here, reaching back to the early days of Islam. However, these nation states also share a similar trajectory of Western educational reforms beginning in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the case of Egypt and Turkey, students were sent to Europe to study for the purpose of strengthening national military power. In all three countries, a separate, typically secular, school system based on Western European models and emphasising non-Islamic curricula was set up; and, in the case of Lebanon, a private system of foreign missionary schools that provided the basic structure of the current Lebanese multi-sectarian educational system was established. Over the course of many years, the established Islamic educational traditions were undermined by Western schools the graduates of which created new elites, who were active in the national development of their respective societies.

Given that formal education had become a prime transmitter of new national cultures, the educational character and the curriculum shared common elements in all three nation states. In Egypt and Lebanon, the French influence was predominant. In the Islamic Ottoman empire Western schools and curricula were introduced, and in the

Turkish Republic that emerged from the defunct Ottoman empire in 1923, a secular national system of education was established. However, Islamic schools continued to function and only rarely were they integrated into the Westernised systems.

Although the above case studies share common elements, they also demonstrate different patterns of educational development. Whereas in Egypt and Turkey educational reform was introduced by the state in order to improve the military and to create Western-style state administrations, in Lebanon Western education was introduced by the missionaries. In Egypt Western reforms were uneven and inconsistent. The erratic reform movements created numerous problems and conflicts between grassroots Islamic organisations and the government elites. As a consequence, the state included Islam as part of Egyptian nation-building. Conversely, when Atatürk came to power in 1923, secularist policies were actively pursued by the Turkish state and since then a secular nationalism has been widely espoused. The severe sectarian differences in Lebanon have caused major difficulties in attempts to unify the religious communities, and a representative nationalist movement did not develop.

In many Middle Eastern societies, a dual-, and in the case of Lebanon, a tri-, system of education developed. Most governments did not have the resources, or indeed the incentive, to launch full-scale educational, political, social or economic reforms. In Lebanon and Egypt, the French and British Mandates simply maintained the inherited status quo. Hence, the rift between the elite classes and the general population deepened. Specifically for education, this disregard for incorporating the wider national population into the school system contributed to problems that are still evident today.

Although traditionally Islamic education was the main form of schooling in Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon, this changed dramatically in the face of Western, often secular, educational reforms. National education in each of these new nation states developed concurrently with nationalist movements both of which were greatly influenced by the West. The new Western-oriented elites sought to develop national state systems, but each nation state adapted educational reforms to suit its specific needs. Islamic education continued to exist in private and in public schools often contrasting sharply with the national reforms. However, the Islamic lessons were tailored to accommodate the state's objectives, not to recreate the Islamic learning of the former eras. The expansion of national education reflected the unique balance found in each respective nation between Islamic traditions and Western influences, highlighting how Islam retained an important presence in society, alongside, sometimes despite, official policies.

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CHRISTIANITY, MODERNITIES AND KNOWLEDGE

Gerald Grace

In the notes of guidance to the contributors to this volume, the editors assert that

[a]s the nature of educational sites alters in late modernity, the issue of educational cultures and pedagogic identity becomes powerfully de-linked from notions of citizenship and more and more powerfully linked to economics or to religion. The framing of the topics of culture, knowledge and pedagogies is thus changing rapidly and a comparative education of the future must work out new ways to analyse the theme of identity.

This chapter will attempt to assess that contention with particular reference to the socio-theological and educational cultures of two forms of Christianity.

From Sacred Christian Knowledge to Secular Market Knowledge

In *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity* (1996), Basil Bernstein reflected theoretically on the significance of these issues and it is clear that his insights provide a valuable starting point for a 'comparative education of the future'.

Bernstein outlines a major cultural transformation which can be discerned in Europe (and internationally), from a faith-based conception of knowledge and pedagogy to a secular, market-based conception of education. Historically, official knowledge and the curriculum and pedagogy derived from it in Europe were realisations of Christian religious culture in pursuit of a greater understanding of God:

The Christian God was a god you had to think about. It was a god that not only was to be loved, but to be thought about. And this attitude created an abstract modality to the discourse. (Bernstein, 1996, p. 83)

Educational discourse in the medieval university or 'school' involved exploration of the Word and exploration of the world, 'Word and world held together by the unity of Christianity' (ibid).

The fundamental Christian regulative principle of school knowledge and pedagogy was the existence of God and the incarnation of Jesus Christ, whose natures could be partly apprehended by the study of sacred text and partly by exploration of the created universe. Culture, knowledge and pedagogy were strongly framed within the Christian revelation and world view as mediated by the Catholic Church as the dominant Christian institution.

This religious regulative principle was, in Bernstein's view, progressively replaced during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment by a 'humanizing secular principle', representing the stage of early modernity, but this principle is now being replaced by a 'dehumanizing principle' of market commodification of knowledge and pedagogy in late modernity. The argument is elaborated in these terms:

Today, throughout Europe ... there is a new principle guiding the latest transition of capitalism. The principles of the market and its managers are more and more the principles of the policy and practices of education. Market relevance is becoming the key orientating criterion for the selection of discourses. ... This movement has profound implications from the primary school to the university.

There is a new concept of knowledge and of its relation to those who create it and use it. This new concept is a truly secular concept. Knowledge should flow like money to wherever it can create advantage and profit. Indeed, knowledge is no longer like money, it *is* money. (Bernstein, 1996 p. 87)

Accompanying this secularisation, commodification and marketisation of knowledge in contemporary settings, there are comparable transformations in pedagogic discourse and communication. Pedagogy is not simply a means for the transmission of knowledge, it is also a powerful regulator of consciousness and a formative influence upon personal identity.¹ Pedagogy in the secularised market curriculum has itself become dominated by output measures of specific competences and skills, by performance models of comparative achievement levels and by efficiency and effectiveness criteria relating to the 'delivery' of the required objectives of prescribed curricula. It follows from this analysis that student consciousness and sense of identity and personal worth will be affected in particular ways by what Bernstein has described as 'a virtually secular pedagogic discourse' (p. 80).

Faced with these profound changes in the framing of culture, knowledge and pedagogy in early and late modernity it is important to examine the educational responses which have been made by both Catholic and Reformed Christianity.² The development of secularisation in the modern world from the Enlightenment to the present day presents agencies of sacred culture with a powerful challenge. Secularisation represents the denial of the validity of the sacred and of its associated educational cultures and its attempted replacement by logical, rational, empirical and scientific intellectual cultures in which the notion of the transcendent has no place. Secularisation involves a significant change in the cultural power relations of any society. While secularisation changes intellectual and cultural power relations it also operates to affect the world view of many individuals so that religious concepts, religious discourse and religious sensitivities are simply irrelevant to the everyday business of life. This is what Berger (1973) has called 'a secularization of consciousness'.

Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Education

Giddens (1991) in *The Consequences of Modernity* argued that secularisation had significant consequences for an understanding of what constituted knowledge:

Religious cosmology is supplanted by reflexively organised knowledge, governed by empirical observation and logical thought and focused upon material technology and socially applied codes. (p. 109)

What his analysis overlooks is, that while there has been (in the West) what could be called a secular reformation in the culture of knowledge, pedagogy and educational processes there has, at the same time, been a religious counter-reformation in which Catholic Christianity has been prominent.

Commenting on the nature of the current secular reformation (the second reformation), Bauman (2000) argues that its central idea is that of 'human rights', especially as expressed in freedom of choice regarding beliefs, values and actions. A strong form of autonomous individualism marks this stage of late modernity or early postmodernism. A powerful idea is that the identity of the person can be constructed from whatever cultural elements the individual chooses – a construct which Gellner (1996) calls 'modular man' (and woman).

Christian educational agencies (and those of other faiths) exist as part of a counter-reformation in modernity which relates the formation of human persons to religiously given beliefs, values and principles and not to an entirely self-determined modular process.

In terms of identity formation the Enlightenment sought to replace the concept of religious believer and church member with that of rational citizen and civic participant. In late modernity, according to Bernstein, the attempted ideological transformation is from that of citizen to that of consumer and 'market player'.

Whatever else globalisation represents, it seems clear that it involves an attempted marketisation of cultures and societies worldwide, with challenging implications for educational systems. These challenges are especially sharp for faith-based as opposed to secular schooling systems.

The Challenges of Early Modernity: The Educational Responses of Catholic Christianity

The challenges of early modernity were constituted for the Catholic Church by the Protestant reformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and by the cultural effects of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Protestant reformations threatened the Church's control of culture, knowledge and pedagogy and its hegemony in the religious and spiritual domain. The Enlightenment and its consequences more radically threatened the very idea of the Christian God and of the culture of the sacred.

In his classic study, *The Evolution of Educational Thought* (1938) Emile Durkheim characterised the Society of Jesus as the leading Catholic agency in countering the

challenges of both Protestantism and secularism in the early modern period. For this reason he assigned three chapters of his book to a close examination of Jesuit educational culture – its curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. Durkheim recognised the remarkable significance of the Jesuits in shaping and forming Catholic curricula and pedagogy in Europe. Their intention was to create an intellectually stimulating Christian engagement with classics, theology, philosophy, history, literature, music, art and drama. An emphasis upon rhetoric, disputation and debate was designed to produce the ideal Jesuit student who would become a confident apologist for the Faith. The humane studies of a Jesuit education were intended to form Catholic intellectuals and men of public affairs whose scholarship confirmed the truths of the Catholic faith and who could confidently articulate these in exchanges with Protestants, secularists and atheists. While Jesuit pupils, in the words of Durkheim, ‘lived amidst a flurry of written assignments’ (p. 255), the ultimate purpose of these assignments, whatever the subject, was to illuminate God’s design for the created world and to form in the pupil a sense of service in relation to this grand design. This was an education intended to generate a vocation to serve others – at its best, by commitment to the clerical or religious life or in various lay professions for the general good.

The year 1999 marked the 400th anniversary of the publication of the *Ratio Studiorum* or ‘The Plan and Methodology of Jesuit Education’. In a commemorative volume published in 2000, various Jesuit scholars reflected upon its significance, its impact and future in the face of new challenges.³ It was understood that the influence of the *Ratio* and its educational culture had spread far beyond Jesuit schools and colleges. Many subsequent religious orders with missions in education had been influenced to a greater or lesser extent by Jesuit educational experience. The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Society of the Sacred Heart, and other religious orders were directly affected by Jesuit educational methodology.⁴ However, probably the greatest impact of the Jesuits is to be found in the example they provided of an active religious order with an educational mission. This set the pattern for the Catholic Church’s response to the challenges of early modernity. The following centuries witnessed a multiplication of new religious orders and teaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods dedicated to the vocation of education. The Catholic response to the challenges of early modernity was to generate specially trained men and women in organised formations dedicated to the work of Catholic education. The prime knowledge to be transmitted was the truths and doctrines of the Catholic faith and the pedagogy of the catechism was the dominant form. At the same time great emphasis was placed on traditional forms of academic achievement, moral formation and a strict disciplinary regime. The Catholic religious orders founded in early modernity were, in effect, missionaries of education against the twin dangers of Protestantism and secularisation. Their educational regimes were designed to work at all levels of society, from governing elites to the urban and rural masses. The range of their operations extended across the whole world as they followed the injunction of their Founder to ‘go and teach all nations’.⁵

At the heart of this great Catholic educational response to the challenges of early modernity were concepts of doctrinal certainty and vocational calling. Against the questioning of secularism, the existence of God was to be asserted and in various ways ‘proved’. Against the innovations of Protestantism, the eternal validity of Catholicism

and of the Catholic Church was reasserted. Permeating the whole system was the regulative principle of 'finding your vocation'. Catholic education was the means by which youth could find their calling from God – their vocational destiny in the service of God.

This destiny might be that of Catholic parenthood and lay occupations of various kinds (with public service professions strongly favoured) or the ultimate vocation of service to the Church in clerical or religious life. While so many Catholic teachers of this era were themselves members of religious orders the concept of a vocation in the service of God was a daily incarnation in the classroom lives of the pupils and students. The vocational word was, in this sense, 'made flesh' in the presence and the conduct of their teachers. Everything else in the system, the academic curriculum, the moral formation, the social and community bonding was there to facilitate the student in finding his or her approved vocation in the service of God (and the Catholic Church). This is the essence of a Christian faith-based schooling system, that is, the search for the nature of God especially as revealed in the Person of Christ and the search for God's purposes in vocation for the individual student. This system, as Bernstein (1996) has argued, was faced with considerable challenges in the cultural transformations of late modernity.

The Challenges of Late Modernity: The Educational Responses of Catholic Christianity

In late modernity the Catholic Church faced a world situation characterised by a more pervasive culture of secularism and materialism than it had ever before encountered. In particular it faced an international cult of perpetual consumerism propagated by the many agencies of global capitalism and an international situation marked by sharper divisions between rich and poor nations.

The Catholic Church, under the inspiration of Pope John XXIII, had itself undergone an attempted spiritual, religious, moral and social transformation in the proceedings of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). As Adrian Hastings (1991, p. 525) has argued:

[T]here can be no question that the Vatican Council was the most important ecclesiastical event of the century. ... It so greatly changed the character of by far the largest communion of Christendom.

The new spirit of Vatican II had considerable radical potential. This potential involved attempts to develop a new conception of the Church as not simply clerical but constituted as 'the people of God'; a move away from papal fiat towards greater collegial authority; a new principle of openness and dialogue with the world, other Christian denominations, other religious faiths and with 'all people of good will' regardless of faith; a renewed corpus of Catholic social teaching centred upon 'a preferential option for the poor' and a new conception of sin, as not merely individual failings but also social and structural failings. A changed socio-political stance in international relations involved a move from the traditional denunciations of Marxism and

of communist regimes (as atheistic and oppressive) to a more extensive criticism of structures of oppression and exploitation – ‘structures of sin’, constituted in global capitalism, in race relations (apartheid in South Africa) and discernable in various parts of the world, for example, Latin America.

In 1977, the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education issued from Rome a foundational document, *The Catholic School*, which powerfully expressed the new spirit which it was hoped would characterise Catholic education internationally. This document inaugurated a post-Vatican II conception of what a Catholic Christian education should be in the era of late modernity. Any attempt in a ‘comparative education of the future’ to evaluate Catholic school systems from the standpoint of values, knowledge, pedagogy, identity and social relations, must use as its theoretical framework this ‘foundation charter’ for contemporary Catholic education. As there is little understanding of these principles in the secular academic world, they need to be stated here in some detail.

Foundation Principles for Catholic Education in the Era of Late Modernity

On the Distinctive and Necessary Role of the Catholic School

There is a ‘pressing need to ensure the presence of a Christian mentality in the society of the present day, marked, among other things, by cultural pluralism. For it is Christian thought which constitutes a sound criterion of judgement in the midst of conflicting concepts and behaviour: reference to Jesus Christ ... teaches the values which ennoble from those which degrade’.

Cultural pluralism leads the Church to reaffirm her mission of education to ensure strong character formation. Her children then will be capable of both resisting the debilitating influence of relativism and of living up to their baptism. For this reason, the Church is prompted to mobilise her educational resources in the face of the materialism, fragmentation and technocracy of contemporary society’ (pp. 15–16).⁶

This section of the charter stressed the importance of the critical role of Catholic schooling in late modernity. The role of the Catholic School was counter-cultural.

Later statements from Rome suggested that modernity has become associated with the unrestrained pursuit of profit and of technological innovation to the detriment of the spiritual and moral formation of persons. Catholic schools internationally have been called upon to be counter-cultural to these tendencies.

Catholic Schools and Human Formation

‘A school is not only a place where one is given a choice of intellectual values, but a place where one is presented with an array of values which are actually lived. ... Christ is the foundation of the whole educational enterprise in a Catholic school ... the Catholic school aims at forming in the Christian those particular virtues which will enable him⁷ to live a new life in Christ’ (pp. 29–33).

Catholic educators are to resist the reductionism of education as academic achievement only. The formation of values and virtues is crucial to human development in the contemporary world.

Against the many dramatic and glamorous role models provided by a modern media culture permeating the world, Catholic schools are encouraged to continue to project to Catholic youth, the Person of Christ as the most perfect guide for living and human formation.

Integration of Faith and Life

‘The Catholic school has, as its specific duty, the complete Christian formation of its pupils and this task is of special significance today because of the inadequacy of the family and society. ... Young people have to be taught to overcome their individualism and discover, in the light of faith, their specific vocation. The very pattern of the Christian life draws them to commit themselves to serve God ... and to make the world a better place to live in’ (p. 37).

The important role of the Catholic school in assisting young people to find their God-given vocation is again reasserted. Generating a culture of vocation is seen to have heightened significance because of contemporary tendencies to think in terms of ‘good jobs’ only, to the detriment of notions of a ‘calling’ or a ‘vocation’.

Catholic schools are expected to develop educational cultures in which faith, reason and life are brought into an integrated relationship as a holistic educational experience. From this perspective, the understanding of particular academic subjects and of particular vocational possibilities should be strongly framed within the perspective of the Faith.

On Knowledge

‘Education is not given for the purpose of gaining power but as an aid towards the fuller understanding of and communion with man, events and things. Knowledge is not to be considered as a means of material prosperity and success, but as a call to serve and to be responsible for others’ (p. 43).

The authors of *The Catholic School* saw an external world in which knowledge itself was being transformed into a market commodity associated with power, wealth and personal status. Their argument in this section was that Catholic educational knowledge was not to be seen only in terms of individual personal empowerment but rather as empowerment for social purposes. The commodification of knowledge in late modernity was to be resisted.

Catholic schools were called upon to resist an individualistic ‘success’ culture and a market conception of knowledge by holding to traditional conceptions that knowledge entails service to a larger good.

On Teachers as Witnesses

‘The Catholic school depends not so much on subject matter or methodology as on the people who work there. The extent to which the Christian message is transmitted through education depends to a very great extent on the teachers. ... The nobility of the task to which teachers are called demands that, in imitation of Christ ... they reveal the Christian message not only by word but also by every gesture of their behaviour.’⁸ This is what makes the difference between a school whose education is permeated by the

Christian spirit and one in which religion is only regarded as an academic subject like any other' (p. 36).

Lay teachers were encouraged to follow the example of their predecessors, the religious, in being witnesses for Christ. The transmission of the charisms of religious congregation to their lay successors would be essential to preserving the distinctive roles of Catholic schools in society.

In effect, the Church was attempting to encourage Catholic lay teachers and school leaders, who now constituted the majority of the personnel in schools, to become inheritors and models of the charisms of the declining religious orders in education.

Catholic Schools and Social Justice

'Since it is motivated by the Christian ideal, the Catholic school is particularly sensitive to the call from every part of the world for a more just society. ... In some countries, because of local laws and economic conditions, the Catholic school runs the risk of giving counter-witness by admitting a majority of children from wealthier families. ... This situation is of great concern to those responsible for Catholic education, because first and foremost the Church offers its educational service to the poor to those who are deprived of family help and affection or those who are far from the faith' (pp. 44–45).⁹

There is evidence here of concern that too many Catholic schools internationally were in the service of the rich rather than the poor. A danger for Catholic schooling in late modernity was that despite a rhetoric of service to the poor, it might in practice not be realising this foundation principle.

Catholic school service to elite students had historically been premised on the belief that the future leaders of society could be 'converted' to the service of the poor by religious and moral teaching.

The Second Vatican Council called for more direct engagement with the education of the deprived and the powerless, by a commitment to 'a preferential option for the poor' in schooling.

Catholic Schools and the Common Good

'The Catholic school community is an irreplaceable source of service. ... Today, one sees a world which clamours for solidarity and yet experiences the rise of new forms of individualism. Society can take note from the Catholic school that it is possible to create true communities out of a common effort for the common good' (p. 47).¹⁰

The authors of *The Catholic School* saw a late modernity marked by the growth of acquisitive and competitive individualism, encouraged by global capitalism. This was an attempt to keep Catholic schools in the service of social solidarity and the common good.

The ideological influence of the New Right in politics and economics was becoming evident to Church leaders and it was seen to be necessary to rearticulate and to re-emphasise Catholic social teaching about the common good and its relationship to education.

Catholic Schools and Openness

'In the certainty that the spirit is at work in every person, the Catholic school offers itself to all, non-Christians included, with all its distinctive aims and means' (p. 66).¹¹

Against widely held views that Catholic schools served Catholics only, the Congregation for Catholic Education made it explicit that Catholic schools were, (subject to available places), at the service of all who wished to enter. The concept of the ghetto school was replaced by a school at the service of the world.

The Roles of Catholic Schools in Late Modernity

This new ‘openness to the world’ was very much in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. However, conservative Catholics feared the potential of such universal open access to dilute the Catholic ethos and culture of the schools.

This radical and explicit agenda for the transformation of Catholic schooling worldwide was offered for the consideration of Episcopal Conferences, that is, the Conference of Catholic Bishops in various parts of the world who are responsible for the administration, policy and practice of their particular educational systems:

We appeal to each Episcopal conference to consider and to develop these principles which should inspire the Catholic school and to translate them into concrete programs which will meet the real needs of the educational systems operating in their countries. (pp. 71–72)

It seems likely that the reforming principles of *The Catholic School* document may have been taken up with enthusiasm in some societies, with caution in others, and in conservative settings, virtually ignored.

At its best, the post-Vatican II version of Catholic Christian education will be characterised by its counter-cultural stance to the features of late modernity. Against a confusion of role models for the young, the schools will offer the Person of Christ; against the hegemonic consumerism of global capitalism, the schools will attempt to form a spirituality of service and of God-given vocations; against a reductionist view of knowledge as commodity and of pedagogy as technical delivery, the schools will attempt to hold to humane educational values and a dialogic learning experience for the students. The ideal post-Vatican II Catholic school will be an agency for the advancement of social justice and the common good and it will make its services available to the poor and disadvantaged and to those who are ‘far from the Faith’.¹²

That is the new vision for the role of Catholic education system arising from the deliberation of the Second Vatican Council. However, the question for large-scale comparative education research in the future is to what extent does this ideal conception of Catholic schooling exist in practice, as opposed to only in the documents and formal discourse of the Church?

To what extent have the Conferences of Bishops throughout the world taken this radical vision seriously and sought to transform their educational systems to meet the challenges of late modernity using the principles of the 1977 foundation charter?

Given that the Catholic educational system is the largest faith-based schooling system in the world with 120,000 schools serving almost 50 million students (Pittau, 2000), it is remarkable how little research and scholarly attention it has received from the various branches of Education studies, including comparative education studies.¹³

This seems to be the result of what Gallagher (1997, p. 23) has referred to as ‘secular marginalisation’ in the intellectual culture of late modernity:

especially in the academic and media worlds, a secular culture reigns with the result that religion is subtly ignored as unimportant.

As the editors of this volume assert, one of the paradoxes or contradictions of the present juncture is that education is becoming more powerfully linked to the economics of global capitalism on the one hand, but also to resurgent forms of religion on the other.¹⁴ The study of how these profound contradictions in the cultures of schooling are realised in the future becomes a major research project for comparative education. The fate of post-Vatican II Catholic schooling provides a rich field for investigation as part of that larger project.

The Educational Responses of Reformed Christianity

Of all the varieties of Reformed Christianity there is only space here to consider one of them in the context of later modernity – that of Evangelical Christianity. Karen Armstrong (2001a, p. 140) reminds us that recent events have tended to preoccupy everyone with notions of Islamic fundamentalism. This, as she points out, is a limited view because

[f]undamentalism is a global fact and has surfaced in every major faith in response to the problems of our modernity. There is fundamentalist Judaism, fundamentalist Christianity, fundamentalist Hinduism, fundamentalist Buddhism.

Of all the forms of religious fundamentalism, she argues, that of Evangelical Christianity surfaced first in the Christian world, in the USA at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although there are different realisations of Evangelical Christianity, what unites them all is an emphasis upon the literal truths of the Bible as the Word of God; a belief in the act of personal salvation as an encounter with Christ which does not depend upon the mediation of a priesthood or an institutional church; a view of secular society in late modernity as hostile to true religion and as spiritually and morally corrupt and a belief that children and young people must be educated in schooling contexts which insulate them from an externally decadent world.

Armstrong (2001b, pp. 269–270) reports that

[d]uring the 1970s (in the USA) more parents than ever before removed their children from the public schools to Christian establishments where they could be instructed in Christian values ... and where all learning was conducted within a biblical context. Between 1965 and 1983 enrolment in these evangelical schools increased six-fold and about 100,000 fundamentalist children were taught at home.¹⁵

In an era in which the Catholic schooling system sought a new stance of openness to, and of dialogue with, the external world, committing itself to working for social justice

and the common good, the Evangelical school network took up a stance of insulating its young people from the world.¹⁶ However, while the young of the community needed to be protected, it was understood to be the duty of adult Evangelists to campaign against the forces of corruption. This could be done by mobilising as a political and pressure group formation which could compel the liberal establishment to make political, educational and social concessions to the demands of Evangelical Christianity.

In the view of Evangelical Christians a new religion was in power in the USA, that of secular humanism. This false religion of late modernity had to be not only denounced but actively resisted in community, state and national politics. As a leading USA fundamentalist, Pat Robertson proclaimed, 'We have enough votes to run this country.'¹⁷

The educational consequences of fundamentalist types of Evangelical Christianity in the USA have been examined by Michael Apple (2001) in his important text, *Educating the 'Right' Way: Markets, Standards, God and Inequality*. Apple's specific focus is upon the growing power of the 'Christian Right' (evangelists) and 'the growing influence of authoritarian, populist religious conservatism in education' (p. 27). The agenda of the 'Christian Right' includes attempts to influence policy by 'bringing God back into the schools', advancing particular views on gender, sexuality and the family and by shaping ideas about what is to count as legitimate knowledge in the schools. In the absence of a national curriculum in the USA, evangelists have been successful in bringing pressure to bear upon school textbook publishers and upon state education officials. From this perspective the subjects of the curriculum and their content must be legitimated by a clear relationship with the Bible as the framework for all knowledge. In particular, Creation Science (derived from Biblical accounts) must at least be given equal time in the curriculum with Evolution Science (derived from Darwinian sources).

The agenda of conservative Evangelical Christianity is powerful in the USA because of the commitment of its activists, its large financial backing and its creative and extensive use of the mass media to propagate its messages. In noting this, Apple (2001) highlights the international mission potential of Evangelical Christian educators and preachers. Evangelicals are active in Latin America, Eastern Europe, Russia, Africa, India and many parts of Asia. If the Catholic Church responded to the challenges of early modernity by forming and deploying many religious orders with missions in education, it can be seen that Evangelical Christianity is responding to late modernity by sending out its educational and religious missionaries to all parts of the world. The power of Evangelical Christianity in education is not simply a phenomenon of the USA; it has worldwide implications for knowledge selection and pedagogical processes in many societies. The historical irony is that the Catholic Church is now witnessing a serious reduction in its religious order personnel,¹⁸ while the missionaries of Evangelism appear to be increasing rapidly.

Agendas for Comparative Education Research

This analysis has already suggested some major themes for future research.

For Catholic Christianity, the practical manifestations of a reformed post-Vatican II version of Catholic schooling requires detailed examination in various parts of the

world. A particular focus on the nature of knowledge constituted in contemporary Catholic schools is required. In what senses is this knowledge distinctively Catholic, in its content, its pedagogy and its evaluation? If the ‘teacher as witness’ is a crucial part of a Catholic educational formation, to what extent are teachers in contemporary schools fulfilling that role? Has Catholic pedagogy substantially moved from a ‘pedagogy of the catechism’ in religious teaching to a ‘pedagogy of dialogue’ about religious and spiritual matters? Has the concept of finding your God-given vocation in Catholic education weakened in late modernity as a complex result of secularisation, marketisation and the dramatic decline of vowed religious teachers as living models of vocation?

For Evangelical Christianity, detailed studies are needed of what impact it is having on curriculum selection and control in a range of countries. Is there a resurgence of Bible validated knowledge and pedagogy and what does this mean in terms of curriculum structure and process? What effects are the growing number of evangelical schools having on other schooling systems? Does Evangelical Christianity in its educational cultures have an essentially conservative and individualising effect on students, as Apple (2001) suggests, or does it provide students with a commitment to missionary work for the good of communities? In specific regions, such as Latin America, are evangelical schools beginning to displace the traditional educational cultures of Catholicism, or are these two agencies working together to strengthen Christian education in that continent?¹⁹

The injunction of Jesus Christ to his disciples to ‘go and teach all nations’ has, in the following centuries, resulted in an extensive Christian network of schools, colleges and universities in almost every country. In this chapter, because of limitations of space only the schools of the Catholic and Evangelical traditions have been discussed. If we add to these, the schools of other Christian communities, for example, Lutheran, Anglican, Orthodox, Methodist, Baptist, and other churches of Reformed Christianity, then it becomes apparent that the Christian education network is still a major force to be reckoned with. It is also a major field for future research by scholars of comparative education, and of other educational disciplines.²⁰

Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Education: An Uncertain Outcome

This chapter has used as its theoretical framework the analysis of Basil Bernstein (1996) which suggests that a major secular reformation of education is taking place in late modernity in the West.

This reformation involves the potential hegemony of a commodified concept of knowledge, a marketised form of the curriculum, a virtually secular pedagogic discourse and a conception of education as entirely concerned with the pursuit of material advantage and of social mobility. While Bernstein observed that, at the same time, ‘a revival of the sacred’ was taking place, he did not elaborate the nature of what can be called, the religious counter-reformation in education.

This chapter has tried to explore the nature of the Christian counter-reformation to these developments in education. Catholic Christian schooling, in the spirit of the

Second Vatican Council has formulated a charter and a set of principles, which if implemented, represents a powerful and distinctive oppositional agenda to that provided by economic ideologies in education across the world.²¹

Evangelical Christian schooling is involved in a more complex counter-reformation, resisting secularisation by a strong assertion of the centrality of Bible truth in educational experience and of absolute moral standards derived from this source, while at the same time appearing more nuanced in its relation to economic structures and ideologies and their impact on education.

Pope John Paul II in 1994 expressed the Catholic position on these issues in dramatic terms:

Against the spirit of the world, the Church takes up each day a struggle that is none other than the struggle for the world's soul.²²

While contemporary Catholic education is engaged in a struggle for the world's soul, it is not at all clear that it has sufficient resources to be successful in that struggle. The struggles of early modernity were undertaken by dedicated religious orders with missions in education across the world.

Contemporary struggles depend much more upon Catholic lay school leaders and teachers who may be less well resourced than their predecessors to maintain a distinctive oppositional agenda.

Evangelical Christian education has adopted a stance of counter-reformation to the influence of relativistic liberal morality in state schooling systems but in the opinion of writers such as Martin (1999) and Apple (2001) its individualistic and pragmatic stance on economic issues make it an ally of corporatism rather than a critic.

We must conclude therefore that 'the struggle for the world's soul', in educational terms, is an unequal struggle with uncertain outcomes, and as Bernstein (1996, p. 88) suggested, 'what is at stake is the very concept of education itself'.

Bernstein on Religion, Identity and Modernity

Bernstein's conclusions provide a suitable ending to the arguments of this chapter:

What appears to be happening at the end of the 20th century is a weakening of the location of the sacred. In the beginning of the century, the sacred was centrally located and informed the collective base of society through the inter-relation of state, religion and education. Today, this collective base has been considerably weakened. ... The sacred now reveals itself in dispersed sites, movements and discourses. (1996, p. 81)

However, he also noted that:

Christianity ... is a faith where faith cannot be taken for granted; it must be constantly re-won, revitalized, renewed. (1996, p. 86)

This chapter has demonstrated that the educational cultures of both Catholic Christianity and of Evangelical Christianity are attempting to defend their respective conceptions of the sacred in the conditions of late modernity. They are attempting to defend their understandings of what constitutes a valid conception of knowledge and the curriculum, a valid conception of the educational process and a distinctively Christian approach to the formation of students in education.

At the same time they are both working to revitalise and renew their educational systems in the face of the many challenges which the conditions of late modernity generate for religious believers and for faith-based education.

Notes

1. For a detailed discussion, see Bernstein (1996, pp. 75–81).
2. Reformed Christianity here refers to all those churches and religious groups which have developed since the Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which are broadly described as Protestant.
3. See Duminuco (2000), especially Appendix A: ‘The characteristics of Jesuit education’, and ‘Ignatian pedagogy: A practical approach’ (pp. 162–275). See also Appendix 2 (pp. 276–1291), ‘Ignatian pedagogy today’, which includes the statement, ‘the goal of Jesuit education is the formation of men and women for others, people of competence, conscience and compassionate commitment’ (p. 277).
4. For a detailed discussion, see Rosemary DeJulio, ‘The response of Mary Ward and Madeleine Sophie Barat to the Ratio Studiorum’, in Duminuco (2000, pp.107–126).
5. For one major study of this great educational missionary enterprise, see Murphy (2000).
6. This has been a constant theme in subsequent Vatican pronouncements on Catholic education in late modernity: ‘Many young people find themselves in a condition of radical instability. ... They live in a one-dimensional universe in which the only criterion is practical utility and the only value is economic and technological progress. ... Not a few young people ... trying to find an escape from loneliness, turn to alcohol, drugs, the erotic, the exotic. Christian education is faced with the huge challenge of helping these young people discover something of value in their lives’ (The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School, 1988, pp. 8–10).
7. The spirit of Vatican II did not, unfortunately, lead to the use of gender-inclusive language in the documents of the Church.
8. This emphasis upon the importance of ‘witness’ in Catholic educational formation was strengthened further by Pope Paul VI’s much quoted (in Catholic contexts) statement: ‘Today, students do not listen seriously to teachers but to witnesses; and if they do listen to teachers, it is because they are witnesses’. (Evangelii Nuntiandi, 1975), quoted in Duminuco (2000, p. 285)
9. For further discussion of this, see Grace (2003).
10. The Catholic Bishops’ Conference of England and Wales reiterated the common good objectives of Catholic social and educational teaching in two publications in 1996 and 1997.
11. Catholic schools in ‘missionary’ contexts such as Africa, the Middle and Far East, India, etc. had always been open to those of other faiths. This radical development in 1977 extended this openness to all contexts internationally.
12. For some research studies which have attempted to assess the impact of Vatican II reforms upon the practice of Catholic schooling, see Arthur (1995), Bryk et al. (1993), Flynn (1993), Grace (2002), Greeley (1998), McLaughlin et al. (1996), O’Keefe (2000), Sullivan (2000) and Youniss et al. (2000 a,b).
13. Some attempt to remedy this situation will be made in a forthcoming publication, International Handbook of Catholic Education, edited by Gerald Grace and Joseph O’Keefe, S.J., to be published in 2007.
14. This was also recognised by Bernstein (1996, p. 80): ‘We have produced for the first time a virtually secular pedagogic discourse and culture, and at the same time, a revival of the sacred.’

15. Walford (2001) has examined the development of Christian Evangelical schools in England and the Netherlands.
16. It must be noted however that pre-Vatican II Catholic schools were also insulated from the external world which was regarded as potentially corrupting for the Faith.
17. Quoted in Armstrong (2001b, p. 267).
18. The seriousness of the situation was recognised by the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education publication, *Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to Faith* (1982). In this document the hope was expressed that the charisma and sense of vocation of the declining religious teaching orders would be reconstituted in their lay successors.
19. For one discussion of the impact of Protestant evangelisation in Latin America, see Cook (1994). See especially Chapter 5 (Berg & Pretiz) and Chapter 20 (Bonino).
20. For an attempt to encourage such research, see Grace (2004).
21. Casanova (1994, p. 5) argues, with special reference to Catholicism, that 'religious traditions throughout the world are refusing to accept the marginal and privatised role which theories of modernity ... had reserved for them. Social movements have appeared ... challenging in the name of religion ... the state and the market economy'.
22. Quoted in Grace (2002, p. 21)

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TOWARDS A COMPARATIVE PEDAGOGY¹

Robin Alexander

The Neglect of Pedagogy in Comparative Enquiry

Pedagogy is the most startlingly prominent of the educational themes which British comparativists have ignored. In the special millennial issue of the leading UK journal *Comparative Education*, Angela Little recorded that just 6.1% of the journal's articles between 1977 and 1998 dealt with 'curricular content and the learner's experience' as compared with nearly 31% on themes such as educational reform and development (Little, 2000, p. 283); Cowen asserted that 'we are nowhere near coming fully to grips with the themes of curriculum, pedagogic styles and evaluation as powerful message systems which form identities in specific educational sites' (Cowen, 2000, p. 340); and Broadfoot argued that future comparative studies of education should place much greater emphasis 'on the process of learning itself rather than, as at present, on the organisation and provision of education' (Broadfoot, 2000, p. 368).

If the omission is so obvious, one might reasonably enquire why comparativists have not remedied it. There may be a simple practical explanation. Policy analysis, especially when it is grounded in documentation rather than fieldwork, is a more manageable option than classroom research. Cheaper, speedier and more comfortable too: who would exchange their library or internet connection for time-consuming and occasionally hair-raising journeys encumbered by video and audio recorders, cameras, tripods, observation schedules, interview schedules, clothing, food and all the other necessary apparatus of 'thick description' – not to mention the complex negotiations which nowadays are required before one can observe teachers or talk to children?

As a less uncharitable possibility, and echoing Brian Simon's 'Why no pedagogy in England?' (Simon, 1981), we might suggest that a country without an indigenous 'science of teaching' is hardly likely to nurture pedagogical comparison: cherry-picking and policy borrowing maybe, but not serious comparative enquiry (Alexander, 1996).

Or perhaps pedagogy is one of those aspects of comparative education which demands expertise over and above knowledge of the countries compared, their cultures, systems and policies. I rather think it is, especially given the condition which Simon identified. Michael Crossley (2000) argues:

If the well documented pitfalls of comparative education are not to be re-encountered, it is important that those new to such research engage with the

literatures that are central to the field. Similarly, it is important for those who see themselves as comparativists to embrace the opportunities presented by such a widening of research networks and discourses. (p. 324)

A certain imbalance in the force of these two imperatives is detectable here: non-comparativists must ‘engage with the literature’ (presumably because their ignorance is greater), but comparativists need only to ‘embrace opportunities’. There may well be evidence of ill-judged comparison among the ‘new’ educational comparers, but we can also find examples of superficial or even ill-conceived analyses of particular educational phenomena in the mainstream comparative literature. Unless one is content to confine oneself to that superficial A vs B juxtaposing of national educational systems which used to be the staple diet of university comparative education courses but, mercifully, is now much less common, then meaningful educational comparison is never less than a magnificent challenge, for it requires engagement with several distinct literatures and modes of analysis simultaneously. One can hardly study comparative law or literature without knowing at least as much about law or literature as about the countries and cultures involved and the business of making comparisons; the same goes for comparative education.

This is why this chapter’s title refers to ‘comparative pedagogy’.² Pedagogy is a complex field of practice, theory and research in its own right. The challenge of comparative pedagogy is to marry the study of education elsewhere with the study of teaching and learning in a way which respects both of these fields of enquiry yet also creates something which is more than the sum of their parts.

New Territories, but Old Maps

Little’s framework for classifying journal articles on comparative education (Little, 2000) differentiated *context* (the country or countries studied), *content* (using the 1978 thematic classification reproduced inside the journal’s back cover, and *comparison* (the number of countries compared). Trying to place my *Culture and Pedagogy* (Alexander, 2001) within this framework underlines pedagogy’s marginal status in mainstream comparative discourse. This study used documentary, interview, observational, video and photographic data collected at the levels of system, school and classroom between 1994 and 1998. The study’s ‘context’ was England, France, India, Russia and the United States. So far so good, even though five-country studies are relatively unusual. Edmund King’s seven-nation study remains the classic example of this genre (King, 1979). Its ‘content’ straddled at least 6 of Little’s 13 themes without sitting comfortably within any of them, and the educational phase with which it dealt – primary education – did not appear at all in that framework (nor, strikingly, did the terms ‘teaching’ or ‘learning’, let alone ‘culture’ or ‘pedagogy’). Its ‘comparison’ was across five countries (a rarity) and included both North and South (a rarity overall, and a novelty in Little’s five-country category).

Apart from the fact that, as already noted, pedagogy is a neglected field in comparative enquiry, there is a further reason why the content of this research maps so

imperfectly onto Little's framework: the framework does not accommodate studies which cross one important boundary hitherto unmentioned, that between the macro and the micro. *Culture and Pedagogy* – as the title suggests – illustrates Sadler's hoary maxim about the inseparability of the worlds inside and outside the school (Sadler, 1900), yet Little's framework seems to imply that comparative studies must be either national *or* local, about policy *or* practice, the system *or* the classroom, rather than about their interaction. In this respect, comparativists may be somewhat behind the larger social science game, in which the relationship between social structure, culture and human agency has been 'at the heart of sociological theorising' for well over a century (Archer, 2000, p. 1).

Thus, pedagogy does not begin and end in the classroom. It is comprehended only once one locates practice within the concentric circles of local and national, and of classroom, school, system and state, and only if one steers constantly back and forth between these, exploring the way that what teachers and students do in classrooms reflects the values of the wider society. That was one of the challenges which the *Five Cultures* research sought to address.

Another challenge for a comparative pedagogy is to engage with the interface between present and past, to enact the principle that if one is to understand anything about education elsewhere one's perspective should be powerfully informed by history. So while the comparative journey in *Culture and Pedagogy* culminates in a detailed examination of teacher–pupil discourse – for language is at once the most powerful tool of human learning and the quintessential expression of culture and identity – it starts with accounts of the historical roots and developments of primary education in each of the five countries, paying particular attention to the emergence of those core and abiding values, traditions and habits which shape, enable and constrain pedagogical development.

Defining Pedagogy

So far, a definition of pedagogy has been inferred. It is time to be more explicit. One of the values of comparativism is that it alerts one to the way that the apparently bedrock terms in a particular discourse are nothing of the sort.

Thus it may well matter, in the context of the strong investment in citizenship which is part of French public education, that *éduquer* means to bring up as well as formally to educate and that *bien éduqué* means well brought up or well-mannered rather than well-schooled ('educate' in English has both senses too, but the latter now predominates); or that the root of the Russian word for education, *obrazovanie*, means 'form' or 'image' rather than, as in our Latinate version, a 'leading out'; or that *obrazovanie* is inseparable from *vospitanie*, an idea which has no equivalent in English because it combines personal development, private and public morality, and civic commitment, while in England these tend to be treated as separate and even conflicting domains; or that *obuchenie*, which is usually translated as teacher-led 'instruction,' signals learning as well as teaching. It is almost certainly significant that in English (and American) education 'development' is viewed as a physiological and psychological process

which takes place independently of formal schooling whereas Russian teachers define 'development' transitively, as a task which requires their active intervention: in the one context development is 'natural' while in the other it is more akin to acculturation. Similarly, in the Anglo-American tradition the most able child is defined as the one with the greatest potential, while in Russia's Soviet pedagogical legacy it is the least able, because he/she has furthest to travel towards goals which are held to be common for all children (Muckle, 1988; Alexander, 2001, pp. 368–370).

Such terms hint at more than the comparativist's need to be sensitive to the problems of language and translation. They also subtly align the educational agenda along culturally distinctive lines even before one starts investigating the detail of policy and practice. In the cases exemplified above, both *l'éducation* and *vospitanie* inject suggestions of public morality and the common good into the discourse in ways which subliminally influence the recurring discussions about school goals and curricula in France and Russia; while the Russian notions of 'potential' and 'development' each imply – and indeed impose – strong teacher agency and responsibility in a way which their more passive and individualistic English and American connotations do not. The notion of teacher as 'facilitator', which is so central to the Anglo-Saxon progressive tradition, would make little headway in those continental European countries in which teacher intervention and instruction are seen as essential to school learning.

The consciousness intimated here also implies a model of pedagogy, and a course for comparative pedagogical analysis, which are as far removed as they can be from the polarising of 'teacher-centred' (or 'subject-centred') and 'child-centred' teaching which too often remains the stock-in-trade of such accounts of pedagogy as are available in the comparative literature (Alexander, 2006). Mainstream pedagogical research abandoned this dichotomy years ago; mainstream comparative research should do likewise. Perhaps the most damaging residue of this sort of thinking can still be found in the reports of some development education consultants, who happily commend Western 'child-centred' pedagogy to non-Western governments without regard for local cultural and educational circumstances, or for recent advances in the psychology of learning and teaching, or for the findings of pedagogical research on the decidedly questionable record of child-centred teaching in Western classrooms.

That touch of waspishness apart, we would do well to be no less cautious about another boundary problem here. In the literature on culturally located views and models of teaching, generalised 'Asian', 'Pacific Rim', 'Western', 'non-Western' and 'European' 'models' of teaching and learning feature prominently and confidently (Reynolds & Farrell, 1996; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; Clarke, 2001). If we recognise that the geographical and cultural coverage of 'Asian' is too broad to have descriptive validity for the analysis of teaching, we should be no less aware of the hegemonic overtones of 'Western'. Does 'Western' encompass South as well as North America? Does it include some European countries while excluding others? With its implied validation of a particular world view, tellingly captured since 2003 in the Old/New Europe name-calling of the Bush administration, 'Western' may well exacerbate rather than supplant the pedagogy of opposition, fuelling a self-righteous occidentalism every bit as pernicious as Said's orientalism (Said, 1979).

As our core educational concept, ‘pedagogy’ lies linguistically and culturally on sands at least as treacherous as these. In the Anglo-American tradition, pedagogy is subsidiary to curriculum, sometimes inferring little more than ‘teaching method’. ‘Curriculum’ itself has both a broad sense (everything that a school does) and a narrow one (what is formally required to be taught) which comes closer to continental European ‘didactics’ without capturing the sense in *la didactique* or *die Didaktik* of a quasi-science comprising subject knowledge and the principles by which it is imparted. Curriculum is more prominent in educational discourse in systems where it is contested, less where it is imposed or accepted as a given. In the central European tradition, it is the other way round: pedagogy moves centre stage and frames everything else, including curriculum – in so far as *that* word is used – and didactics (Alexander, 2001, pp. 540–556; Moon, 1998).

Because the range of meanings attaching to pedagogy varies so much in English – quite apart from differences between English and other languages – we have to be stipulative, and in a way which allows us to use the term for comparative analysis. I prefer to eschew the greater ambiguities of ‘curriculum’ and the resulting tendency to downgrade pedagogy, and use the latter term to encompass the larger field. I distinguish pedagogy as *discourse* from teaching as *act*, yet I make them inseparable. Pedagogy, then, encompasses both the act of teaching and its contingent theories and debates. Pedagogy is the discourse with which one needs to engage in order both to teach intelligently and make sense of teaching – for discourse and act are interdependent, and there can be no teaching without pedagogy or pedagogy without teaching.

A *comparative* pedagogy takes this discourse not one stage but several stages further. Pedagogy relates the act of teaching to the ideas which inform and explain it. Comparative pedagogy identifies, explores and explains similarities and differences in pedagogy, as concept, discourse and practice, across designated units of comparison such as nation states. It thereby exploits opportunities which only proper comparison can provide: teasing out what is universal in pedagogy from what is culturally or geographically specific, informing the development of pedagogic theory, and extending the vocabulary and repertoire of pedagogic practice.

Conditions for a Comparative Pedagogy

We can now propose three conditions for a comparative pedagogy. First, it should incorporate a defensible rationale and methodology for comparing across sites, cultures, nations and/or regions. Second, it should combine procedures for studying teaching empirically with ways of accessing the values, ideas and debates which inform, shape and explain it. Third, because these values, ideas and debates are part of a wider educational discourse and – typically – are located in the context of public national education systems as well as schools and classrooms, a comparative pedagogy should access these different levels, contexts and constituencies and examine how they relate to each other and inform the discourse of pedagogy and the act of teaching.

The first condition applies to all comparative studies so I need say no more about it: it will no doubt feature in other chapters. About the second and third conditions, however, I need to say rather more.

Frameworks for a Comparative Pedagogy

If pedagogy is shaped by national culture and history, and by the migration of ideas and practices across national borders, as well as by more immediate practical exigencies and constraints such as policy and resources, is it possible to postulate a model of pedagogy, and a framework for studying it, which both accommodates its many forms and variations and rises above the constraints of value and circumstance? Can we devise an analytical model which will serve the needs of the empirical researcher in any context? This was the challenge we had to take up in the *Culture and Pedagogy* project, for we needed to make sense of disparate classroom data in a way which showed no obvious bias towards particular, culturally specific accounts of learning and teaching.

The resulting framework has three parts. The first deals with the observable act of teaching; the second with the ideas which inform it; the third with the macro–micro relationship which links classroom transaction to national policy via the curriculum.

We start, though, with a definition:

Pedagogy is the observable act of teaching together with its attendant discourse of educational theories, values, evidence and justifications. It is what one needs to know, and the skills one needs to command, in order to make and justify the many different kinds of decisions of which teaching is constituted.

With this our colours are nailed firmly to the international mast. In Britain, if the word is used at all, ‘pedagogy’ signals merely the teaching act, and the act’s informing ideas stand in an, at best, uneasy relationship to it, as so much ‘theory’ to be ‘applied’ (or not). But, unfortunately for the theory/practice dualists, the theory is there whether they like it or not, unless of course they are prepared to claim that teaching is a mindless activity. The task is to explicate the theory, which in teaching we know to be a complex amalgam of sedimented experience, personal values and beliefs, reinterpretations of published research, and policy more or less dutifully enacted.

Pedagogy as Practice

Many years ago the anthropologist Edmund Leach (1964) argued that the more complex the model, the less likely it is to be useful. With that warning in mind, we start by reducing teaching to its barest essentials:

Teaching, in any setting, is the act of using method x to enable students to learn y .

In so skeletal a form the proposition is difficult to contest, and if this is so we extract from it two no less basic questions to steer empirical enquiry:

- What are students expected to learn?
- What method does the teacher use to ensure that they do so?

‘Method’ needs to be unpacked if it is to be useful as an analytical category which can cross the boundaries of space and time. Any teaching method combines *tasks*, *activities*, *interactions* and *judgements*. Their function is represented by four further questions:

- In a given teaching session or unit what *learning tasks* do students encounter?
- What *activities* do they undertake in order to address these learning tasks?
- Through what *interactions* does the teacher present, organise and sustain the learning tasks and activities?
- By what means, and on the basis of what criteria, does the teacher reach *judgements* about the nature and level of the tasks and activities which each student shall undertake (*differentiation*), and the kinds of learning which students achieve (*assessment*)?

Task, activity, interaction and judgement are the building blocks of teaching. However, as they stand they lack the wherewithal for coherence and meaning. To our first proposition, therefore, we must add a second. This unpacks ‘in any setting’, the remaining phrase in our first proposition:

Teaching has structure and form; it is situated in, and governed by, space, time and patterns of pupil organisation; and it is undertaken for a purpose.

Structure and form in teaching are most clearly and distinctively manifested in the *lesson*. Lessons and their constituent teaching acts are framed and governed by *time*, by *space* (the way the classroom is disposed, organised and resourced) and by the chosen forms of *student organisation* (whole class, small group or individual).

But teaching is framed conceptually and ethically, as well as temporally and spatially. A lesson is part of a larger *curriculum* embodying educational purposes and values, and reflecting assumptions about what knowledge and understanding are of most worth to the individual and to society. This is part of the force of ‘teaching ... is undertaken for a purpose’. One element remains. Teaching is not a series of random encounters. Together, students and teachers create and are defined by a micro culture. They develop procedures for regulating the complex dynamics of student–teacher and student–student relationships, the equivalent of law, custom, convention and public morality in civil society. This element we define as *routine, rule and ritual*.

The complete teaching framework (discussed in greater detail in Alexander, 2001, pp. 320–325) is shown in Figure 1. The elements are grouped under the headings of *frame, form* and *act*. The core acts of teaching (task, activity, interaction and judgement) are framed by classroom organisation (‘space’), pupil organisation, time and curriculum, and by classroom routines, rules and rituals. They are given form in the lesson or teaching session.

Choices then have to be made about how one analyses each of the elements. These dictate further questions about analytical categories, research methods and technologies which for reasons of space cannot be addressed here. Suffice it to say that in the *Culture and Pedagogy* research each element above was broken down into several analytical sub-units, the main research tools were observation, video and interview,

A generic model of teaching

Frame	Form	Act
Space		Task
Pupil organisation		Activity
Time	Lesson	
Curriculum		Interaction
Routine, rule and ritual		Judgement

Figure 1. A generic model of teaching

and the core data comprised field notes, interview transcripts, lesson transcripts, photographs, teaching documents and some 130 hours of videotape. However, this information is relevant here only in so far as it demonstrates that the framework actually works. The comparative analysis of teaching in *Culture and Pedagogy* starts with the basic disposition of the framing and regulatory elements of curriculum, space, pupil organisation, time and routine/rule/ritual, and works through each of the others before finishing with a sustained analysis of patterns of classroom interaction and the dynamics and content of teacher–pupil discourse. The same framework could be used to inform a rather different research methodology. The point at issue here is conceptual rather than technical: it concerns not the relative advantages of, say, systematic observation using pre-coded interaction categories to produce quantifiable data and the use of transcripts to sustain close-grained qualitative analysis of discourse, but the viability of this as a framework for researching teaching in any context and by any means.

Pedagogy as Ideas

The second part of our framework for the comparative study of pedagogy attends to the ideas, values and beliefs by which the act of teaching is informed and justified. These can be grouped into three domains, as shown in Figure 2. Private assumptions and beliefs about teaching are not distinguished here from public accounts of the kind which teachers meet while being trained, for all are a kind of theory. The object here is not to differentiate theory which is public or private, espoused or in use (Argyris & Schön, 1974) but the themes with which such theories deal. Pedagogy has at its core ideas about learners, learning and teaching, and these are shaped and modified by context, policy and culture. Where the first domain *enables* teaching and the second *formalises* and *legitimises* it by reference to policy and infrastructure, the third domain *locates* it – and children themselves – in time, place and the social world, and anchors it firmly to the questions of human identity and social purpose without which teaching makes little sense. Such ideas mark the transition from teaching to education.

Macro and Micro

The element in the framework in Figure 1 which most explicitly links macro with micro, in the narrower sense of policy and school rather than culture and professional

Pedagogy as ideas (theories, values, evidence and justifications)

Classroom level: ideas which enable teaching

- *Students* characteristics, development, motivation, needs, differences.
- *Learning* nature, facilitation, achievement and assessment.
- *Teaching* nature, scope, planning, execution and evaluation.
- *Curriculum* ways of knowing, doing, creating, investigating and making sense.

System / policy level: ideas which formalise and legitimate teaching

- *School* e.g. infrastructure, staffing, training.
- *Curriculum* e.g. aims, content
- *Assessment* e.g. formal tests, qualifications, entry requirements
- *Other policies* e.g. teacher recruitment and training, equity and inclusion

Cultural / societal level: ideas which locate teaching

- *Culture* the collective ideas, values, customs and relationships which inform and shape a society's view of itself, of the world and of education.
- *Self* what it is to be a person; how identity is acquired.

Figure 2. Pedagogy as ideas (theories, values, evidence and justifications)

agency, is the curriculum. In most systems curriculum is centrally prescribed, either at national level or, as in a federal and decentralised system like the United States, at the levels of state and school district. In few if any public education systems is control of the curriculum vested solely in the school.

In fact, the curriculum is probably best viewed as a series of *translations*, *transpositions* and *transformations* from its initial status as a set of formal requirements. At the beginning of this process of metamorphosis is the national or state curriculum. At its end is the array of understandings in respect of each specified curriculum goal and domain which the student acquires as a result of his or her classroom activities and encounters. In between is a succession of shifts, sometimes bold, sometimes slight, as curriculum moves from specification to transaction, and as teachers and students interpret, modify and add to the meanings which it embodies. Sometimes the change may be slight, as when a school takes a required syllabus or programme of study and maps it onto the timetable. This we might call a *translation*. Then a school or teacher may adjust the nomenclature and move parts of one curriculum domain into another to effect a *transposition*, which then leads to a sequence of lesson plans. But the real change, the *transformation*, comes when the curriculum passes from document into action and is broken down into learning tasks and activities, and expressed and negotiated as teacher–student interactions and transactions.

However faithful to government, state or school requirements a teacher remains, teaching is always an act of curriculum transformation. In this sense, therefore, curriculum is a ‘framing’ component of the act of teaching, as suggested by Figure 1, only before it is transformed into task, activity, interaction, discourse and outcome. From that point on it becomes inseparable from each of these. In the classroom, curriculum *is* task, activity, interaction and discourse, and they are curriculum.

Curriculum metamorphosis

<i>Specification</i>	National, state or local curriculum	1	
<i>Translation</i>	School curriculum	2	Frame
<i>Transposition</i>	Class curriculum and timetable	3	
	Lesson plan	4	
<i>Transformation</i>	Lesson	5	Form
	Task	6	
	Activity	7	Act
	Interaction	8	
	Assessment	9	

Figure 3. Curriculum metamorphosis

Figure 3 schematises this process, and ties it into the families of ‘frame’, ‘form’ and ‘act’ from the model of teaching in Figure 1. Together with Figure 2, the frameworks provide a basis for constructing a reasonably comprehensive empirical account of pedagogy at the level of action, and for engaging with the attendant discourses.

Of course, the macro–micro relationship is about much more than state–school curriculum transmission or transformation. For a start, the process is complicated by the existence of more levels than bipolar formulations like ‘macro–micro’ or ‘centralisation–decentralisation’ allow. Regional and local tiers of government have their own designated powers, or strive to compensate for their lack of these by exploiting their closeness to the action, and local agency manifests itself in many other guises, both formal and informal, beyond the governmental and administrative. In the *Five Cultures* data, the importance of these intermediate levels and agencies provided a corrective to Margaret Archer’s classic account of the development of state education systems (Archer, 1979). A proper explanatory account of pedagogical discourse needs to engage with this more complex arena of control and action if it is to move out of the straitjacket of linear models of teaching as policy-enactment and education as unmodified cultural transmission. Here the work of Giroux (1983) and Apple (1995) provides the necessary moderation to the stricter reproductionist line taken by Bowles and Gintis (1976) or Bourdieu and Passeron (1990).

Such an account also needs to treat the somewhat mechanistic concept of ‘levels’ itself with a certain caution, for once we view pedagogic practice through the profoundly important lens of values we find – as Archer shows in her later work (1989) – that the relationship between structure, culture and (pedagogic) agency is more complex still.

Values

Values, then, spill out untidily at every point in the analysis of pedagogy, and it is one of the abiding weaknesses of much mainstream research on teaching, including the rare accounts that appear in the comparative education literature, that it tends to play down their significance in shaping and explaining observable practice. Latterly,

the idea of 'value-free' teaching has been given a powerful boost by the endorsement by several Anglophone governments of school effectiveness research (which reduces teaching to technique and culture to one not particularly important 'factor' among many) and by its adoption, across the full spectrum of public policy, of the crudely utilitarian criterion, 'what works'. Teaching is an intentional and moral activity: it is undertaken for a purpose and is validated by reference to educational goals and social principles as well as to operational efficacy. In any culture it requires attention to a range of considerations and imperatives: pragmatic, certainly, but also empirical, ethical and conceptual (Alexander, 1997, pp. 267–287).

Clearly, a value-sanitised pedagogy is not possible. It makes as little sense as a culture-free comparative education. Yet values can all too easily be neglected, and the problem may reflect the accident of technique rather than conscious design. Thus, an account of classroom interaction in Kenyan primary schools (Ackers & Hardman, 2001) uses Sinclair and Coulthard's (1992) discourse analysis system, which reduces spoken discourse to a hierarchy of ranks, transactions, moves and acts with little regard to its meaning and none to its sociolinguistic context. The Kenyan study is illuminating, yet if the chosen procedure is problematic in linguistic terms, it may be doubly so in a comparative study of teachers in one country undertaken by researchers from another.

In the rather different setting of a seminar on the American East Coast, a participant viewed one of the *Culture and Pedagogy* lesson videotapes³ and condemned the featured American teacher for 'wasting time' when she negotiated with her students rather than directed them. The teacher concerned was highly experienced, and perfectly capable of delivering a traditional lesson and imposing her will upon the children. But she chose not to, because her educational goals included the development of personal autonomy and choice and she believed it necessary for children to learn, the hard way if necessary, how to master time rather than have it master them. (For time, as we found in this research, is a value in education as well as a measure of it, and it was viewed and used in very different ways in the five countries). This teacher was expressing in her practice not only her private values, but also those embodied in the policies of her school, school district and state. These values should have been the seminar participant's first port of call.

The issue here was not one of simple professional competence but of how, in a culture which stands so overtly for individual freedom of action, the diverging individualities of 25 students in one classroom can be reconciled with ostensibly common learning goals. For this example was but the tip of a values iceberg, a continuum in which the observed American pedagogy stood at the opposite extreme to what we observed in Russia and India. On the one hand, confusion, contradiction and inconsistency in values; on the other, clarity, coherence and consistency (inside the classroom at least – what we saw on the streets of post-Soviet Russia told a different story, but then our teacher respondents were very clear that their task was to hold the line against the rising tide of *anomie*). It is this inherent cultural dissonance, as much as simple executive competence, which explains many of the startling contrasts in the practice, and in the apparent efficiency of the practice, with which such values were associated.

This example, too, may help us with our earlier asides about Sadler and cultural borrowing and lending. For perhaps it is the degree of compatibility at the level of

values which sets the limits to what can be successfully transferred at the level of practice. A pedagogy predicated on teacher authority, induction into subject disciplines, general culture and citizenship will sit uneasily, at best, with one which celebrates classroom democracy, personal knowledge, cultural pluralism and antipathy to the apparatus of the state, and vice versa. This simple proposition, which can readily be tested in practice, eludes the policy borrowers, who presume that 'what works' in one country will work in another. Thus until Russian education succumbed to resource starvation following the economic collapse of the mid-1990s, Russian children continued for a while to outperform those of the United States in mathematics and science, despite the massive disparity in funding between the two countries' education systems (Ruddock, 2000; World Bank, 2000). Yet the World Bank and OECD dismissed Russian teaching as 'authoritarian' and 'old-fashioned' and pressed for a more 'democratic' and 'student-centred' pedagogy (World Bank, 1996; OECD, 1998).

Temporal and Spatial Continuities

So the explication of values is a *sine qua non* for a comparative pedagogy. Such analysis can reveal continuities as well as differences. Thus, although an offspring of revolution, French public education retains features which recall its pre-revolutionary and ecclesiastical origins (Sharpe, 1997), and the conjunction of institutional secularism and individual liberty is not without its tensions, as is shown by the recurrent crises over *l'affaire du foulard* (the scarf in this case is the Muslim *hijab*, occasionally the *chador*). The more obvious Soviet trappings of Russian education have been shed, but the abiding commitment to *vospitanie*, and the emphasis in schools and classrooms on collective action and responsibility allied to unambiguous teacher authority, not to mention the methods of teaching, show the more clearly that the continuities here are Tsarist as well as Soviet. The continuities in India reach back even further, and we found at least four traditions – two of them indigenous (Brahmanic and post-Independence) and two imposed (colonialist and missionary) combining to shape contemporary primary practice in that vast and complex country (Kumar, 1991).

In England, the twin legacies of elementary school minimalism and progressive idealism offset government attempts at root-and-branch modernisation. The one still shapes school structures and curriculum priorities (and government is as much in its thrall as are teachers), while the other continues to influence professional consciousness and classroom practice. Indeed, in seeking to win over a disgruntled teaching force the UK government's post-2003 Primary National Strategy sought to soften its statist image by appealing directly to the progressivist virtues of 'enjoyment', 'creativity' and 'flexibility', complete with large print and pictures of smiling children (DfES, 2003; Alexander, 2004). Some saw through this ploy; many others did not.

Jerome Bruner reminds us, too, that in our pedagogical theorising,

we are still drawing rich sustenance from our more distant, pre-positivist past. Chomsky acknowledges his debt to Descartes, Piaget is inconceivable without

Kant, Vygotsky without Hegel and Marx, and 'learning theory' was constructed on foundations laid by John Locke. (Bruner, 1990, pp. x–xi)

This kind of intellectual genealogy was most strongly visible in Russian pedagogy, partly because of the overall consistency of practice and partly because those whom we interviewed were themselves fully aware of the roots of their thinking; for this is a pedagogy in which – unlike in England – education theory and history are held to be important. Thus, if Russian pedagogy owes much, via Vygotsky and his disciples, to Hegel and Marx, it owes no less to a tradition of pedagogic rationality which reaches back via Ushinsky to Comenius and Francis Bacon. And it is a familiar truth that Lenin and Stalin built directly on the Tsarist legacy of political autocracy, nationalism and religious orthodoxy, thus securing fundamental continuities amidst the chaos (Lloyd, 1998; Hobsbawm, 1995). In interview, one of our Russian teachers spoke readily about the influence on her pedagogy of Vygotsky (1896–1934), Ushinsky (1824–1871) and Kamenski (Comenius, 1592–1670), not to mention a host of post-Vygotskians such as Davydov, Elkonin and Leont'ev, and academics at the local pedagogical university. How many British teachers have this depth of historical awareness – let alone such interest in what, beyond personal values, public policies and classroom circumstances, might inform their teaching?

Temporal continuities such as these shape contemporary educational practice and set limits to the character and speed of its further development, notwithstanding the ahistorical zeal of government modernisers. The spatial continuities, casually crossing national borders without so much as a nod to Sadler, are detectable in a study involving several countries to an extent that is not possible, or plausible, in a study involving just two. These continuities place within our reach an important prize, that of differentiating the universal in pedagogy from the culturally specific.

Versions of Teaching

Again, it is not possible to list all the cross-cultural resonances we encountered in the *Five Cultures* research. However, overarching these were six versions of teaching and three primordial values which we briefly summarise.

1. *Teaching as transmission* sees education primarily as a process of instructing children to absorb, replicate and apply basic information and skills.
2. *Teaching as initiation* sees education as the means of providing access to, and passing on from one generation to the next, the culture's stock of high-status knowledge, for example, in literature, the arts, humanities and the sciences.
3. *Teaching as negotiation* reflects the Deweyan idea that teachers and students jointly create knowledge and understanding in an ostensibly democratic learning community, rather than relate to one another as authoritative source of knowledge and its passive recipient.
4. *Teaching as facilitation* guides the teacher by principles which are developmental (and, more specifically, Piagetian) rather than cultural or epistemological.

- The teacher respects and nurtures individual differences, and waits until children are ready to move on instead of pressing them to do so.
5. *Teaching as acceleration*, in contrast, implements the Vygotskian principle that education is planned and guided acculturation rather than facilitated 'natural' development, and indeed that the teacher seeks to outpace development rather than follow it.
 6. *Teaching as technique*, finally, is relatively neutral in its stance on society, knowledge and the child. Here the important issue is the efficiency of teaching regardless of the context of values, and to that end imperatives like structure, economic use of time and space, carefully graduated tasks, regular assessment and clear feedback are more pressing than ideas such as democracy, autonomy, development or the disciplines.

The first is ubiquitous, but in the *Five Cultures* data it was most prominent in the rote learning and recitation teaching of mainstream Indian pedagogy. French classrooms provided the archetype of the second, but it also surfaced in Russia and India, and – though often under professional protest at the primary stage – in England and the United States (its more secure pedigree in English education perhaps lies with Matthew Arnold and the independent and grammar school traditions). Teachers in the United States frequently argued and sought to enact both the third and the fourth versions of teaching, often with explicit obeisance to John Dewey and Jean Piaget. Those in England, subject to the pressures of the government's literacy and numeracy strategies, still made much of developmental readiness and facilitation though rather less of democracy. Drawing explicitly on Vygotsky's maxim that 'the only good teaching is that which outpaces development', our Russian teachers illustrated the pedagogy of intervention and acceleration (5) which was diametrically opposed to facilitation and developmental readiness. At the same time, they, like teachers across a wide swathe of continental Europe, drew on the older Comenian tradition (6) of highly structured lessons, whole class teaching, the breaking down of learning tasks into small graduated steps, and the maintenance of economy in organisation, action and the use of time and space (Comenius, 1657, pp. 312–334).

The trajectory of recent pedagogical reform shows interesting permutations on these. Thus, under the Government of India District Primary Education Programme, Indian teachers were urged to become more democratic (3) and developmental (4) (Government of India, 1998). The language of developmentalism and facilitation also found its way into policy documents in France and Russia (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 1998; Ministry of General and Professional Education, 2000). In contrast, English teachers were being urged to emulate the continental tradition represented by (6), notably through the espousal of 'interactive whole class teaching' in the UK government's literacy and numeracy strategies (DfEE, 1998, 1999). These are deliberate acts of pedagogical importation. How far the alien can accommodate to the indigenous remains to be seen.

A distinctly continental European tradition has already been inferred. The *Five Cultures* data enables the idea of broad pedagogical traditions which cut across national

boundaries to be consolidated. In this research, the great cultural divide was the English Channel, not the Atlantic. There was a discernible Anglo-American nexus of pedagogical values and practices, just as there was a discernible continental European one, with Russia at one highly formalised extreme and France – more eclectic and less ritualised, though still firmly grounded in structure and *les disciplines* – at the other. India's pedagogy was both Asian and European, as its history would suggest.

Primordial Values

Teachers in the five-nation study also articulated, enacted or steered an uncertain path between three versions of human relations: *individualism*, *community* and *collectivism*.

- *Individualism* puts self above others and personal rights before collective responsibilities. It emphasises unconstrained freedom of action and thought.
- *Community* centres on human interdependence, caring for others, sharing and collaborating.
- *Collectivism* also emphasises human interdependence, but only in so far as it serves the larger needs of society, or the state (the two are not identical), as a whole.

Within the observed classrooms, a commitment to *individualism* was manifested in intellectual or social differentiation, divergent rather than uniform learning outcomes, and a view of knowledge as personal and unique rather than imposed from above in the form of disciplines or subjects. *Community* was reflected in collaborative learning tasks, often in small groups, in 'caring and sharing' rather than competing, and in an emphasis on the affective rather than the cognitive. *Collectivism* was reflected in common knowledge, common ideals, a single curriculum for all, national culture rather than pluralism and multiculturalism, and on learning together rather than in isolation or in small groups.

These values were pervasive at national, school and classroom levels. We are familiar with the contrast between the supposedly egocentric cultures of the West, with the United States as the gas-guzzling arch villain, and the supposedly holistic, sociocentric cultures of south and east Asia. Though there is evidence to support this opposition (Shweder, 1991) it is all too easy to demonise one pole and romanticise – or orientalise – the other. But I think when it comes to pedagogy the tripartite distinction holds up, and it seems by no means accidental that so much discussion of teaching methods should have centred on the relative merits of whole-class teaching, group and individual work.

In France this debate can be traced back to arguments at the start of the nineteenth century about the relative merits of *l'enseignement simultané*, *l'enseignement mutuel* and *l'enseignement individuel* (Reboul-Scherrer, 1989). As a post-revolutionary instrument for fostering civic commitment and national identity as well as literacy, *l'enseignement simultané* won. Only now, reflecting decentralisation and the rising tide of individualism, has its hegemony begun to be questioned.

Individualism, community and collectivism are – as child, group and class – the organisational nodes of pedagogy because they are the social nodes of human relations. However, divorcing teaching as technique from the discourse of pedagogy as we so often do, we may have failed to understand that such core values and value-dissonances pervade social relations inside the classroom no less than outside it; and hence we may have failed to understand why it is that undifferentiated learning, whole-class teaching and the principle of bringing the whole class along together ‘fit’ more successfully in many other cultures than they do in England or the United States, and why teachers in these two countries regard this pedagogical formula with such suspicion. For individualism and collectivism arise inside the classroom not as a clinical choice between alternative teaching strategies so much as a value-dilemma which may be fundamental to a society’s history and culture.

But the scenario is not one of singularity. Human consciousness and human relations involve the interplay of all three values, and though one may be dominant they may all in reality be present and exist in uneasy tension. Nowhere was this tension more evident than in the United States, where we found teachers seeking to reconcile – and indeed to foster as equivalent values – individual self-fulfilment with commitment to the greater collective good; self-effacing sharing and caring with fierce competitiveness; and environmentalism with consumerism. Meanwhile, in the world outside the school, rampant individualism competed with the traditional American commitment to communal consciousness and local decision-making, and patriotism grappled with anti-statism. As the teacher interviews and lesson transcripts show, such tensions were manifested at every level from formal educational goals to the everyday discourse of teachers and children (Alexander, 2001, pp. 201–206, 490–515).

Conclusion

If globalisation dictates a stronger comparative and international presence in educational research generally, there is a no less urgent need for comparativists to come to grips with the very core of the educational enterprise, pedagogy. Such an enterprise, however, demands as much rigour in the framing and analysis of pedagogy as in the act of comparing. In this chapter I have drawn on a five-nation comparative study of primary education to postulate principles and frameworks for a new comparative pedagogy. Pedagogy is defined stipulatively as the act of teaching together with its attendant discourses, ideas and values. The analysis of this discourse requires both that we engage with culture, values and ideas at the levels of classroom, school and system, and that we have a viable and comprehensive framework for the empirical study of teaching and learning. The interlocking models of pedagogy, teaching and curriculum in Figures 1–3, which were initially developed to frame the *Culture and Pedagogy* data analysis and have since been elaborated, link national culture, structure and policy with classroom agency; but they also allow for the structure–agency relationship to be played out within the micro-cultures of school and classroom.

The focus here is not on the detailed findings of the *Five Cultures* research but on the potential of its analytical framework to support the much-overdue development of a comparative pedagogy. But in arguing the centrality of culture, history and values to a proper analysis of pedagogy, and in applying the chosen frameworks, tools and perspectives to five countries rather than just one or two, we can open up other important domains: of the balance of change and continuity in educational thinking and practice over time, and of pedagogical diversity and commonality across geographical boundaries. In so doing, we are not only forced to reassess the Sadlerian resistance to educational import–export; we also come closer to identifying the true universals in teaching and learning. A properly conceived comparative pedagogy can both enhance our understanding of the interplay of education and culture and help us to improve the quality of educational provision.

Notes

1. This chapter draws in particular on the author's comparative study of culture, policy and pedagogy in England, France, India, Russia and the United States (Alexander 2001) as well as the broader body of published work cited. Several of the author's more recent papers on pedagogy within an international framework may be found in Alexander, R.J. 'Essays on pedagogy' (Routledge, July 2008);
2. The chapter is a revised version of an article which first appeared in the journal *Comparative Education*, 37(4), 507–523.
3. With the permission of the teacher concerned. The ethics of using video as a research tool must always be taken seriously.

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PEDAGOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE FOR SUSTAINABLE KNOWLEDGE SOCIETIES

Andy Hargreaves

Introduction

We live in perilously unsustainable times. Because of the developed world's desire for endless progress and limitless consumption, for immediate pleasure and short-term reward, for wanting it all and wanting it now, our planet and its people are now imperilled. And the most underprivileged – the poor and the dispossessed – are the most imperilled of all. Politicians hooked on the instant gratification of short-term elections and quick fix results have exchanged the moral imperative of long-term climate change for the immediate popularity of electoral success – and global poverty, widespread climatological catastrophe, and the migration of millions around the globe are the consequences that now await them.

Currently fashionable educational change and reform strategies similarly threaten to treat our teachers and human resources as unsustainable, just as multinational businesses and politicians have undermined the sustainability of our natural resources. Imposed short-term targets, endless testing and quick political wins at the cost of deep learning for all students, are the enemy of educational sustainability.

In recent years I have written two apparently contradictory books on pedagogy, leadership and change in knowledge societies. *Teaching In The Knowledge Society* (A. Hargreaves, 2003) argues that schools, teaching and learning need to be reconfigured to prepare all young people to participate in transforming their countries into creative knowledge economies, and to have opportunities to be employed at the highest levels of these economies, in high-skill, high-wage societies.

More and more nations are or aspire to be *knowledge economies*. The knowledge society is not just a synonym for information society. In an age of electronic, digital and satellite technologies, knowledge societies address how information and ideas are created, used, circulated and adapted at an accelerating speed in “knowledge-based communities”, that is, networks of individuals striving to produce and circulate new knowledge. In knowledge societies, wealth, prosperity and economic development depend on people's capacity to out-invent and outwit their competitors, to tune in to the desires and demands of the consumer market, and to change jobs or develop new skills as economic fluctuations and downturns require. In knowledge societies, these capacities are not just the property of individuals, but also of organizations, which have the capacity to share, create and apply new knowledge continuously over time in

cultures of mutual learning and continuous innovation. Knowledge society organizations develop these capacities by providing their members with extensive opportunities for lifelong upskilling and retraining; by breaking down barriers to learning and communication and getting people to work in overlapping, heterogeneous and flexible teams; by looking at problems and mistakes as opportunities for learning more than occasions for blame; by involving everyone in the ‘big picture’ of where the organization is going; and by developing the ‘social capital’ of networks and relationships that provide people with extra support and further learning.

The knowledge society is a learning society. Economic success and a culture of continuous innovation depend on the capacity of workers to keep learning themselves and from each other, throughout their working lives.

Schools that educate young people for the knowledge society have to break with many aspects of the past. The agrarian and industrial models of one teacher-one class schooling need to replace standardized instruction that emphasizes only the basics of literacy and numeracy, with a broad and more cognitively challenging and creative curriculum; teachers need to work and inquire into their teaching together rather than teaching in their classrooms alone; professional learning has to be continuous rather than episodic; teachers’ judgments should be informed by objective evidence as well as subjective experience and intuition; and the teaching profession needs to develop dispositions of taking risks and welcoming change rather than staying with proven procedures and comfortable routines. Knowledge society schooling, in other words, demands that we put aside outdated ‘grammars’ of industrial and agrarian models of schooling. It also requires that we abandon their Anglo-Saxon reinvention in the form of narrowly focused, overtested and highly intensified standardized educational reforms that restrict the curriculum, inhibit creative learning, undermine professional morale, and cut off the supply lines of recruitment to leadership. *Teaching in the Knowledge Society*, in other words seems to propose moving forward, by leaving the past behind.

A second book, *Sustainable Leadership* (Hargreaves & Fink, 2006), seems to advocate the antithesis of this position. Drawing on the development of the concept and practices of sustainability in the environmental movement, the definition of sustainable development in the Brundtland Commission Report of 1987 (Brundtland, 1987), and the beginning of the UN Decade of Education of Sustainable Development 2005–2015 (UNESCO, 2005), the book argues against quick fix Anglo-Saxon reform strategies that impose short-term achievement targets, download a hurried curriculum to younger-and-younger age groups, encourage teaching to the test in the all-consuming curriculum of literacy and numeracy, and promote quick fix turnaround strategies for teachers in failing schools.

Drawing on research of 30 years of educational leadership in eight US and Canadian high schools, as well as on our engagement with the literature on environmental and corporate sustainability, Dean Fink and I developed a definition of sustainable leadership:

Sustainable educational leadership and improvement preserves and develops deep learning for all that spreads and lasts, in ways that do no harm to and indeed create positive benefit for others around us, now and in the future. (Hargreaves & Fink, 2006)

From this definition, and our body of research evidence, we then derived seven principles of sustainability in educational change and leadership: depth, breadth, endurance, justice, diversity, resourcefulness and conservation. While all of these are relevant for the future of education and pedagogy in knowledge societies, two are especially pertinent to this article.

First, in terms of depth, sustainable education matters. It preserves, protects and promotes what is itself sustaining as an enrichment of life: the fundamental moral purpose of deep, broad and lifelong learning (rather than superficially tested and narrowly defined literacy and numeracy achievement) for all in commitments to and relationships of abiding care for others.

Second, in relation to the principle of conservation, sustainable education honours and learns from the best of the past to create an even better future. Amid the chaos of change, sustainable education is steadfast about preserving and renewing long-standing purposes. Most educational change theory and practice is change without a past or a memory. Sustainable education revisits and revives organizational memories and honours the wisdom of their bearers as a way to learn from, preserve, then moves beyond the best of the past. It defines and delineates lifelong learning as something that weaves a compelling narrative between past, present and future that binds individuals and society together.

Sustainable knowledge societies seem like oxymorons – as do sustainable knowledge society schools. Knowledge societies promote innovation, they prize all that is new, they depend on rapid learning and they champion the pursuit of change. Sustainable schooling, by contrast, values slow and in-depth learning rather than a hurried curriculum; it asks for patience and endurance in the implementation of change; it calls for prudence and resourcefulness rather than energetic and profligate investment; and it promotes the virtues of conserving the past in a world awash with innovation and change. It requires teaching beyond the knowledge society as well as immediately for it.

How can we reconcile innovation and sustainability in knowledge societies and their schools? How do we build a future on the foundations of the past? How can the energetic innovator and the prudent Puritan live and work together, side by side? This article argues that sustainable knowledge society schools and pedagogies do not rescind or take refuge in the past, but connect it to a compelling and motivating vision – economic and social – of where people and their societies are moving in the future.

Past, Present and Future

Educational and pedagogical change often has no place for the past. The arrow of change moves only in a forward direction. The past is a problem to be ignored or overcome in the rush to get closer to the future (McCulloch, 1997). For those who are attracted, even addicted to change, the past is a repository of regressive and irrational resistance among teachers who like to stay where they are and are emotionally unable to ‘let go’ of old habits, attachments and beliefs. Or the past is a pejorative, a dim and Dark Age of weak or bad practice, that leaves negative legacies of regimented factory models of schooling, or ‘uninformed professional judgment’ in teaching that get in the way of modernization.

When change has only a present or future tense it becomes the antithesis of sustainability. Indeed, Abrahamson (2004) describes how *repetitive change syndrome* with its interminable downsizings, restructurings and re-engineerings, leads to massive haemorrhaging of staff and leadership, and with it, a 'loss of *organizational memory*'. No one is left behind to celebrate the organization's tradition, to be living bearers of its purpose and mission, to pass on the knowledge and expertise of how best to do things or to show new recruits the short cuts and the ropes.

Instead of treating the elders of the education profession as toxic teachers who are resistant to change, it is important to approach them as renewable and renewing resources who, through opportunities for mentoring, continuous learning and involvement in improvement, can actually raise the quality of their school's environment and its products. In this sense, teacher wisdom and organizational memory have to be part of the solution to educational change, not just part of the problem. As South Africans have inspirationally understood, those who embody the past are also an inalienable part of our common future. There are at least three ways in which this essential educational and societal connection is dismissed or denied.

Present Immersion

Sometimes, the threat to synthesizing the future with the past is not active dismissal of the past, but indulgent immersion in a present that seems to have no exits or entrances. In an age of economic insecurity and declining credibility in the commitment and capacity of politics to control the future, it is little wonder that people invest their passions and purposes in the present. But in the post-industrial knowledge society, the flight from the future is marked less by fatalistic resignation among the poor than by energetic indulgence among more socio-economically advantaged groups. At a time of insecurity, many people deal with the finality of death and the end of the future differently than their generational predecessors. They do not save to leave a legacy, prudently prepare for the ultimate rewards of religious eternity, or even sacrifice themselves on the battlefield for the greater good of national identity or security. Rather, they deny and try to cheat and control death by what Bauman calls the marginalization of concerns with finality, through the devaluation of anything durable, long-lasting, long-term; the devaluation of anything likely to outlive individual life. (Bauman, 2006, p. 39)

In post-industrial presentism, people "delay frustration, not gratification" (Bauman, 2006, p. 8). They live on credit, lift their faces, spend their children's inheritance, and shop in orgies of consumption where everyone imagines they will be forever young in a world that gives no thought to tomorrow.

This consumption of the present is supported and stimulated by a workplace environment which values moving on rather than settling in, short-term interactions rather than long-term relationships, and migration from task to task rather than pride in mastering a challenging craft (Sennett, 2001). In Richard Sennett's words:

The social skill required by a flexible organization is the ability to work well with others in short-lived teams, (with) others you won't have the time to know

well. Whenever the team dissolves and you enter a new group, the problem you have to solve is getting down to business as quickly as possible with these new teammates. (Sennett, 2006, p. 126)

No critical engagement, no challenge to the organization's purposes, no long-term thinking or moral depth is required or desired here, for "institutions based on short-term transactions and constantly shifting tasks ... do not breed that depth. Indeed, the organization can fear it" (Sennett, 2006, p. 105). Seduction by the short-term, immersion in the interactions of the present "divides analyzing from believing, ignores the glue of emotional attachment, penalizes digging deep" (Sennett, 2006, p. 121–122). In this all-consuming present-time environment, "your skill lies in cooperating, whatever the circumstances" (Sennett, 2006, p. 126).

These predilections and preoccupations are evident in a project that my colleague Dennis Shirley and I evaluated in England in which more than 300 schools that had a dip in measured performance over 1 or 2 years, were networked with each other, provided with technical assistance in interpreting achievement results, given access to support from mentor schools, and offered a modest discretionary budget to spend in any way they chose provided it addressed the goals of the project (Hargreaves et al., 2006). Participating schools were also provided with a practitioner-generated menu of proven strategies that bring about short-, medium- and long-term improvement.

Schools were spectacularly successful in improving in the short term, but few had begun to engage in longer-term improvement processes. Dialogue about deep transformations in teaching were largely yet to occur. Instead, teachers and schools were excitedly implementing and exchanging short-term change strategies such as providing students with test-taking strategies, paying past students to mentor existing ones, feeding students with lettuce, water and bananas before testing events, or collecting mobile phone numbers to contact students who were not showing up on examination days.

In the past, imposed short-term targets and strategies have been experienced by many teachers as an unwanted professional intrusion (A. Hargreaves, 2003). But the underperforming schools project has conquered teachers' aversion to short-term measurable improvement through peer-supported, professionally validating strategies that make real differences to the measured attainment of the students that teachers teach in the here-and-now.

Yet the new short-term strategies and the means of acquiring and exchanging them are now so satisfying and successful that they have become a form of addiction, rather than aversion. These strategies are "so gimmicky and great", as one head teacher put it, they can be used right away, and do not challenge or encourage teachers to question and revise their existing approaches to teaching and learning. The rush to raise achievement injects teachers with a repeated "high" of short-term success. The result is a somewhat hyperactive culture of change that can be exhilarating but also draining and distracting.

In one of the conferences we observed, the majority of the strategies shared by heads and assistant heads at their tables were short-term. Not only are these strategies quick and easy to implement but they are quick and easy to explain – especially in a setting that has limited opportunity for extended conversations. Those heads who share

common interests frequently and excitedly exchange ideas and then business cards in ‘speed dating’ exercises just before they leave.

When these excitable exchanges are added to the logic of short-term funding of proposal bids, of a policy culture characterized by immediacy and a teaching culture already steeped in a present-time orientation, along with a performance-driven language in which teachers and head teachers refer not to engagement with learning but to the movement of students into the right achievement cells by ‘targeting’ the right groups, ‘pushing’ students harder, ‘moving’ them up, ‘raising aspirations’, ‘holding people down’ and ‘getting a grip’ on where youngsters are, the result is a combined pressure to preserve and perpetuate the short-term orientation of the present, with no incentive or encouragement to think about or prepare for the future. In this scenario of pedagogical change, the future recedes behind a never-ending present of increased effectiveness that lacks pedagogical transformation.

By contrast, other proposals for pedagogical and educational change neither dismiss nor deny the past, but return to it as a way to reinvent the future. These ‘back to the future’ approaches present the future in terms of the past.

Past Restoration

When at the beginning of 2007, the Japanese government led by the grandson of the nation’s Prime Minister in the Second World War, proposed to reintroduce patriotism into the curriculum, it was responding to an age of increasing uncertainty and insecurity in family values, cultural identity and an older work ethic by connecting nostalgic images of a prideful past with the prospect of a more unified future. Similarly, the British Government’s specification of history as British history and literature as English literature, in its National Curriculum of the 1990s, sought to restore national pride and parental confidence in schools, by alluding to ideas and images of imperial certainty (Goodson, 1994).

One of the most dramatic contemporary examples of this strategy of recycled change is to be found in the United States. Early in 2007, the US National Center for Education and the Economy released a report *Tough Choices or Tough Times* by its New Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce. In its sequel to its 1990 Commission Report that drove much of the educational standards movement in the United States, this august body, comprising two former Secretaries of State, several state and metropolitan Superintendents and Chancellors of Schools, along with an assortment of business CEOs and union leaders – launched a blistering critique of the inability of the nation’s underperforming and inflexible public education system to meet the challenges and seize the opportunities of the contemporary global economy.

Belatedly following (though scarcely acknowledging) the lead of international policy-steering organizations like OECD (2000); finally heeding the long-standing prognostications of the late management guru and futurist Peter Drucker (1993), and eventually coming into congruence with knowledge society analysts such as Phillip Schlechty (1990) and myself (A. Hargreaves, 2003), the Commission pointed to America’s declining educational performance compared to other advanced industrial

nations. The reasons for the decline, the Commission argued, were rooted in the relatively poor quality of the nation's teaching force, in a system that had become skewed by the excesses of narrowly tested standardization that was ill-equipped to produce the creativity and innovation necessary for a high-skill, high-wage workforce in a rapidly changing global economy.

In the words of the Commission, establishing economic advantage and leadership in the global economy

depends on a deep vein of creativity that is constantly renewing itself, and on a myriad of people who can imagine how people can use things that have never been available before, create ingenious marketing and sales campaigns, write books, build furniture, make movies and imagine new kinds of software that will capture people's imaginations and become indispensable to millions. (New Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, 2007, p. xviii)

Educationally, the Commission argued, these economic demands require much more than a conventionally and unimaginatively tested curriculum focusing on basic skills and factual memorization that prepare most people only for the routine work of low-skill economies which other nations or mere machines can now perform more cheaply than the US workforce. Success in a broader, deeper, more imaginative curriculum for all is called for instead:

Strong skills in English, mathematics, technology and science as well as literature, history and the arts will be essential for many; beyond this, candidates will have to be comfortable with ideas and abstractions, good at both analysis and synthesis, creative and innovative, self-disciplined and well-organized, able to learn very quickly and work well as a member of a team and have the flexibility to adapt quickly to frequent changes in the labour market as the shifts in the economy become ever faster and more dramatic. (New Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, 2007, pp. xviii–xix)

Yet the specific remedies to bring about this apparent shift towards an agenda of apparent post-standardization in education in order to increase competitiveness in the global economy seem to lack any semblance of the very creativity that they are supposed to secure.

The Commission's retrograde theory-of-action (Hatch, 2002) proposes more and better educational access and provision for all before and after formal schooling, along with parallel support for the health and social service needs of children that are integrated into the school setting. Though this is admirable enough, within the school itself, all that is called for is a more challenging and broad curriculum with demanding exit exams. This, it is proposed, will cultivate the harder work among students that is presumed to be lacking in schools' expectations and student culture. Higher calibre teachers whose job it is to deliver the more challenging curriculum will be attracted by higher starting salaries and more flexible pay and pension structures linked to performance rather than seniority. Competitiveness (though not overt selectiveness) among

schools will be encouraged by detaching them from all but skeletal school district control, creating opportunities to innovate as well as network with other schools within and outside the immediate vicinity – with procedures for intervention and takeover being retained in cases of serious underperformance or crisis. All this will be achieved by reallocating rather than increasing financial resources.

In effect, the New Commission's way forward into the age of post-standardization is an intrinsically, inimically and individually American one that returns to and reinvents the retrograde solutions of ruthless and rugged competitive individualism that in combination with the strictures of soulless standardization, have brought the United States to its educational knees in the first place.

Unlike most other countries, the New Commission proposes to retain its inflexible grip on curriculum content and standards, and to devolve only the administrative means (or blame!) for delivering it. Similarly, its strategy of attracting higher calibre teachers through restructured, performance-related pay ignores the extensive historical evidence at home and abroad that it is poor working conditions, excessive outside interference and ineffective leadership that pulls teachers away from the poor, not a lack of extrinsic or restructured benefits (Lortie, 1975; Nias, Southworth & Yeomans, 1989; Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006). Moreover, the report's proposed solutions and the theory-of-action on which they are based raise only half of the educationally pressing issues posed by a climate of competitive globalization. They pay no attention to reforms that serve the public good as well as the private economic good, through developing greater compassion, community, citizenship, democracy and cosmopolitan identity, for example. In short, America's most influential educational commission proposes to increase educational innovation and creativity by considering only the economic purpose it serves, and by clinging even more grimly to the strategies of curriculum centralization and school competitiveness that have undermined the nation's educational effectiveness in the first place.

Consuming Customization

Lastly, visions of pedagogical change that do not dismiss, deny or recreate the past sometimes promise something more radical, innovative and fresh in means as well as ends. On closer inspection, however, they can turn out to be not powerfully transformative at all. Thus, the UK Gilbert Committee's report on personalized learning (Gilbert, 2006; D. Hargreaves, 2004), seems to advocate transformations in learning and pedagogy that move beyond standardization in a knowledge society age. Yet in practice, what is advocated is not so much *personalization* that connects learning to lifelong narratives and projects of a nation's learners and citizens, but customization of that learning so it becomes merely more flexible in how it is accessed, delivered and packaged – like loading up an ipod or ordering options for one's car. Learning here can be accelerated or slowed down, customized and modularized, accessed in school or online, on-site or off-site, with others or alone, attuned to pre-identified learning styles and presented in modules assembled for personal preference and customized choice.

Like ordering and tailoring soft-furnishings and fashions, this kind of learning is streamlined and stylized, but it is a learning that is silent about content, purpose or mission in a pedagogical relationship that is disinvested of personal and social meaning. There is fast and flexible learning for individual creators and consumers of the existing society, not learning that connects individuals to their cultures and their world in lifelong engagement with their histories, the communities around them, or the futures that they might create together.

Pedagogical Change and Continuity

Sustainable education and improvement is about connecting the present, the future and the past in ways that reduce poverty, alleviate inequities, and strengthen communities and democracies within a context of sustainable economic and social development. While it should never blindly endorse the past, sustainable educational change should always respect and learn from it as it strives for a better (though not necessarily bigger) future. Three examples offer quite differing ways of achieving this.

Indigenous Engagement

World Bank intervention and investment strategies are often seen as providing reform solutions of standardization, privatization and decentralization that are insensitive to local cultures which are treated as impediments that are rooted in the past rather than assets for building a better future. Such strategies dismiss and deny the past as they engage in the ‘creative destruction’ that brings in their desired future. While this criticism may hold for many projects, an evaluation that my colleague Paul Shaw and I conducted of 17 World Bank/DfID projects revealed some interesting outliers of practices and pedagogies that worked *with* the local cultures rather than against them (Hargreaves & Shaw, 2006).

In Namibia, modest and prudent donor support has helped local training centres collect data about local consumer demand and about market saturation points for skills, so this can inform and guide discussions about training courses and provision on a just-in-time, one- or two-year basis, as fluctuating local conditions demand.

In Peru, the asparagus industry has been built on a well-developed formal educational base, at the core of which is a public agricultural university, the Universidad Nacional de la Molina, in Lima, where most of the entrepreneurs in the asparagus industry were trained. These entrepreneurs, in turn, learned new techniques in asparagus growing and processing from US (green) and Spanish (white) asparagus growers. Peruvian entrepreneurs were brought to the United States by USAID to learn these new techniques. Spanish investors, on the other hand, came to Peru to take advantage of lower wages. In both cases, technology transfer took place and was adapted to Peruvian conditions. Further, Peruvian entrepreneurs learned (and continue to learn) advanced techniques of irrigated desert agriculture by taking courses in Israel. Peru’s asparagus producers are organized into an association that disseminates information and assists with marketing. In addition, the university at La Molina produces research on new export crops as well as pest and disease control that is made available

to asparagus producers, constantly adapted to local conditions, and taught by larger growers to technicians and small farmers. All this lifelong learning has high pay-offs for economic development. The Peruvian asparagus industry exemplifies the value of treating the public and private sectors not as opponents but as allies, working together to support lifelong learning and training that promotes the greater economic and social good.

One of Unilever's soap factories in Indonesia treats water from the nearby river to manufacture soap, toothpaste and shampoo – since they all require clean water. It is in Unilever's commercial interest to improve water quality in Indonesia and also part of its social and environmental responsibility. Unilever Indonesia's Clean River programme focuses sustainably on involving and training everybody living along the river to contribute to its improvement and provides training so that the villagers can look after the river in a self-sustaining way.

All these cases show how local, long-standing, indigenous knowledge need not be an impediment to knowledge economy development. Rather, traditional culture can be regarded as cultural capital, whilst also retaining social value in its own right. To say this is not merely to show tolerance for difference and comparison for the weak. It is to acknowledge and engage with the strength of traditional knowledge as a firm foundation for innovation and knowledge development in the future.

In *Teaching In The Knowledge Society* (A. Hargreaves, 2003), I argued that it was important for teachers and schools to teach *beyond* the knowledge society as well as for it – balancing fast-paced knowledge society emphases on innovation and creativity with the development of loyalty, trust and social cohesion. But it is now clear that connecting the present to the future and the past is more than a matter of compensation and balance. This connection is at the very heart of what it means to be a knowledge society that is sustainable as well as successful in a society that develops trust and loyalty, inclusion and equity, safety and security as foundational qualities of a high-functioning society and economy. In such a society, cosmopolitan identity promotes humanitarian understanding as well as the society and economy's ability to draw on and develop the talents of *all* its people. And education for sustainable development helps preserve the planet without which future economic activity is impossible.

These principles, which illustrate how the social good and economic good are intertwined, are evident not only in the less-developed country examples just described, but also in some of the highest performing economies and educational systems in the world. Foremost among these is Finland.

Finnishing School

In January of 2007, with team colleagues Gabor Halasz and Beatriz Pont, I undertook an investigative inquiry for OECD into the relationship between leadership and school improvement in one of the world's highest performing educational systems and economies: Finland. After visiting and interviewing students, teachers, head teachers, system administrators, university researchers and senior ministry officials, a remarkably unified narrative began to surface about the country, its schools and their sense of aspiration, struggle and destiny.

Finland is a nation that has endured almost seven centuries of domination and oppression – achieving true independence only within the last three generations. In the context of this historical legacy, and in the face of a harsh and demanding climate and northern geography, it is not surprising that one of the most popular Finnish sayings translates as ‘It was long, and it was hard, but we did it!’

Yet it is not simply stoic perseverance, fed by a Lutheran religious ethic of hard work and resilience that explains Finland’s success as a high-performing educational system and economy. At the core of this country’s success and sustainability is its capacity to reconcile, harmonize and integrate those elements that have divided other developed economies and societies – a prosperous, high-performing economy and a decent, socially just society. While the knowledge economy has weakened the welfare state in many other societies, in Finland, a strong welfare state is a central part of the national narrative that supports and sustains a successful economy.

In *The Information Society and the Welfare State*, Castells and Himanen (2002, p. 166) describe how

Finland shows that a fully fledged welfare state is not incompatible with technological innovation, with the development of the information society, and with a dynamic, competitive new economy. Indeed, it appears to be a decisive contributing factor to the growth of this new economy as a stable basis.

The contrast with Anglo Saxon countries where material wealth has been gained at the expense of increasing social division, and also at the cost of children’s well-being (UNICEF, 2007) could not be more striking:

Finland stands in sharp contrast to the Silicon Valley model that is entirely driven by market mechanisms, individual entrepreneurialism, and the culture of risk – with considerable social costs, acute social inequality and a deteriorating basis for both locally generated human capital and economic infrastructure. (Castells & Himanen, 2002, p. 167)

At the centre of this successful integration that, in less than half a century, has transformed Finland from a rural backwater into a high-tech economic powerhouse, is its educational system. As the respondents interviewed by the OECD team indicated at all levels, Finns are driven by a common and articulately expressed social vision that connects a creative and prosperous future – as epitomized by the Nokia telecommunications company whose operation and supplies account for about 40% of the country’s GDP (Haikio, 2002) – to the people’s sense of themselves as having a creative history and social identity. One of the schools we visited was just two miles from the home of Finland’s iconic composer Sibelius. And the visual, creative and performing arts are an integral part of all children’s education and lifelong learning all through and even beyond their secondary school experience.

Technological creativity and competitiveness, therefore, do not break Finns from their past but connect them to it in a unitary narrative of lifelong learning and societal development. All this occurs within a strong welfare state that supports and steers

(a favourite Finnish word) the educational system and the economy. A strong public education system provides education free of charge as a universal right all the way through school and higher education – including all necessary resources, equipment, musical instruments and free school meals for everyone. Science and technology are high priorities, though not at the expense of arts and creativity. Almost 3% of GDP is allocated to scientific and technological development and a national committee that includes leading corporate executives and university vice chancellors, and that is chaired by the Prime Minister, steers and integrates economic and educational strategy.

As Finnish commentators and analysts have also remarked, all this educational and economic integration occurs within a society that values children, education and social welfare, that has high regard for education and educators as servants of the public good, that ranks teaching as the most desired occupation of high school graduates, and that is therefore able to make entry into teaching demanding and highly competitive (Sahlberg, 2006; Aho, Pitkanen & Sahlberg, 2006).

Within a generally understood social vision the state steers but does not prescribe in detail the national curriculum – with trusted teams of highly qualified teachers writing the detailed curriculum together at the level of the municipality, in ways that adjust to the students they know best. In schools characterized by an uncanny calmness, teachers exercise their palpable sense of professional and social responsibility in their efforts to care especially for children at the bottom, so as to lift them to the level of the rest. This is achieved not by endless initiatives or targeted interventions but by quiet cooperation (another favourite word) among all the teachers involved.

Head teachers in Finland are required by law to have been teachers themselves and most continue to be engaged in classroom teaching for at least 2–3 hours per week – which lends them credibility among their teachers, enables them to remain connected to their children, and ensures that pedagogical leadership is not merely high-flown rhetoric but a living, day-to-day reality.

It is important to acknowledge that Finland's integration of the information economy and the welfare state as a continuous narrative of legacy and progress that defines the national identity is not without its blind spots. Having been an embattled and oppressed historical minority, Finland, in comparison to many other nations, remains a somewhat xenophobic society, suspicious of immigrants and outsiders, and threatened by those who challenge or diverge from the Finnish way of life (Castells & Himanen, 2002). Without a willingness to accommodate higher rates of immigration, the impending retirement of large proportions of Boomer employees (as many municipal administrators described it to us) will also increase the financial burden on the welfare state, and jeopardize the basic sustainability of Finland's economy and society that depends on it.

Nonetheless, Finland contains essential lessons for societies that aspire, educationally and economically, to be successful and also sustainable knowledge societies. Building a future without breaking from the past; supporting not only pedagogical change but also continuity; fostering strong connections between education and economic development without sacrifice to culture and creativity; raising standards by lifting the many rather than pushing a privileged few; connecting private prosperity to the public good; developing a highly qualified profession that brings about improvement through

commitment, trust, cooperation and responsibility; embedding and embodying pedagogical leadership into almost every head teacher's weekly activity; and the emphasis on principles of professional and community rather than managerial accountability – these are just some of the essential lessons to be taken from Finland's exceptional educational and economic journey.

Activist Engagement

If Finland seems like an exclusionary and atypical exemplar of pedagogical change within sustainable knowledge societies, the edgy streets of culturally diverse Los Angeles perhaps provide a sterner test of how to drive pedagogical change within a compelling and inclusive social vision that is also underpinned by a clear theory of change in action.

Jeannie Oakes and her colleagues at the University of California, Los Angeles, argue that conventional change and reform strategies fail because the learning and teaching envisaged do not have clearly articulated goals concerning social justice other than ones narrowly concerned with tested achievement and achievement gaps (Oakes, Rogers & Lipton, 2007). Moreover, the strategies for bringing about change are directed at and driven by school and school system professionals with little involvement of students and parents other than as targets or consumers of the change effort. In this sense, neither the means nor the ends of most change efforts, nor the theories of action that underpin them, challenge or confront the structures of power and control in society that systematically protect the schools, programmes and pedagogical strategies that are especially advantageous for elites and their children.

In response, Oakes and colleagues (2006) draw on John Dewey's (1927) principles of participative inquiry as well as American traditions of community activism and organizing to propose classroom and school-level changes that raise achievement and secure wider improvement, by connecting low achieving poor and minority students to university researchers and teacher networks that train and support them to inquire into, then act upon the conditions of their own education and lives. Such forms of collaborative inquiry are not merely culturally responsive pedagogies that respond to the culturally variable learning styles of diverse students (Ladson-Billings, 1995); nor are they simply acts of cooperative instruction or intellectual creativity that enhance cognitive achievement. Rather, in line with the legacy of Paulo Freire (2000), these practices, which Oakes and colleagues help create in practice as well as in theory, increase achievement and improve the conditions for other people's achievement by helping students inquire into, understand and want to act on the conditions that affect the lives and education of themselves and their communities – dilapidated buildings, large class sizes, divisive streaming (tracking), inadequate books and materials, shortages of qualified teachers, and restricted opportunities to learn.

These pedagogically transformative practices are linked to an activist orientation among involved students and also among parents and local communities who challenge bureaucrats and legislators with evidence-based arguments as well as disruptive strategies and knowledge, to provide genuinely equal opportunities for the poor as well as the affluent. In the words of an old Irish rebel song, these strategies are "the wind that shakes the barley".

These living “pedagogies of the oppressed” may not be able to be scaled up everywhere – especially beyond the large urban centres where local research and philanthropic capacity is strong (an objection that the authors sweep aside a little too easily) – but networks of advocacy for publicly driven, rather than bureaucratically imposed reform are spreading rapidly across America (Shirley & Evans, 2007), with activist pedagogies of inquiry among parents and students alike being a fundamental factor in this growing arena of influence.

Conclusions

What can we conclude about pedagogical change in sustainable knowledge societies? Since the publication of *Teaching in the Knowledge Society* (A. Hargreaves, 2003), the evidence has persisted that economic success and prosperity still depend on successful innovation in information-based activity. Success and prosperity also depend on the capacity, in every sphere, to access and circulate knowledge inclusively and intensively so as to accelerate the pace of economic competitiveness along with the efficiency of public services by increasing personal awareness, connectedness and responsibility – even and especially among the infirm and the elderly (Castells & Himanen, 2002).

The necessity therefore remains of cultivating pedagogies that emphasize creativity; that develop applied knowledge as a way of increasing problem-solving capacities; that promote lifelong learning and the capacity to adapt and change as the work environment requires; and that customize teaching and learning so learning can be accessed in places, styles and genres that are the most effective for every individual student and that maximize their achievement and ability.

Written and published shortly after 9/11, *Teaching in the Knowledge Society* raised parallel problems of justice, humanity and security. These have only increased in intensity. When the world’s wealthiest nation converted its outrage over 9/11 into military conquest of the planet’s most ancient civilization, and when its Anglo-Saxon allies across the Atlantic and Pacific determined, almost alone, to join it, it was not democracy and stability but death and displacement of people and their families that spread across the Middle East in consequence – and increased terrorism, insecurity and fundamentalism, rapidly followed in their wake.

Moreover, a report by UNICEF (2007) of children’s well-being in 21 countries which ranks two of the world’s wealthiest economies – the United Kingdom and the United States – at the very bottom of the league table of all the industrialised nations covered by its survey, demonstrates that wealth and prosperity give no guarantees for justice and well-being.

As our human and planetary crises become more palpable, new pedagogies of humanity are beginning to surface – promoting citizenship, fostering emotional literacy and attending to children’s well-being. Curriculum interventions are being made in history and geography, teaching about environmental sustainability, or what it means to all cultures within a nation to be American, Japanese or British. But these measures are typically tacked on to, rather than substituted for existing pedagogical practices. Such citizenship courses, curriculum changes, emotional literacy programmes and other

interventions only inundate the system and overwhelm its teachers and leaders with repeated waves of unwanted initiatives that intensify the repetitive change syndrome that Abrahamson (2004) has described.

How is it, my OECD colleagues and I in Finland asked, that head teachers could still teach as well as lead in their high performing educational system on the leading edge of the global economy? “Because”, one said, “unlike the Anglo-Saxon countries, we do not have to spend our time responding to long, long lists of government initiatives that come from the top”.

The pedagogical solutions for a sustainable knowledge society are to be found not in government obsessions with targets and test scores, nor in the political panics that precipitate endless interventions and initiatives. Nor are they even necessarily to be found in energetic pedagogical innovations in multiple intelligences, cooperative learning strategies, or brain-based learning, for example. Finnish teachers, for instance, are notoriously low key and even a little conservative (though not stubbornly traditional) in their pedagogical strategies (Sahlberg, 2006; Aho, Pitkanen & Sahlberg, 2006).

Instead, on the world’s economic fringes, we have seen the benefits of connecting innovative modernization to long-standing indigenous knowledge. In Finland we can also see how curriculum, pedagogy and counselling, can be woven together in an integrated educational vision and practice that is also connected to a social vision of where the individual and society have been and are headed – a vision that is steered by a trusted state but never micromanaged by a meddling political bureaucracy. Last, in the City of the Angels, we have seen the value of participative inquiry and social activism in engaging students in understanding, then acting upon the oppressive conditions that restrict their learning – showing that the teaching and learning strategies of socially sustainable knowledge societies are not just intellectually creative and clever but also morally driven and socially just.

Our past is part of our future. If we try to push our baggage aside in our rush towards progress, we will only find that we keep falling over it. Prosperity for all is a proper goal, but not at any price. Sustainability, social justice and sheer survival must now be our chief priorities. And humanistic, creative, participative pedagogies, in schools where every child truly matters, that are steered by trusted systems and driven by parental engagement rather than flooded with unwanted initiatives offer some of the most promising ways forward.

The knowledge and information society should be able to live with a strong and supportive welfare state. The lion can lie down with the lamb. Prosperity and security have to coexist, side by side. The last two decades have been dominated by Anglo-Saxon strategies of ruthless, measurement-driven improvement and intervention that have incurred only widespread poverty and inequity and other social waste. It is now time for other more sustainable sensibilities to take their place.

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION: NEW THINKING

Robert Cowen

One of the official Reports on education in England began with an ambiguous phrase of the kind ‘at the heart of the education system lies the child’. I was much taken by the phrase and I wondered how the normally impeccable prose-writers of the British Civil Service had managed to come up with that. Simple words, certainly, if a little worrying. They can be borrowed: the sentence ‘at the heart of comparative education lies the educational system’ creates a useful ambiguity.

‘The educational system’ is one of our problems. By accepting the ‘educational system’ into the heart of an academic, university-voiced, comparative education we give ourselves four immediate problems:

1. On what basis may education systems be judged? That is, the relativism problem.
2. On what basis may education systems be acted upon? That is, the praxis problem.
3. On what basis may education systems be described? That is, the banality problem.
4. On what basis may education systems be interpreted? I referred to this earlier in these volumes as the ‘osmosis problem’.

These problems are, of course, magnified when ‘comparative education’ takes up its full complexity and addresses the problematique of ‘transfer’ within a theory of international educational relations that in turn is part of an interpretation of international economic and political relations.

But to stay on the simpler version of the problem – how are we dealing with the issues of relativism, praxis and banality and where do they lead us to?

The Relativist Problem

The relativist problem was partly disguised by the twin (liberal) promises of progress and betterment of the human condition. Thus, depending on which comparative educations you look at in which time periods, there tends to be a promise of better understanding or easier reform. In Sadler, the promise of comparative education – of looking at the foreign – is to get a better understanding of what is at home. Lauwerys, at the personal level, was deeply committed to the proposition that ‘since wars begin

in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'. His comparative education was (partly) inspired by the need for international understanding.

However, in the professional literature of comparative education it is difficult to find a condemnation of the educational patterns in apartheid South Africa, of the inversion of the principle of selection-by-class in the USSR, of the Cultural Revolution in China and of the extremes of pressure imposed on children in Japan or Hong Kong or South Korea by the examination systems. Rarely are educational systems condemned – with the obvious exception that there are protests about oppressed identities: raced, coloured, gendered and religious.

Comparative educationists are presumably no more and no less polite or bad-tempered than other academics. They do however have a special problem: part of the initial immersion in the field involves learning to like the strange, the exotic and the difficult-to-understand. Tolerance of, and empathy with, the foreign is encouraged, as a professional and acquired virtue.

It is only the invocation of universal principles which upsets this balancing act. At the intersection of an important aspect of personal identity and a system of education which violates that identity, there might be something of a personal condemnation: George Bereday and Edmund King had one such argument in public, in print, about class and race.

Vaguely internationalist, occasionally gently Marxist or neo-Marxist, professionally relativist, when does comparative education judge, other than on the basis of personal conviction politics, PISA scores, expatriate identity, or (these days) on principles of political correctness? When should it judge and on what criteria?

The Praxis Problem

It may with some confidence be asserted that the American education system is poor. More precisely, the overseas observer of US education notes a flow of detailed criticism offered in academic voices during the last 40 years. Clearly, then, this educational system is bad and in need of development by external consultants, and international aid – the United States is a suitable case for treatment.

Equally clearly, that is not going to happen.

Action upon and even the most trivial 'consultancy' on educational systems by foreigners normally occurs under quite specific conditions of imbalances in political and economic power and the adoption of supplicant status – or through occupation, as in Japan and Germany in 1945. It is also quite useful that what is 'wrong' with the educational system should be a normal action-puzzle: poor literacy rates, insufficient numbers of females graduating, ineffective and inefficient schooling, and now recovery from violence. 'Organised and applied comparative action' – the transfer of a limited range educational ideas, principles and processes – is predicated upon a lack of domestic capacities to act successfully including cash and skill deficiencies, politically supplicant status and the existence of aid conduits.

Thus, apart from questions about 'translations' (that is, understanding the local well enough to understand the shape-shifting which will and should occur if a 'foreign'

education pattern is introduced at home), there is an even greater moral or ethical problem. In the comparative education-of-action, when do we say 'no', especially (a) noting that much of comparative education-in-action occurs within very unequal political and cultural and economic relationships and (b) noting the relativist problem of non-judgemental comparative education? Do you consult in Burma? When and why?

The third problem relates both to comparative education-in-action (what else do you know than something about educational systems) and to comparative education as the study of educational systems in social and cultural contexts (the osmotic problem).

The Banality Problem

Consider the traditional categories we use for describing educational systems: aims, structure (the pattern of first- and second-level schools), administration and management, finance, curriculum, teacher education, examinations, perhaps vocational technical education, and maybe higher education.

Of course there are specialists who do offer a complex and sociological, or complex and historical, understanding of particular layers or levels of an educational system. Robin Alexander on curriculum; Peter Jarvis on lifelong learning; Guy Neave on higher education – all come to mind and have chapters in these volumes. But in general it is difficult to avoid the thought that collecting descriptions of educational systems is like collecting train numbers: interesting only if you are already hooked on the hobby.

But the situation gets worse and the banality then turns into something slightly more complex.

Describing educational systems leads relatively rapidly to identifying subsequently the 'similarities and differences'. The problem has suddenly become the clichés of the field – comparative education compares; it juxtaposes educational descriptions; and it identifies similarities and differences. But again and in general, it is difficult to avoid the thought that identifying 'similarities and differences' in educational systems is like collecting train numbers: interesting only if you are already hooked on the hobby.

The situation gets even worse. If comparative education is primarily the juxtaposition of educational descriptions constructed in the traditional categories of description identified above, and if these descriptions contain similarities and differences which can be specified, then the similarities and differences need to be explained – which traditionally has taken comparative education towards the identification of the causes of similarity and difference (and, normally, J. S. Mill).

Thus comparative education traps itself by accepting its earlier traditions and pedagogic talk too lightly. It traps itself into banalities of form (the juxtaposed descriptions); the banality of what it narrates – descriptions heavily influenced by the levels of educational systems for which different administrators are normally responsible; and a very traditional model of how you can come to know 'the causes of things'.

But it is the osmotic problem – the relation of things outside the school to things inside the school – which gives intellectual life to this narrative aspect of comparative education (the description of educational systems) so there is a double triviality here. The lists of similarities and differences in educational descriptions of systems are not

even what need to be explained. Fortunately you cannot get that kind of article published any more.

Nevertheless, the consequences of all of this are massive:

- The intellectual agenda of comparative education becomes limited in time (only studies of ‘the educational system’ count as comparative education).
- The classic form of comparative education becomes the juxtaposition of educational descriptions, perhaps with unsystematic comments about context.
- Anything educational can be compared: the number of hours spent on homework in two or more countries; attitudes to first-cycle schools by mothers; and whether teachers are happy.
- However, in general what is described in routine comparative work is some salient, contemporary aspect of educational policy.

Thus we construct – starting from Jullien – a modernist trap for comparative education.

The modernist trap has several characteristics:

- (i) Only certain space–time patterns are worth serious investigation.
- (ii) Investigations outside such space–time patterns of contemporary history are proto-comparative education because they do not investigate ‘the educational system’. Thus most of the educational experiences of the world are left undisturbed and unexplored.
- (iii) ‘The educational system’ and advice on salient policy problems become the point of comparative education – both its praxis and its intellectual work.
- (iv) Among policy problems, the urgent and visible ones are the work agenda; this confirms comparative education as being accountable and relevant and useful.
- (v) The anterior work for this needs to be informed by the specification of similarities and differences in educational provision and an understanding of the causes of these differences through ‘the comparative method’.

Partly as a consequence of this definition of university-based comparative education as a very modern (or late-modern) field of study and as a highly ‘relevant and useful’ area of intellectual work – a theme which ties well with much of our normalising history of ourselves – comparative education is increasingly visible and ‘successful’. The surface structures of comparative education (its journals, its departments, its professional societies) look to be fine.

Below the surface of consultancies done, students graduated, contracts gained, journals launched and revitalised, there are confusions over what comparative education currently is, and what it might be.

The point now is to rethink. In this section (as well of course as in Section Eight of the Handbook) new questions and some new answers are sketched.

There are some alternatives to being merely modern.

MAPPING COMPARATIVE EDUCATION AFTER POSTMODERNITY

Rolland G. Paulston^{†1}

To Isaiah Berlin, in Memoriam

Two extravagances: to exclude Reason, to admit only Reason.

(Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*)

He who would do good to another must do so in Minute Particulars: General Good is the plea of the scoundrel, hypocrite and flatterer; For Art and Science cannot exist but in minutely organized Particulars.

(William Blake, *Jerusalem*)

This article examines the postmodern challenge to how we have come to see, represent, and practice comparative and international education. More specifically, I ask three questions: (1) Can a close reading of the relevant literature identify and type major positions or arguments in the postmodernism debate in our field? (2) How might these positions or knowledge communities be mapped as a discursive field of diverse perspectives and relations? Then, using this “heterotopia” of different ways of seeing Blake’s minute particulars or mininarratives, (3) What might we reasonably conclude about the postmodern challenge of multiperspectivism and its impact on how we as comparativists choose to represent our world?

But first a few words concerning key concepts and methods used in this study. I make no distinction in using the terms postmodern, postmodernism, or postmodernity, although numerous books have been written that do so.² My only interest in these terms is to identify and map some 60 texts, which is all I could find on the topic. By presenting the postmodernity debate in comparative education and its related discourse as an ensemble of textual relations, I hope to avoid giving the appearance of dualism and a binary struggle of opposites. On the contrary, I view all positions in the field as interrelated and perhaps best understood as an intertextual space that allows the negotiation of meanings and values.

In order to type and map, I must first enter into the texts and uncover how reality is seen (i.e., ontology), on what historical rules or codes truth claims are based (i.e., genealogy), and how the narrative framing process chosen produces a perspective, or narrative of transmission (i.e., narratology). In choosing narrative as a thematic frame, I seek to highlight specific dimensions of texts in the debate, while acknowledging that some aspects of the text are foregrounded at the expense of others.

Accordingly, my reading can only be understood in light of the possible heterogeneity of each text. Readings by others, including the authors themselves, would most likely produce different interpretations and mappings. Sharing and critiquing our interpretive and cartographic collaborations will help us to better know ourselves, others, and the world we jointly construct. The point to remember here is that my purpose is to read and interpret written and figural texts, not authors. This requires that, to the extent possible, texts be allowed to speak for themselves, to tell, with the use of quotes, their own stories.

I have always understood the postmodern condition as ironic sensibility, as a growing reflexive awareness, as an increasing consciousness of self, space, and multiplicity. Where the Enlightenment project has typically used reason and science in efforts to make the strange normal, advocates of the anti-Enlightenment,³ and most recently the postmodernists, have sought to render the familiar strange, or uncertain. This brings to mind the earlier contrast of Apollonian harmony and rationality and Dionysian decentering and deconstruction found in classical thought. The specific theses of postmodernist advocates, that is, the present-day Dionysians, tend to focus on what they have seen as the false certainties of modernity since the 1960s. Perhaps we might take note of five postmodern theses in particular.⁴ Foremost is a rejection of the Enlightenment foundations found in the grand narratives of progress, emancipation, and reason. These metanarratives are viewed as “terror”, silencing the small narratives, or in Blake’s terms, the minutely organized particulars of the Other.

A second thesis is the rejection of universal or hegemonic knowledge, any a priori privileging of a given regime of truth (i.e., functionalism, Marxism, postmodernism, or the like), and the need for a critical antihegemonic pluralism in social inquiry. A third thesis critiques attempts to adjudicate between competing cognitive and theoretical claims from a position of assumed or usurped privilege. Rather, postmodern texts see all knowledge claims to be problematic. The idea of universal unsituated knowledge that can set us free is seen to be a naive, if perhaps well-intentioned, self-delusion. Feminist texts, in their rejection of patriarchal truth claims, add the notion of a heterogeneous self to the postmodernist’s critique. In total contrast to the Cartesian autonomous actor found in modernity texts, identity in the postmodern era is seen to be mutable and contextually variable. Bodies are also seen as a contested terrain upon which to think differently about who we are and who we might become.

A fourth thesis argued in postmodern texts attacks Eurocentrism and seeks to open knowledge practice to postcolonial experiences and to non-Western cultural codes and interpretations. The fifth thesis argues for a shift in research from time to space, from facts to interpretations, from grounded positions to narrative readings, and from testing propositions to mapping difference.

Perhaps the single most important characteristic of postmodern sensibility is an ontological shift from an essentialist view of one fixed reality, that is, reason as the controlling principle of the universe, to an antiessentialist view where reality constructs are seen to resist closure and where multiple and diverse truth claims become part of a continuous agonistic, or contested, struggle.

The central question of social change in the larger postmodernism debate is also at issue in the more recent debate in comparative education. That is, do contemporary

developments – as postmodernists are prone to argue – mark a movement toward a distinct new form of social conditions characterized by nonmechanical yet complex relations that “appear as a space of chaos and chronic indeterminacy, a territory subjected to rival and contradictory meaning bestowing claims and hence perpetually ambivalent” (Bauman, 1992, p. 193)⁵ Or, in contrast, as neomodernist texts are prone to argue, are contemporary developments best viewed as rational processes internal to the development of a global and reflexive “late modernity”⁶

Before examining illustrative texts constructing positions in this debate, we might first note some foreshadowing of these exchanges during the earlier paradigm wars. In the 1977 “State of the Art” issue of the *Comparative Education Review*, edited by Andreas Kazamias and Carl Schwartz, for example, the cover pictures a broken house of knowledge, signifying, in my reading, the conflicted state of the field at that time (see Figure 1). Yet, note that the perplexed egghead professor remains whole and apart, a senior male in ivy league attire. This image suggests a material world in structural disarray, and it seems to question whether the power of rational professorial thought (i.e., theory) can rebuild the field’s foundation.



Fig. 1. A late modernist cartoon portraying the once solid structure of comparative education after the paradigm wars of the 1970s and structural deconstruction. The question seems to arise regarding how we are to retain our modern identity yet deal with the crisis.

Source: *Comparative Education Review*, 21 (June/October 1977): Cover

In a contribution to this special issue, I proposed (see Table 1) that comparative educators make a spatial turn and become more reflexive practitioners. I sought “to stimulate greater awareness of how individual views of social reality and social change tend to channel and filter perceptions and to look at alternative possibilities for representing educational change potentials and constraints. To this end, I delineated the total range of theoretical perspectives that had been used to support educational reform strategies and to suggest how individual choice behaviors follow from basic philosophical, ideological, and experimental orientations to perceived social reality” (Paulston, 1977). For the first time a phenomenological – albeit conflicted and static – portrait of how some 320 international texts constructed multiple educational reform realities appeared in a comparative education journal. In contrast, C. Arnold Anderson, looking back to 1950, argued in this special issue for a continued orthodoxy of high modernity. To quote this founding father of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), “I continue to insist that traditional social science disciplines should remain the foundations for work in this field” (Anderson, 1977). He advocated constructing theoretical models and formulating sound nomothetic conclusions, and he suggested avoiding fashionable ideologies and their semantics, clichés, and novelties. He advised comparative and international educators to produce solid scholarship by avoiding anthropology and ethnomethodology and embracing sociology and economics. In conclusion, Anderson offered guarded optimism for continued progress in CIES, but only if the field “avoids weary new panaceas” and works harder at the “identification of functional equivalents for the basic structures and functions of educational systems” (Anderson, 1977, p. 416).

My contribution focused on the space of texts in the literary construction of national educational reform debates and used what Foucault has called a genealogical approach to pattern texts as theoretical windows opening to multiple realities. Anderson’s text, in contrast, argued for an orthodoxy of nomothetic research capable of generating hypotheses, covering laws, and following modernization theory based on the primacy of autonomous, professional actors measuring the way things really are. Editors Andreas Kaza-mias and Karl Schwartz stake out a third and more pragmatic position somewhere between my hermeneutical interpretivism and Anderson’s patriarchal logocentrism. While firmly grounded in a realist ontology, the two editors chart a road ahead for the increasingly disputatious field of comparative education with their sensible call for a greater openness to cultural and critical approaches (my preference), for increased attention to pedagogical practice and teacher education (their preference), and for a view that sees social science (Anderson’s preference) as “pluralistic, modest and open” (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977, pp. 175–176).

Today, some 22 years later, in our more heterogeneous time, it is possible with exegetic analysis to identify at least five knowledge communities in comparative education discourse that are more or less favorable to, if not proponents of, postmodernist views. These are the sites of (1) postmodernist deconstructions, (2) radical alterity, (3) semiotic society, (4) reflexive practitioner, and (5) social cartography. All five tend to locate the emergence of postmodernism after the 1970s as a periodizing concept and, accordingly, as external to modernity. Communities defending the grand narratives of modernity, in contrast, while they may acknowledge the postmodernist

Table 1. Relations between theories of social and educational change/“reform”

Illustrative linked assumptions concerning educational-change potentials and processes				
Social change paradigms and theories	Concerning preconditions for educational change	Concerning rationales for educational change	Concerning scope and process of educational change	Concerning major outcomes sought
Equilibrium theories: Evolutionary	State of evolutionary readiness	Pressure to move to a higher evolutionary stage required to support “national modernization” efforts	Incremental and adaptive; “natural history” approach	New stage of institutional evolutionary adaptation
Neo-evolutionary	Satisfactory completion of earlier stages		“Institution building” using Western models and technical assistance	New “higher” state of education and social differentiation/ specialization
Structural-functionalalist	Altered functional and structural requisites	Social system need provoking an educational response; exogenous threats	Incremental adjustment of existing institutions, occasionally major	Continued “homeostasis” or “moving” equilibrium; “human capital” and national “development”
Systems	Technical expertise in “systems management.” “Rational decision making” and “needs assessment”	Need for greater efficiency in system’s operation and goal achievement, i.e., response to a system “malfunction”	Innovative “problem solving” in existing systems, i.e., “Research & Development approach”	Improved “efficiency” regarding costs/ benefits; adoption of innovations
Conflict theories: Marxian	Elite’s awareness of need for change; or shift of power to socialist rulers and educational reformers	To adjust correspondence between social relations of production and social relations of schooling	Adjustive incremental following social mutations or radical restructuring with Marxist predominance	Formation of integrated workers, i.e., the new “Socialist Man”
Neo-Marxian	Increased political power and political awareness of oppressed groups	Demands for social justice and social equality	Large-scale national reforms through “democratic” institutions and processes	Eliminate “educational privilege” and “elitism”; create a more equalitarian society
Cultural revitalization	Rise of a collective effort to revive or create “a new culture.” Social tolerance for “deviant” normative movements and their educational programs	Rejection of conventional schooling as forced acculturation. Education needed to support advance toward movement goals	Creation of alternative schools or educational settings. If movement captures polity, radical change in national educational ideology and structure	Inculcate new normative system. Meet movement’s recruitment, training, and solidarity needs

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Illustrative linked assumptions concerning educational-change potentials and processes			
Anarchistic Utopian	Creation of supportive settings; growth of critical consciousness; social pluralism	Free man from institutional and social constraints. Enhance creativity need for “life-long learning”	Isolated “freeing up” of existing programs and institutions, or create new learning modes and settings, i.e., a “learning society”
			Self-renewal and participation. Local control of resources and community; elimination of exploitation and alienation

Source: Paulston (1977, pp. 372–373)

Note: The table presents a phenomenological comparison of how the international literature may be seen to construct national educational and social change/reform perspectives.

critique, tend to situate, as with Jürgen Habermas, the postmodern debate as internal to and only comprehensible in terms of the notion of late modernity. In my close reading of the 60 or so texts selected, four modernist genres or positions in the debate emerged: (1) metanarratives of reason, emancipation, and progress; (2) rational actor gaming; (3) critical modernist appropriations; and (4) reflexive modernity adaptations. These sites can be characterized, mapped, and compared according to how they choose to understand reality and how they problematize practice. These differences are represented in Figure 2, where we now turn our attention to the left, or postmodernism side, of the debate field.

Postmodernist Deconstructions

With the publication of his presidential address in 1991, Val Rust opened CIES discourse to the debate on postmodern ideas, a far-ranging controversy that has energized and destabilized much of intellectual life in the academy since the 1970s. Rust introduced deconstructivist arguments of the French poststructuralists Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Jean Francois Lyotard, ideas that reject the basic language and realist assumptions of the modern age. Arguing that the comparative education community has played almost no role in this discussion, Rust selected four aspects of postmodernism that he considered to be crucial for a postmodern understanding of our field today: (1) the critique of the totalitarian nature of metanarratives; (2) recognition of the problems of the Other; (3) recognition of the development, through technology, of an information society; and (4) an opening to new possibilities for art and aesthetics in everyday life (see Rust, 1991).

While Rust presents a compelling case for the utility of postmodern ideas in our era, his analysis remains strongly realist, even melioristic: “We comparative educators must discuss the opportunities of the incipient age. ... We must define more clearly the metanarratives that have driven our field ... we must engage in the critical task of disassembling those narratives because they define what comparativists find acceptable ... we must increase our attention to small narratives ... we must learn to balance high and popular culture” (Rust, 1991, 625–626).

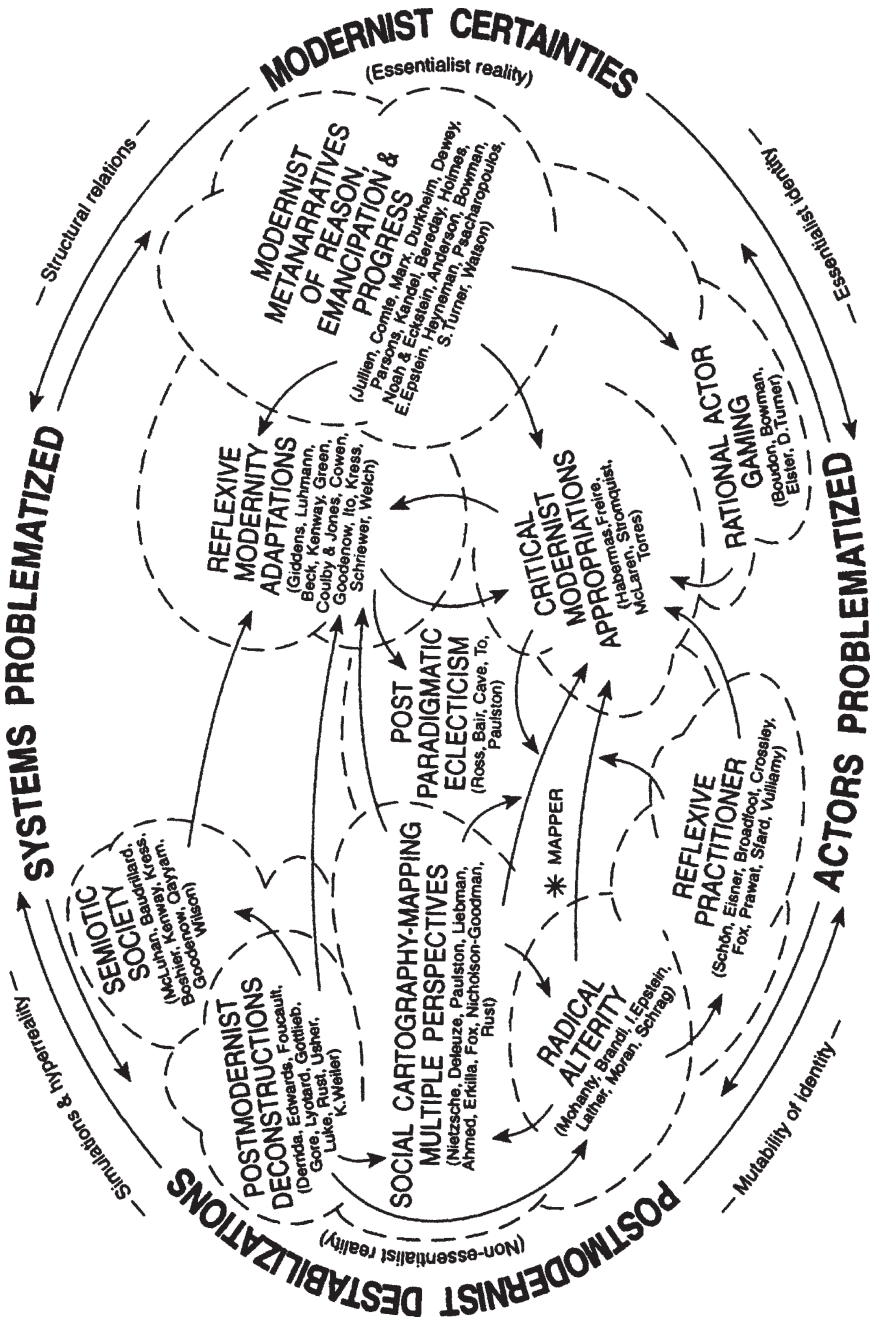


Fig. 2. A metaphorical mapping of knowledge positions constructing the postmodernity debate in comparative education (and related) discourse. In this open intertextual field, arrows suggest intellectual flows and proper names refer not to authors, but to illustrative texts cited in the paper and juxtaposed above. In contrast to Utopias (i.e., sites with no real place) much favored by modernist texts, this figure draws inspiration from Michel Foucault's notion of "heterotopias". These are the simultaneously mythic and real spaces of contested everyday life. Postmodernist texts favor heterotopias, as above, because they are "capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible". (see Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986, p. 25)

As Rust's text demonstrates, letting go of modernity's language, let alone its essentialist and instrumental vision, is more easily advocated than achieved. Despite the contradictions between his text and his message, Rust's pioneering call to move away from a universal belief system toward a plurality of belief systems remains timely and exciting. Unfortunately, it evoked little if any response in CIES discourse until 1994 when Liebman and I used Rust's critique to support our invitation to a postmodern social cartography (Paulston & Liebman, 1994).⁷

In contrast to the certainty of Rust's text about the instrumental utility of postmodern ideas, the British scholars Robin Usher and Richard Edwards, in their 1994 text, advocate a more ludic or playful approach so as better to avoid creating the monster of a new postmodern metanarrative. To quote their text: "Our attitude to the postmodern is ambivalent. We agree that to be consistently postmodern, one should never call oneself a postmodern. There is a self-referential irony about this which we find lucidly apt in encapsulating our relationships as authors to this text. At the least, we ...have let the postmodern 'speak' through those texts [that] exemplify it" (Usher & Edwards, 1994).

Building on Rust's earlier manifesto, Usher and Edwards problematize and deconstruct the very notion of emancipation in the project of modernity to show what they see as its oppressive assumptions and consequences, particularly in the field of education. In this, they side with Jacques Derrida, in a desire to dissolve binary oppositions, to argue that education like power is neither inherently repressive nor liberatory, but perhaps both – or neither.

Here, there is no Hegelian synthesis where opposition can be transcended by correct ideas or a more logical argument. Rather, they see, as did Friedrich Nietzsche, a continual and unresolvable tension and struggle of perspectives. Given this scenario, Usher and Edwards argue for an education of resistance to disrupt metanarrative power. Or to quote their accessible text:

[I]t is in disrupting the exercise of power rather than in seeking to overcome it, that resistance can take form. The postmodern moment can enable us to transgress the boundaries of modernity rather than be contained within them. Resistance and transgressions, rather than emancipation, signify the possibilities for challenging dominant forms of power. It is analogous to Gramsci's war of maneuver rather than the war of attrition. And it is a war without end, a constant refusal of mastery, and of being mastered. (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 224)

In this, they share James Whitson's contention that the postmodern is perhaps best seen as an attempt at the antihegemonic without being counterhegemonic and thus risking incorporation as a relatively harmless rhetoric – as with much of critical pedagogy – into the dominant structure of control.⁸

Radical Alterity

The radical alterity battalions of the postmodernist forces apply Derriderian and subalterian ideas of the Other and seek to decenter and topple modernist control structures (i.e., hierarchy and patriarchy) with new possibilities opened by nonessentialist

notions of body and identity. Where modernist texts see science, morality, and art as stubbornly differentiated, advocates of a radical alterity see the self after postmodernity as both a construct of multiple forms of speech, diverse language games, and variegated narratives, and as action-oriented and self-defined by the ways in which it communicates. As Calvin Schrag puts it, the self after postmodernity is open to understanding through its discourse, its actions, its being together in community, and its experience of transcendence. In contrast, “the modernist grammars of unity, totality, identity, sameness, and consensus find little employment in postmodernist thinking” (Schrag, 1997).⁹ Instead, texts of the radical alterity community take up Lyotard’s warning that forced consensus does violence to the free play of language games and that our new interpretive categories of heterogeneity, multiplicity, diversity, difference, and dissensus are now available to interrogate and deconstruct modernist views of the autonomous Cartesian self (as represented by the professor in Figure 1) along with all of its traditional metaphysics and epistemological games.

Radical alterity texts are, understandably, most often found in the discourse of ethnic and gender movements seeking to oppose the hierarchies and exclusions of modernity. These are often angry texts seeking to shock, challenge, and defy. I have found only three examples in our field’s journals. Perhaps the best is a 1994 book review by Diana Brandi, then a doctoral student at the University of Pittsburgh, which appeared in the *Comparative Education Review*. Brandi’s text, in my reading, is first and foremost a personal attack on the book’s three senior author/editors, well-known and respected advocates of emancipatory modernity. She characterizes their representations of comparative education as it has emerged in the 1990s as a rehash of Marxist, functionalist, and structural functionalist perspectives. She finds this uniformity of content, perspective, and analysis not only troubling, but also puzzling. She claims that the chapters lack diversity, are self-referential, and lack a rich range of theoretical choices and multidisciplinary approaches, and that the book’s structuralist orthodoxy precludes any critical reflection on whose views the research reflects or how comparative education can support transformative change for a more humane world (Brandi, 1994).¹⁰

Brandi concludes that the central emerging issue for comparative education in the 1990s, and an issue the book virtually ignores, is the need to challenge the dominant hierarchies that continue to marginalize and silence the greater proportion of humankind. She contends the editors neglected more pluralistic discourses that challenge international development education and its service to structural adjustment, to militarism, and to the structural violence now being critically analyzed in other fields and disciplines. Here Brandi also challenges our field to open space for voices of the Other, antiessentialist voices that will attack and reject our modernist certainties of order and progress, if not of emancipation.

One year later, Irving Epstein, in a more conciliatory vein, also argued the desirability of realigning comparative studies from the seemingly innocent practice and critique of educational planning and policy to an opening up of space for cultural studies of contested local knowledge, of ethnicity, gender, disability, and the body. These issues of the Other are, Epstein complains, rarely addressed in comparative education discourse, despite a proliferation of just such studies in the academy after the 1980s (Epstein, 1995).¹¹

Semiotic Society

The semiotic society perspective builds upon ideas of Canadian Marshall McLuhan and Frenchman Jean Baudrillard. In his pioneering 1964 study, *Understanding Media*, McLuhan interpreted modernity as a process of differentiation, as a virtual explosion of commodification, industrialization, mechanization, and market relations. These differentiations produce “hot” media. In contrast, television, as a “cool” medium, is a site of implosion of all boundaries, regions, and distinctions between high and low culture (i.e., “the new global village”), between appearance and reality, and between the binary oppositions maintained by traditional modernist philosophy and modernization theory (McLuhan, 1964).

After first rejecting McLuhan’s thesis during his neo-Marxist phase, Baudrillard has more recently accepted and extended McLuhan’s “implosion of meaning” argument. Baudrillard’s text now argues that the seemingly endless proliferation of signs and information obliterates meaning through neutralizing and dissolving all content. This leads to both a collapse of meaning and the destruction of distinctions between media and reality, creating what he terms a hyperreality. In Baudrillard’s most recent texts, political economy, media, and cybernetics are seen to coalesce to produce a semiotic society far beyond the stage of capitalism described by Marxism. This is the time of postmodernity in which simulation models come to constitute the world and finally devour representation. Society thus is seen to move from a capitalist productivist orientation to a neocapitalist cybernetic order that aims at total control. Much like in television programs, models and codes come to constitute everyday life and social relations (see Poster, 1988). As in Brandi’s text, Baudrillard’s analysis sees a society subject to growing cybernetic control, where critiques that claim to be oppositional, outside, or threatening to the system become patterned into a society of simulations (i.e., copies without originals) as mere alibis that only further enhance social control.

Disneyland is Baudrillard’s prime example of a hyperreality, that is, not the unreal but the more-than-real. In such a universe, there are no explosive contradictions, crises, or even oppositions because everything is designed and controlled. There is no reality, or even potentiality, in the name of which oppressive phenomena can be criticized and transformed because there is nothing behind the flow of signs, codes, and simulacra. In this nightmare hyperreal society, not even social critique or critical art are possible. For Baudrillard, “a cool universe of digitality ... has absorbed the world of metaphor and metonymy. The principle of simulation wins out over the reality principle of pleasure.”¹² This is Baudrillard’s unsettling fantasy world, and it presents an extreme form of postmodern nihilism.

In a recent special issue on postmodernity and comparative education – the first in our field – in the British journal *Comparative Education*, three texts (none of which cite Baudrillard) address a number of more practical aspects of the so-called cyberspace challenge. Ronald Goodenow examines how, the emergence of global communications networks, most notably the information superhighway, have created a new world of cyberspace. Issues of ownership and power, of how knowledge and services are defined and distributed, and of how technological have-nots gain access to networks now become major policy issues. Goodenow also stresses that educators will need to

become more interdisciplinary and knowledgeable of trends and debates in many areas (Goodenow, 1996).

Gunther Kress's text more specifically asks how the constitutive principles of postmodernity, for example, diversity, multiple reality, alterity, and paralogy, suggest the need for new representational approaches. Today our theories of meaning making, or semiosis, are largely grounded in late nineteenth-century notions of stable social systems (e.g., Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons), stable signs communicating stable meanings (e.g., Ferdinand de Saussure), and assumptions of an abstract reified formal appearance (e.g., C. Arnold Anderson). But now postindustrial societies are struggling to construct new forms of information-based economies responsive to cultural difference, change, and innovation. Kress challenges comparative educators to join in the creation of new modes of thinking about meaning and how we might jointly make and remake our systems of representation "in productive interaction with multiple forms of difference" (Kress, 1996, quote on p. 196). But one wonders how Kress would interact with Baudrillard's destabilizing notions of hyperreality.

Jane Kenway's text sounds a cautionary note in warning that educators and students need to question the cyberspace claims of both Utopians (i.e., the likes of Bill Gates) and Dystopians (i.e., the likes of Baudrillard). While granting the inevitability of the digital revolution, she draws attention to the way we produce and consume the new technologies and to associated issues of politics and justice. Teaching students about the consequences of technology is, she notes, perhaps even more important than teaching them how to operate the machines (see Kenway, 1996). Mary Wilson and colleagues do exactly this in a later political economy study of the World Wide Web. Their text contends that an overwhelming American presence on the Web renders "the American perspective" the norm, or center, while the rest of the world becomes periphery. They argue that cyberspace, with its lack of boundaries and connection to geographical place, conceals US dominance, and that astute educators need to recognize these factors and work to circumvent them (Wilson, Qayyam, & Boskier, 1999).

Reflexive Practitioner

The two remaining camps favorable to a postmodern reading of our time and our field are the reflexive practitioner and the social cartography textual genres. Both favor a hermeneutics of affirmation, and both are closely linked with the burgeoning qualitative research tradition in education. The reflexive practitioner genre especially has deep roots in Western humanism and in the Romantic Movement. In education, it has resisted scientific and technological efforts to objectify and commodify the world. During the paradigm wars of the 1970s and 1980s, the strongly humanistic reflexive perspective successfully defended *Verstehen*, or insight, as a key concept and goal for individual learning and knowledge work. An influential text of that time legitimating reflexive approaches in education is Donald Schon's *The Reflective Practitioner* (Schon, 1983).¹³ Schon explored the crisis of confidence in professional knowledge and advocated a solution of moving from technical rationality to reflection in action. In comparative education, I made the same argument

seeking to recognize the value of both imagination and technological reason in 1990, but to seemingly little effect (Paulston, 1990).

Today, postmodern attacks on modernist ways of knowing grounded in essentialist views of reality have helped to open a larger space for reflexive perspectives. For many, a reflexive perspective view of actors and systems offers a reasonable alternative to either the demanding perspective of radical postmodernity with its hermeneutics of despair or the perspective of a nostalgic, rule-bound modernity. For example, Patricia Broadfoot of the University of Bristol chooses this ontological middle ground in her foreword to *Qualitative Educational Research in Developing Countries*. Her introduction recognizes both postmodern influences, that is, a plurality of belief systems, a recognition of multiple realities, and the influence of culture and context, yet retains a clear concern for social scientific research and “the progress to which it will lead” (Broadfoot, 1997). Variations on this recognition of multiple viewpoints and diverse interests by scholars in the eclectic center are also becoming increasingly evident in the educational research literature. Elliot Eisner, for example, advocates a multiplicity in data representations that welcomes artistic, linguistic, and visual alternatives along with more traditional positivistic choices. But he also warns that an interpretive multiple perspectives approach may introduce dangerous ambiguity and a potential backlash:

A genre of work can stand alone without an interpretive context when those reading, seeing, or hearing it bring that context with them. When they do not they are likely to be lost. Few people like to be lost. When the terrain is new, we need context. We also need to be sure ...that we are not substituting novelty and cleverness for substance. In other words, we need to be our own toughest critics. (Eisner, 1997, quote on p. 9)¹⁴

Social Cartography

Texts clustered in the social cartography genre also share a number of defining characteristics, perhaps best captured by Foucault’s notion of heterotopia. In contrast to the totalizing utopic (i.e., no-place) space of modernity, heterotopic spaces are the simultaneously mythic and real spaces of everyday life capable of juxtaposing in a single place a great variety of different sites which in themselves may be incompatible. As William Blake noted, modernist texts favor idealistic rational Utopias of general good. In contrast, postmodernist texts favor heterotopias of situated difference and local knowledge. Figure 2 above illustrates just such a heterotopic mapping of difference. Here, within an intertextual field, all viewpoints producing a text in the CIES postmodernity debate find space and relation to other similar or totally different ways of seeing. As such, this tangled and interconnected mapping, or Deleuzian rhizome, of knowledge positions and relations can be seen as a metaphor of the debate, as a heuristic approach, and as a real site of parody and postmodern process. It can also be seen as a useful new spatial tool specifically created to give visual form to the growing complexity of knowledge work today. Where Pablo Picasso with analytical cubism made it

possible to represent many sides of an object at the same time, social cartography also creates something in the very act of depiction. This is not simply a fragile synthesis, but a new way of looking at the world and, equivalently, a new aspect of the world at which to look (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986).¹⁵

The ideas behind heterotopic mappings of perspectival difference began to take form in my paper "Comparing Ways of Knowing across Inquiry Communities", presented at the CIES annual meeting in Pittsburgh in 1991. A number of doctoral students at the University of Pittsburgh then joined the project, and together we worked to create a social cartography able to visualize and pattern multiplicity, be it multiple perspectives, genres, arguments, or dreams. In this heuristic, the field is also defined by the outlying positions. In modern, positivistic representations, in contrast, the opposite is true, that is, the intention is to plot a central tendency where outliers, such as the Other, simply disappear.

On the surface, discourse mapping appears to be a fairly simple, if demanding, process of reading and juxtaposing ways of seeing in texts. I proceed in the following "cookbook" fashion, much to the horror of my postmodernist colleagues: (1) Choose the issue or debate to be mapped. (2) Select the widest range possible of texts that construct this debate and, with close reading, translate their defining rhetorical characteristics, ideas, and worldviews. (3) Identify the range of positions in the intertextual mix. In Figure 2, for example, these positions are presented on the horizontal axis as the onto-logical poles of "postmodernist destabilizations" and "modernist certainties". On the vertical axis, the poles chosen are "actors problematized" and "systems problematized". (4) Identify the textual communities that share a way of seeing and communicating reality; locate them within their space and interrelate communities of vision with space, lines, arcs, arrows, or the like. While resisting all modernist urges to box in or lay down a grid, locate coordinates outside the field to allow for a less restricted space of intersubjectivity, movement, and choice than provided by Table 1. (5) Field test the map with the individuals or knowledge communities involved. Share the conflicting interpretations and remap as desired.

As an oppositional postmodern strategy, social cartography translates across interacting sites of material inscriptions, avoiding the idealist totalities of Utopian modernity. This process of mapping and translating seeks to open up meanings, to uncover limits within cultural fields, and to highlight reactionary attempts to seal borders and prohibit translations. In this lies postmodern mapping's contribution to an antihegemonic critique.

Social mapping may also be seen as an emergent methodology from within the hermeneutic mode of inquiry that acknowledges that worlds are constructed and interpreted both objectively and subjectively, that is, that within fields of study or sites of knowledge, a dialogue is always taking place that involves meaning systems that are illusive. These meaning systems are formed by those who elaborate them, and an open, intertextual field is created by the dialogue. For this reason, the comparative researcher and the reader alike serve as translators within this mode of interpretive inquiry. But, as Eisner warns, the researcher now has a threefold obligation to explicate what point of view is being utilized in the study, to disclose the interrelations of the field or site itself, and to convey something of the personal or professional experiences that have led her or him to choose a particular point of view.

As our social cartography project at the University of Pittsburgh took form, several dissertations and books mapped situated areas of the theoretical and operational landscapes of comparative and international education. Martin Liebman's thesis, for example, expands our understanding of metaphorical analysis in comparative method (Liebman, 1994).¹⁶ Zebun Ahmed's study maps how village women in rural Bangladesh view their nonformal educational experiences with Western nongovernmental organizations (Ahmed, 1997).¹⁷ Kristiina Erkkilä maps positions in the entrepreneurial education debates in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Finland (Erkkilä, 2000). Katsuhisa Ito is currently critiquing the project from a human geography viewpoint, Michel Rakatomanana is mapping the debate on new information technologies and educational development, and Mina O'Dowd is mapping how multiple knowledge perspectives can be seen to construct a longitudinal research study in Sweden (see Katsuhisa, 1998; Rakotomanana, 1999; Gorostiaga, 1999; O'Dowd, 1999). In our 1996 project book, *Social Cartography* (Paulston, 1996),¹⁸ a number of leading US, Canadian, and international scholars collaborated to demonstrate mapping applications in research practice (i.e., Christine Fox, Esther Gottlieb, Thomas Muat, Val Rust, Nelly Stromquist, among others) or to critique and counterargue the book's contention that social mapping is a useful tool for comparative analysis today. Carlos Torres and John Beverley, for example, propose critical modernist and subaltern studies positions that are antithetical to social mapping. Patti Lather interrogates mapping from a radical feminist view, and Joseph Seppi from a traditional positivist position. If, indeed, all knowledge claims are now problematic, then opposing views will need to be consciously incorporated and juxtaposed in any credible argument or analysis. As we shall see in the following section on modernist orthodoxy, this will be a hard pill for many true believers to swallow.

Modernist Metanarratives

On the far-right side of Figure 2, I pattern illustrative modernist texts in comparative education discourse that oppose, in one way or another, the postmodern challenge within three broad areas: (1) Utopian texts that largely reject postmodernist ideas and explicitly counterattack to defend a core modernist metanarrative (i.e., universal reason, or progress); (2) critical pedagogy texts that seek to preserve the modernist metanarrative of emancipation with the selective appropriation of postmodernist and/or feminist ideas, and (3) performativity texts that seek to elaborate a new narrative of reflexive modernity for our time of risk (i.e., what they call "late modernity") when the old modernist master stories of certainty and technological progress have less and less credibility.

In the counterattack category, Erwin Epstein's chapter "The Problematic Meaning of Comparison in Comparative Education" presents a spirited defense of totalizing modernist reason and a rejection of what he calls the "challenge of relativism" (Epstein, 1988).¹⁹ His text, however, does not recognize postmodernism and its complaints, although that debate was raging then (1988) at a feverish pitch in the social sciences and the humanities. Instead, his targets are phenomenological and ethnomethodological

additions to the literature and especially my study (summarized in Table 1). These two perspectives share a nonessentialist understanding of ontology with postmodernism, and they view reality as a variously situated construct. In a masterly comparison of what he claims to be incomparable, Epstein's text contrasts examples of relativist (i.e., cultural interpretation and phenomenological readings) and realist (i.e., positivist theory-development) perspectives in comparative education. He rightly concludes that they are incommensurable in their assumptions, procedures, and aims. His text fails, however, to address the core difference of ontology or how reality is variously seen. His either/or approach, while seemingly evenhanded, has a strong essentialist bias:

Generalizations across societal boundaries define ... the comparative method for positivists. For cultural relativists, comparison is a process of observing the distinctiveness of individual cultures. These positions are to be sure incompatible, but they both rest on a procedure that requires multicultural analysis and therefore can be said to employ some concept of "comparison". This is not so for phenomenological approaches, which carry relativism to a nihilistic extreme that allows only for interpretation of highly idiosyncratic interactions within severely limited contextual boundaries. Within such parameters, not even culture is sufficiently contextually delineated to constitute a basis for analysis. (Epstein, 1988, p. 6)

Thus, from an extravagant logical positivist viewpoint that in Pascal's term "will admit only reason," Epstein's text contends that one who chooses a phenomenological approach (as in my Table 1 and Figure 2) cannot be a comparativist, and he argues that the challenge of relativism is a threat not only to the metanarrative of reason, but also to the viability of comparative education as a field. "Only nomothetic explanations—or the discovery of underlying trends and patterns that account for whole classes of actions or events [i.e., covering laws] can support comparison capable of theory development and general laws" (Epstein, 1988, p. 22). Epstein's essentialist text is notable for its epistemological certainty and faith in the positivist story of social progress with the discovery of universal regularities—alas, as yet to be seen.

An anti-Enlightenment position might well counterargue Epstein and claim that only relativists can be comparativists because they alone are open to the indeterminacy of being. But that would be a modernist either/or argument. Postmodernists would open to all positions and, as illustrated in Figure 2, turn to a spatial representation of "the order of things" that moves us a bit beyond the limitations of opaque language. This would also be my choice, but I must leave it to the reader to assess the comparative utility of Figure 2 and Hayden White's claim that "the macroscopic configuration of formalized consciousness uncovered in language" might be translated into a spatial visual mode of representation (see White, 1978, quote on p. 239).²⁰

A more focused rejection of postmodern ideas, at least as they are present in our work on social mapping, can be found in Keith Watson's recent British Comparative and International Education Society (BCIES) presidential address and in his review of *Social Cartography*. These two texts warn the reader of the intellectual temptations of such dangerous postmodern ideas as pluralism, multiplicity, and uncertainty—or what

Watson erroneously disparages as “New Age Thinking”. His text sees postmodernist views as fatally flawed because they do not offer testable hypotheses, or criteria for decision-making, or parameters for interpretation. Such “wooly thinking” is, he complains, written by enthusiasts who are so excited by the novelty of what they are saying that they do not see the weaknesses. Yet, at the same time, he also makes the odd claim that “these overly enthusiastic postmodern cartographers are [only] putting into diagrammatic form what most sociologists . . . have always recognized” (Watson, 1998).²¹

But Watson’s text sees a flaw in heterotopic mapping more serious than intellectual excitement and enthusiasm. Watson warns that most administrators and aid agency officials may well see social cartography as yet one more example of “esoteric comparative education” that is irrelevant for them. While acknowledging that postmodern mapping can indeed represent the micronarratives of all the players, whether they hold power or are on the margins, his text dismisses the need for such knowledge, claiming that educational planners and policy-makers require only “hard data” for rational decision-making.²² Here the term hard data is repeated as a mantra and is not defined, nor are any data provided to support Watson’s exclusionist claims.

Watson’s text would seem to confuse the postmodern social cartography as practiced in Figure 2 with traditional scientific or mimetic modeling, where the image is assumed to reflect a positive reality that can be known empirically, or ideologically. But with our postmodern mapping of metaphors, the map, like the self, can also be portrayed as in a state of Dionysian dispersal that, as with Foucault’s notion of heterotopia, reconstitutes diversity as a provisional unity.

Rational Actor

The rational actor, or game-theory, position can be seen as a close relation of Anderson’s and Watson’s modernist metanarrative of progress. Here, texts seek to develop nomothetic models able to explain and predict economic and educational behavior in universal terms. Raymond Baudon divides these efforts into two types, that is, the “determinist” and “interactionist” (Baudon, 1982). Mary Jane Bowman’s model of 1984 (Bowman, 1984) is cited by David Turner to illustrate the former because it seeks to explain school attendance rates in terms of prior events and to support the discovery of uniform covering laws. Using an analysis of variance, a deterministic approach would suggest that every individual is driven by “the programming that the social structure imposes on him” (Turner, 1988). In this, modernization and Marxist theories share the same certainty and reductionist view. But Turner’s text problematizes actors, not structures, and argues that the determinist model is simplistic and fails to recognize features of free will and capriciousness in human behavior. Social theories and ultimately social laws are, Turner contends, still attainable, but only with the use of an interactive model based on empirical studies of student risk-taking behavior. Only with the scientific study of individual agents and educational demand, and not just formal structures, Turner’s text argues, will progress in educational reform be made.

Critical Modernist

Texts choosing the critical modernist perspective characteristically maintain a strong commitment to the modernist metanarrative of emancipation while seeking to breathe new life and credibility into the Enlightenment project. They do so by selectively appropriating postmodern ideas from antiessentialist reality positions to shore up their own essentialist foundations. Clearly, this is a difficult – if not confused – task and requires a good deal of qualification and rationalization. A recent text by Peter McLaren presents a prime example of such ontological fancy footwork:

While I acknowledge the importance of recognizing the conceptual limits of Marxian analysis [i.e., Marxist universals] for reading certain aspects of the postmodern condition, I believe that the main pillars of Marxian analysis, remain intact, i.e., the primacy of economics and the identification of contradictions and antagonisms that follow the changing forces of capitalism. It is important that critical educators not lose sight of these foci [i.e., modernist foundations] in their move to incorporate [antifoundational] insights from ... postmodernism. (McLaren, 1994)²³

Here McLaren's text shares the yearning of positivists for certainty in the form of hard data: "[W]e need to be able to stipulate in specific contexts which effects are oppressive and which are productive of social transformation. I believe that to defend emancipation ... we must make certain that not all voices are celebrated" (McLaren, 1994, p. 338).²⁴ Where Erwin Epstein's counterattack excludes relativism as the enemy of Enlightenment reason and true comparison, McLaren's text would, like Watson's, silence the ideological Other. In order to avoid just this sort of silencing, I invited Carlos Torres to provide a concluding chapter for our *Social Cartography* book using a critical modernist perspective antithetical to the book's uncertainty thesis. This practice of incorporating oppositional views into intertextual constructions is seen by pluralists and postmodernists not as masochism, but as paralogy where science opens up from an Apollonian program of testing and verification for truth value to also include a Dionysian process of paralogical deconstruction and a recycling of all knowledge claims. In this way, we seek to create a spirited conversation and vouchsafe its continuation.²⁵ With mapping, as in Figure 2, Torres's self-privileging metanarrative claim is recognized and reinscribed into the intertextual field/map, not as a master narrative of "general good," but as another contending mininarrative, that is, as perhaps useful "minute particulars" to be assessed in practice.

Torres also recognizes the utility of postmodernist critiques of representation, but only when they avoid what he sees (but does not illustrate) as the pitfalls of extreme relativism and solipsism. Torres's text sees the greatest danger of postmodern views in their claim that language constructs reality. His text sees this postmodern shift from hard data and "correct" ideology to metaphor, multiple perspectives, and methodological pluralism as antithetical, even subversive, of the theoretical integrity of his privileged modernist metanarrative of emancipation. His text defensively calls for a linguistic hygiene, that is, that "metaphors ... should have no place in social sciences if

they substitute for social theorizing including metatheory (or epistemology), empirical theory and normative theory” (Torres, 1996).²⁶ Here, Torres’s text seems to be deeply suspicious of any but a scientific, analytical method whose goal is not the recovery and confirmation of its own ideological origins. While Torres, like McLaren, acknowledges that postmodern ideas may help to make Marxist class analysis less totalizing and deterministic, his text continues to demand a so-called reproduction of the concrete situation in conformance with his ontological choice of theoretical realism and his claims of a universal truth system.²⁷

Reflexive Modernity

Texts representing the reflexive modernity position share common origins with critical modernist texts. They have, however, been better able – at least superficially – to let go of fading modernist certainties and master narratives. They seek to survive the poststructuralist storms by selectively adapting useful interpretations, stories, and vocabulary from the postmodern literature and choosing the metaphors of late modernity and reflexive modernity.²⁸ Texts from this burgeoning community retain modernist notions of a unitary and ideal space of a society that is mapped onto the body of a population along with territorial claims of a nation state and a national educational system. At the same time, they seem to have lost all hope for certainty and selectively attempt to incorporate and adopt postmodern ideas of fragmentation, polymorphous identity, and discontinuous thought spaces (see, e.g. Welch, 1998).²⁹ In the West, and especially in Western Europe, the reflexive systems view recognizes a politics of voice and representation that often seeks to displace a welfare state held to be inefficient and paternalistic. Central to this view, and in marked contrast to the certainties of critical modernist texts, is the idea that to know how to act we need to know “what’s happening”. For this we need to develop a language and a space in which to engage our present willingness to let most, if not all, knowledge perspectives contend and compete.

In comparative education, this reflexive systems view is well illustrated by Robert Cowen’s recent text, where he claims that Lyotard’s 1979 analysis of the postmodern condition continues to offer the most accurate assessment of society – and of universities – as they move into “the post-industrial age and as culture moves into what is known as the postmodern age” (Cowen, 1996, quote on p. 247).^{30,31} Lyotard’s argument is that today knowledge is subject to “performativity,” or the optimization of system efficiency. Knowledge has become a technology, that is, a marketable commodity subject to performativity as well as truth tests. Cowen perceptively argues that these changes define a different kind of comparative education predicated not on the tired old modernist metanarratives of certainty, but on the recognition of a crisis of legitimacy. Where the modern comparative education of John Dewey and Talcott Parsons and colleagues focused largely on citizen preparation and equality of educational opportunity, in late-modern educational systems the strongest pairing is seen to be between the international economy and efforts to gird educational systems for global competition. Today, Cowen contends, we comparativists will need

to specify the patterns of muddle in specific national contexts of transition to late-modern education. [Today] the common sense categories of analysis – i.e., school management and finance, administrative structures, the curriculum, teacher education – are now dangerous. Even if we could deduce determined rules from them [as advocates of modernity would have us do] the rules would be a reading of the wrong world. (Cowen, 1996, p. 167)³¹

Coda

To conclude, Cowen cites Zygmunt Bauman's observation that we are no longer legislators, and that we should first look to our interpretations (Bauman, 1987). I can only concur and further suggest that as comparativists we are, from the look of things, also well positioned to become social cartographers, able to translate, map, and compare multiple perspectives on social and educational life. And as our intertextual traveling in this study suggests, while our collective work is becoming more postparadigmatic and eclectic, we are, as individuals, also aware of "sweet spots" or favored sites in knowledge work where we encounter more allies, resources for practice, and options for movement (Ross et al., 1992).³² At the same time, we are learning to recognize and include views of the Other, thus enlarging the scope of our vision and the diversity, or minute particulars, of our representations.

So is there, perhaps, something akin to a general good, writ small, to be found in the opportunities arising from comparative education practiced as comparative mappings of disparate world views? This is our challenge today, to understand William Blake's belief that truth is particular, not general, while we move beyond his either/or formulation into a more heterotopic space of critically reflexive understanding – as shown in Figure 2 – open to the essentialist texts of late modernity, to the antiessentialist texts of the postmodernists, and to all the texts that have yet to claim their agonistic spaces.³³

Notes

- 1 I thank Professor Roger Boshier and his students at the University of British Columbia who invited me to present a version of this paper as a keynote address at the Western Regional Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, June 1998. I also thank the three reviewers for their helpful comments.
- 2 For those interested in the intricacies of new social science ideas and terminology in education after modernity, see, among others, Buenfil-Burgos (1997, pp. 97–107); and English (1998, pp. 426–463). For an accessible introductory textbook on popular culture and the postmodern condition, see Anderson, *Reality Isn't What It Used To Be* (1990).
- 3 See Berlin (1980), esp. pp. 1–24. Berlin identifies the three central ideas of the anti-Enlightenment as (1) populism, or the view that people can realize themselves fully only when they belong to rooted groups or cultures; (2) expressionism, or the notion that all human works are above all voices speaking or forms of representation conveying a world view; and (3) pluralism, or the recognition of a potentially infinite variety of cultures, ways of seeing, and systems of values all equally incommensurable with one another, rendering logically incoherent the Enlightenment belief in a universally valid master narrative or ideal path to human progress and fulfillment. Berlin identifies leading exponents

- of the anti-Enlightenment as Niccolo Machiavelli, Giambattista Vico, William Blake, Johann Herder, Alexander Herzen, and others, including Georges Sorel and Friedrich Nietzsche.
- 4 A more detailed exposition may be found in Owen (1997, pp. 1–22). Owen suggests that postmodern “theory” seeks to shift the work of social science from theorizing truth claims to representing new social and intertextual terrains in constant flux. For a useful guide to exegetic textual analyses as “close reading,” see Francese (1997, pp. 107–154).
 - 5 Earlier, Foucault, perhaps anticipating the cyberspace revolution, argued that today there has indeed been a fundamental change of consciousness from time to space: “the great obsessive dread of the nineteenth century was history, with its themes of development and stagnation, crises and cycle, the accumulation of the past, the surplus of the dead. Our own era, on the other hand, seems to be that of space. We are in the age of the simultaneous, of juxtaposition, the near and the far, the side by side, and the scattered. A period when the world is putting itself to the test, not so much as a great way of life destined to grow in time but as a net that links points together and creates its own muddle [as in table 1 and figure 21. It might be said that certain ideological conflicts which underlie the controversies of our day take place between the pious descendants of time and tenacious inhabitants of space.” See Foucault and Miskowiec (1986).
 - 6 For useful discussions of the reflexive modernity – or late modernity – world view, see Beck, Giddens, and Lash (1994).
 - 7 Here the authors introduce social cartography to comparative educators as “a new and effective method for visually demonstrating the sensitivity of post modern influences for opening social dialogue, especially to those who have experienced disenfranchisement by modernism” (p. 232). Their social cartography text contends that spatial juxtaposition provides a new way to seek a more situated truth in a cyberspace era. Now truth is not necessarily grounded in measurable fact alone; it is also predicated on the acquisition of a generosity of vision composed of many truths, that is, what postmodern texts call a “multiplicity of witness” and a “democracy of perception”. By opening comparison in this way, postmodern social cartography helps actors move outward from subjective truth toward a reintegration of the self into a new social fabric/space composed of multiple voices and stories. This view is labeled “postmodern multiperspectivism” by Francese (n. 4 above) who advocates its utility as a safeguard against “any excessively strong, exclusionary reading of the past: the univocal truth that suffocates all others and quickly transmogrifies into reified myth” (p. 130).
 - 8 See James Whitson’s somewhat quixotic “Post-structuralist Pedagogy as a Counter-hegemonic Praxis” (1991). Texts advocating or applying a postmodern deconstruction perspective can also be found in Weiler (1996), Luke (1995), and others, including Gottlieb (1989).
 - 9 For the subaltern perspective, see, e.g., Mohanty (1991). For an application of the radical alterity perspective to probe the trope of space in feminist studies, see Spark (1996).
 - 10 Brandi claims that the book’s structuralist orthodoxy silences questions of how research reflects the views of those under consideration and whose voices and what questions direct the evolution of the field (p. 160). She also contends that the inclusion of feminist theories on structural adjustment and phenomenological studies of local perspectives would better help oppressed people improve their quality of life.
 - 11 In contrast to what Epstein’s text sees as my purported optimism for the field, I see my viewpoint more akin to Berlin’s curious combination of idealism and skepticism. Epstein’s text also makes an argument for measured skepticism in evaluating the field’s future possibilities. The problem, as Epstein sees it, is that limited understanding of self restricts the scope and possibility of knowledge work within the comparative education field. But is our lack of reflexive self-knowledge, our naivete, our bane? If so, could it not be viewed as an educational problem that might be treatable with heterotopic mapping? A third radical alterity example problematizing actors in comparative education texts can be found in Moran (1998). Moran compares two life histories, her own and that of Gail Paradise Kelly, with painful honesty and introspection. Her narrative account of one woman’s struggle with the rules of patriarchal modernity provides a valuable pioneering contribution to comparative education, to date a largely logocentric male discourse repelled by the very radical alterity sensibilities that construct Moran’s story.
 - 12 See the neo-Marxist critique of Baudrillard’s arguments in Kellner, *Jean Baudrillard: From Marxism to Postmodernism and Beyond* (1989). While Kellner seems to be fascinated with the brilliance and originality of Baudrillard’s ideas, he nevertheless sees him trapped by “the absence of a theory of

- agency and mediation [by] ... the impossibility of any sort of agent of political change ... by the metaphysical triumph of the object over the subject” (p. 216). And yet Kellner concludes “the appeal of Baudrillard’s thinking might suggest that we are [indeed] living in a transitional situation whereby new social conditions are putting into question the old orthodoxies and boundaries” (p. 217).
- 13 For a perceptive examination of different traditions in reflexive thought today, see Potter (1996). For two imaginative literary attempts to move beyond the tendency of most modern intellectual production to “state, qualify, and conclude,” see Ermath (1992), and Paulston and Plank (2000).
 - 14 Anna Sfard, in a related study, warns that the struggle for a conceptual unification of research is not a worthwhile endeavor and that too great a devotion to one particular metaphor can lead to theoretical distortion and undesirable practical consequences. Instead, she rejects Torres’s stricture (see n. 27 below) and advocates a discursive approach of “metaphorical mappings” and metaphorical pluralism for conceptual renewal and improved practice. See her study, “On two metaphors for learning and the dangers of choosing just one” (1998).
 - 15 (See n. 5 above). In making his shift from time to space in social analysis, Foucault graciously acknowledges his intellectual debt to Gilles Deleuze with the words “perhaps one day, this century will be known as Deleuzian” in his *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (1977, p. 76). For their original and fecund ideas on concepts seen as territory and on the necessity of cartographies as a strategy to examine discourse with spatial analysis, see Deleuze and Guattari (1980). For the cubism analogy, see Nehamas (1985). I thank Professor Eugenie Potter for pointing out this relationship.
 - 16 In postmodern mapping as in postmodern narrative, the effort at estrangement moves in two directions simultaneously: one magnifying the subjectivity of perception, the other diminishing any sense of mimetic connection between that subjectivity and the world that seemingly remains intact and apart. Liebman excels in producing this sense of estrangement as a distortion of scale and perception. In the words of Vladimir Nabokov, the objective is to find “a kind of delicate meeting place between imagination and knowledge, a point, arrived at by diminishing large things and enlarging small ones, that [like social mapping] is intrinsically artistic”. See Nabokov (1970).
 - 17 Ahmed demonstrates how a mapping of women’s stories from the margins can, indeed, provide valuable evaluative data for educational planners – if they will only look and listen.
 - 18 The interested reader is also directed to a companion project volume by Paulston, Leibman, and Nicholson-Goodman, *Mapping Multiple Perspectives: Research Reports of the University of Pittsburgh Social Cartography Project, 1993–1996* (1996).
 - 19 Variations on this metanarrative can be found in Psacharopoulos, “Comparative Education: From Theory to Practice” (1990, pp. 369–380) and Heyneman, “Quantity, Quality and Source” (1993, pp. 372–388).
 - 20 White concludes that the key to understanding Foucault’s method of “transcription” is to be found in how it is used to reveal the inner dynamics of the thought process by which a given representation of the world in words is grounded in poesis: “[T]o translate prose into poetry is Foucault’s purpose, and thus he is especially interested in showing how all systems of thought in the human sciences can be seen as little more than terminological formulations of poetic closures with the world of words, rather than with the things they purport to represent and explain” (p. 259).
 - 21 Watson echoes C. Arnold Anderson’s earlier modernization agenda for comparative education: “above all, the work undertaken should have purposeful reformist and practical goals and should be used to inform and advise governments” (p. 28). In his text, Watson offers by way of illustration two structural-functional figures, one of “the determinants of an educational system” (p. 22) and the other of “international influences that shape educational systems” (p. 27). However, it is not clear how these representations meet his criterion for “hard data,” especially the latter figure, which is coded using world systems ideology and presents a soft critique of international capitalism, in, for example, the “Role of Stock Markets, e.g., Tokyo’s Hang Seng” (p. 27). But as every Hong Kong schoolboy knows, the Hang Seng stock market is not in Tokyo, and even supposedly “hard data” may become a bit fuzzy now and then. The Nikkei is, in fact, Tokyo’s stock exchange.
 - 22 See also Keith Watson, reviews of *Mapping Multiple Perspectives* by Paulston, Leibman, and Nicholson-Goodman (1996); and *Social Cartography*, edited by Paulston (1998). While statistical analyses may indeed be useful in technical work, balanced educational assessment requires an alternative practice of formulating judgments not only on assigned numerical ratings, but also on the

- characteristics of performance in context. Watson's text sees useful knowledge from a rather narrow modernization theory viewpoint (i.e., articulated in simple, essentialist, and mechanistic terms). My view is broader and also welcomes a perspective that sees knowledge as individually and socially constructed and as reflected in particular contexts and discourses that can be mapped and discussed and remapped. See Delandshere and Petrosky (1998).
- 23 See also the related studies by Buder (1992) and Stromquist (1995). Stromquist suggests that critical gender issues can be appropriated from feminist discourse to support a more liberating "manipulation of gender identities through schooling and the mass media" (p. 454). In this genre, see also Dimitriadis and Kamberelis, "Shifting Terrains: Mapping Education within a Global Landscape" (1997).
 - 24 In contrast to McLaren's call to base critical pedagogy on neo-Marxist theory updated with selective postmodern appropriations, Jennifer Gore advocates Foucault's strategy of leaving specific tactics and strategies of resistance to those directly involved in struggle at the precise points where their own conditions of life or work situate them. Here the shift is made from a master narrative of emancipation owned by intellectuals to the mininarratives or small stories arising from situated experiences and actual power relations. See Gore (1993).
 - 25 For a valuable study seeking to situate, or map, various contradictory versions of constructivist theory in educational psychology, see Prawat, "Constructivisms, Modern and Postmodern" (1996). Prawat uses textual analysis and conceptual mapping, as in this study, to identify and compare different ways of seeing. This is a fine example of a reflexive practitioner viewpoint at work.
 - 26 A major problem with the moralistic approach found in many critical modernist texts is that it often leads to a dead end of author self-centering where the marginalized get marginalized still more. Nast puts it like this: "Guilt that centers merely on the existence of ... inequality and not on how inequality can be transformed is ... unproductively paralyzing". See Nast (1994).
 - 27 For a variety of ideas on opening new space for radical critique in a postmodern era, see Simons and Billig, *After Postmodernism: Reconstructing Ideological Critique* (1994). I found Richard Harvey Brown's chapter "Reconstructing Social Theory after the Postmodern Critique" (pp. 12–37) especially helpful in its advocacy of self-reflexive talk-about-talk and its advice on teaching debates.
 - 28 See introduction to Beck et al. (n. 6 above).
 - 29 Here Welch worries that disruptive postmodern ideas will be used as a stick to drive performativity efforts in the academy. While this, indeed, seems to be under way, his call to reassert a universal ideal of Western democracy as an opposing criterion of judgment, as an absolute standpoint to judge the truth, sounds a bit Eurocentric and nostalgic. For a serious attempt to rethink political space today, that is, the "hyperspace" of politics in the "global village" in which we all now live, see Magnusson, *The Search for Political Space: Globalization, Social Movements, and the Urban Political Experience* (1996).
 - 30 For related work framed in this perspective, see also Coulby and Jones (1995, 1996). See also Green (1994, pp. 136–49) and Schriewer (1988, pp. 25–83), where the text ambitiously advocates a "science of comparative education" based on styles of reasoning, or *Denkstile*, in "divergent types of theory viz, scientific theories and reflection theories" (p. 30).
 - 31 In a related study, Peter Jarvis uses the concept of "late modernity" to situate performativity concerns of non-Western cultures consuming educational knowledge that can now be packaged and marketed globally. See his "Continuing Education in a Late-Modern or Global Society" (1996).
 - 32 As in the study presented here, the authors report finding a "fragmented field constituting chaos for some, and for others a mosaic of diverse and sometimes competing goals, theoretical frameworks, methodologies and claims" (p. 113). In 1988, they found that CIES members by and large "placed their hopes in the multiple possibilities of diversity and defended the field's eclectic stance as a widening rather than an absence of identity" (p. 127). I locate this view as the "postparadigmatic eclecticism" position in the center of Figure 2. It is, perhaps, still the favored perspective of most comparative education practitioners, but a follow-up study is long overdue. For a perceptive review of our *Social Cartography* book from this eclectic perspective, see Pickeles, "Social and Cultural Cartographies and the Spatial Turn in Social Theory" (1999).
 - 33 Nigel Blake also addresses this challenge in his perceptive study, "Between Postmodernism and Anti Modernism: The Predicament of Educational Studies" (1996). Blake sees postmodernists resisting the use of a criterion of validity, as advocated here by Watson (i.e., "hard data") and Welch (i.e., "western

democracy”), to settle a usage (see nn. 22 and 30). This would foreclose other stories and represent a claim to universal assent for one criterion. As such, postmodern theory impugns the value of all inquiry frameworks that make an a priori claim to universal validity. Indeed, it is one of postmodernism’s most salient intellectual characteristics to repudiate the notion of uniquely valid or valuable perspectives on itself, or on anything else (p. 43). Here Nigel Blake reiterates the profound skepticism found in anti-Enlightenment and postmodern texts about the universal validity of any single master narrative or grand theoretical story. See Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1984), where, with no little irony, the text might well be read as advocating as a master narrative the rejection of metanarratives. Social cartography, as practiced here, seeks to avoid this temptation by recognizing and interrelating all texts and arguments claiming space in knowledge debates.

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POLITICS, THEORY, AND REALITY IN CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Michael W. Apple and Wayne Au

Introduction

Critical pedagogy generally seeks to expose how relations of power and inequality, (social, cultural, economic) in their myriad forms, combinations, and complexities, are manifest and challenged in the formal and informal education of children and adults (Giroux, 1997; McCarthy & Apple, 1988; McLaren, 2005). However, this may actually be too general a statement, for the term “critical pedagogy” is something of a sliding signifier that has been used in multiple ways to describe multiple things. Indeed, at times critical pedagogy seems to have been used in such broad ways that it can mean almost anything from cooperative classrooms with somewhat more political content to a more robust definition that involves a thorough-going reconstruction of what education is for, how it should be carried out, what we should teach, and who should be empowered to engage in it.

This more robust understanding – one in which the two of us are grounded – involves fundamental transformations of the underlying epistemological and ideological assumptions that are made about what counts as “official” or legitimate knowledge and who holds it (Apple, 1979/2004, 2000). This involves a commitment toward social transformation and a break with the comforting illusions that the ways in which our societies and their educational apparatuses are organized currently can lead to social justice. A more robust understanding of critical pedagogy is also based increasingly in a realization of the importance of multiple dynamics underpinning the relations of exploitation and domination in our societies. Issues surrounding the politics of redistribution (exploitative economic processes and dynamics) and the politics of recognition (cultural struggles against domination and struggles over identity), hence, need to be jointly considered (Fraser, 1997).

At the very root of these concerns is a simple principle. In order to understand and act on education in its complicated connections to the larger society, we must engage in the process of *repositioning*. That is, we must see the world through the eyes of the dispossessed and act against the ideological and institutional processes and forms that reproduce oppressive conditions (Apple, 1995). This repositioning concerns both political and cultural *practices* that embody the principles of critical pedagogy; but it also has generated a large body of critical scholarship and theory that has led to a fundamental

restructuring of what the roles of research and of the researcher are (Smith, 1999; Weis & Fine, 2004). Let us say more about what this implies.

The Tasks of Critical Educational Research and Action

In general, there are five tasks in which critical analysis (and the critical analyst) in education must engage:

1. It must “bear witness to negativity”. That is, one of its primary functions is to illuminate the ways in which educational policy and practice are connected to the relations of exploitation and domination in the larger society.
2. In engaging in such critical analyses, it also must point to contradictions and to spaces of possible action. Thus, its aim is to critically examine current realities with a conceptual/political framework that emphasizes the spaces in which counter-hegemonic actions can be or are now going on.
3. At times, this also requires a redefinition of what counts as “research”. Here we mean acting as “secretaries” to those groups of people and social movements who are now engaged in challenging existing relations of unequal power or in what elsewhere has been called “non-reformist reforms” (Apple, 1995; Apple & Beane, 2007; Gandin, 2006).
4. In the process, critical work has the task of keeping traditions of radical work alive. In the face of organized attacks on the “collective memories” of difference and struggle, attacks that make it increasingly difficult to retain academic and social legitimacy for multiple critical approaches that have proven so valuable in countering dominant narratives and relations, it is absolutely crucial that these traditions be kept alive, renewed, and when necessary criticized for their conceptual, empirical, historical, and political silences or limitations. This includes not only keeping theoretical, empirical, historical, and political traditions alive but, very importantly, extending and (supportively) criticizing them. And it also involves keeping alive the dreams, utopian visions, and “non-reformist reforms” that are so much a part of these radical traditions (Jacoby, 2005; Teitelbaum, 1993).
5. Finally, critical educators must *act* in concert with the progressive social movements their work supports or in movements against the rightist assumptions and policies they critically analyze. Thus, scholarship in critical education or critical pedagogy implies becoming an “organic intellectual” in the Gramscian sense of that term (Gramsci, 1971). One must participate in and give one’s expertise to movements surrounding struggles over, following Nancy Fraser (1997), what we have called a politics of redistribution and a politics of recognition. As Bourdieu reminds us our intellectual efforts are crucial, but they “cannot stand aside, neutral and indifferent, from the struggles in which the future of the world is at stake” (2003, p. 11).

These five tasks are demanding and no one person can engage equally well in all of them simultaneously. However, there is a long tradition of critical scholarship and

critical cultural work along multiple dynamics that has sought to “bear witness to negativity” and to recapture the collective memory of pedagogic work that is genuinely counter-hegemonic. We shall examine the latter in the next section.

The Political Roots of Critical Pedagogy

Before the term “critical pedagogy” was coined by critical intellectuals and activists in Latin America such as Paulo Freire, educators from various communities in the United States and many other nations took up projects that would certainly be considered “critical”. These early manifestations of critical pedagogy often challenged existing social relations and power structures, raising substantive critiques of race, class, and gender relations as well as offering radical alternatives to then-existing educational forms.

For instance, there exists a long-standing tradition in the African American and Afro-Caribbean communities regarding the aims and nature of their education (Jules, 1992; Lewis, 1993, 2000). At least since the late 1800s, African American intellectuals and activists, for example, have engaged in struggles over the question of just what the education of Blacks in the United States and the Caribbean should consist of, particularly given the context of post-chattel slavery and current institutional racism in their countries. As Watkins (1993) explains, this struggle resulted in what he terms several “Black Curriculum Orientations”: the “accommodationist” orientation – which advocated for the industrial education for African Americans, and was advanced by community leaders like Booker T. Washington; the “Liberal Education” orientation – which sought to develop students’ critical thinking with express intent of increasing social, political, and cultural participation associated with leaders like Reverend Alexander Crummell and W. E. B. DuBois (Lewis, 1993, 2000); and the “Black Nationalist Outlook” – which included the nationalist, cultural nationalist, pan-Africanist, and Black separatist movements associated with Marcus Garvey, Noble Drew Ali, Elijah Muhammed, and Malcolm X (Watkins, 1993). In the Caribbean, the uses of popular cultural forms kept alive what Livingston has called “diaspora knowledge”. Models of popular education based on such cultural memories and forms provided powerful resources to counter the dominant colonizing narratives and methods (Livingston, 2003; Jules, 1992).

Another example of counter-hegemonic activity, this time focused on critical public school organizing around issues of race and class, can be found in the history of Harlem in New York City between 1935 and the early 1950s. The Harlem Committee for Better Schools (HCBS), a coalition of parents associations, churches, and teacher and community groups, came together to push for improved schools in Harlem, including free lunches, better working conditions for teachers, and better physical conditions of the schools themselves. The HCBS is notable for several reasons. One is that it was interracial. It originated largely with Jewish communists who were teaching in Harlem schools, and garnered community support through the establishment of parents’ associations and chapters of the Teachers Union, allowing them to develop close ties with most of the African American schoolteachers in Harlem. Another reason noteworthy of the HCBS is that it represented educational reform, activism, and organizing across

constituencies because it included teachers, members of the community, as well as political organizations (Naison, 1985). These educational forms all represent different responses to what historian Woodson (1990/1933) called the “mis-education of the Negro” and signify substantial critical race critiques of public education.

Similar mobilizations in England and elsewhere and around multiple diasporic communities and across other equally oppressive dynamics of differential power involving gender and class at this time and later on can be found. For example, there has been a long tradition of critical feminist critiques of education in nations throughout the world. In the United States, as elsewhere, in the early 1900s several notable women took lead roles in organizing teachers – a predominantly female workforce (Apple, 1986) – for improved working conditions. These included Grace Strahan in New York City and Margaret Haley in Chicago. Others like Kate Ames, who in 1908 challenged the Male Schoolmasters Association in California, fought against the imposition of patriarchy in school organizational and pay structures (Weiler, 1989). Although there were justifiable criticisms that critical pedagogical work of this type marginalized women of color, working-class women, and third-world women, at times these critical efforts did cut across class lines in the United States, England, and elsewhere (Copelman, 1996; Gomersall, 1997; Martin, 1999; Munro, 1998; Purvis, 1991).

The issue of class is crucial here. Class relations and struggles against exploitation, thus, were not invisible in the history of critical education. In fact, they often constituted a prime focus. Early manifestations of critical pedagogy in the United States reached beyond power dynamics associated with the politics of race and gender, although at times these dynamics were also ignored, much to the later detriment of the movement. Between 1909 and 1911 in the United States, for example, over 100 Socialist school officials were elected to various school districts across the country. Between 1900 and 1920, Socialist activists established more than 100 English-speaking Sunday schools in 20 states, ranging in size from classes of 10 students to schools that enrolled more than 600 students (Teitelbaum, 1993). While these Socialist Sunday schools were not part of the public school system – and there were constant struggles over the politics of official knowledge within the public school system as well (Kliebard, 1995) – they represent a class-based, critical community response to public education in the United States at the time. The attempts to build an education that actively sought to interrupt class dominance were pronounced across international borders as well. Socialist educational responses to class relations were mirrored in England and Wales (see e.g., Simon, 1965, 1991) and have a powerful history as well in Latin America for example (Bulhões & Abreu, 1992; Caldart, 2003; Torres, 1997).

This history of critical educational action has parallels in many other nations as well. Indeed, throughout almost every region of the world, there are powerful movements and examples of radical pedagogic efforts both within the formal educational sector as well as in community literacy programs, labor education, antiracist and anticolonial mobilizations, women’s movements, and others (Van Vught, 1991). For example, in South Korea during the first half of the twentieth century, evening schools were established to counter the colonizing efforts of the Japanese occupiers. These counter-hegemonic practices have continued through the efforts of the Korean Teachers Union to build curricula and models of teaching that are based on critical democratic

principles. These efforts have had to overcome years of government repression (Ko & Apple, 1999; Apple *et al.* 2003). Similar tendencies have recently been seen in Turkey, where the government attempted to declare the largest teachers union illegal because of the union's commitment to both a more culturally responsive pedagogy and a critical position on neoliberal policies in education and the economy (Egitim Sen, 2004).

So far we have given a brief set of examples of the efforts by some subaltern groups to challenge dominance in education, efforts that became increasingly widespread even in the face of what were serious and often extremely repressive consequences. But as we mentioned earlier, critical education has also involved not only overt political and cultural action, it has also both generated and been generated by a growing emphasis on research that both documents reproductive forces in schools and points to possible avenues to challenge such reproductive forces. Thus, the entire range of critical pedagogical movements and efforts has been complemented by the growth of multiple communities of scholarship that have sought both to bear witness to negativity and document spaces for counter-hegemonic work. At first, the task of bearing witness took center stage and it is to this we now turn. Once again, in the limited space of a chapter of this size, all we can accomplish is to provide a brief outline of the development, gains, and tensions within and between these theoretical and empirical traditions.

Bearing Witness and Expanding Dynamics

The mid-to-late 1970s was a key period in the development of critical analyses of education, particularly those that addressed how macro-level social, cultural, and economic structures related to school organization and experience (Whitty, 1985). The central critical research focus of the time revolved around examining the relationship between schools and social, economic, and cultural reproduction. While the tradition of critically examining the content and processes of cultural reproduction was already underway in the new sociology of education in England (Young, 1971), in critical curriculum studies in the United States (Apple, 1971), and in the work of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) in France, much of the debate over this relationship crystallized around Bowles and Gintis' (1976) *Schooling In Capitalist America*. In their book, Bowles and Gintis asserted a macro-level correspondence principle between the machinations and needs of capitalist production with that of the production of economic class-based differences in and through education. Further still, this correspondence was a relatively mechanical process, as the structure and outcome of schools seemed to be completely determined by capitalist economics and the paid workplace alone in a largely unmediated way (Cole, 1988). Indeed, as one of us has argued (Au, 2006), this mechanistic analysis actually falls outside of the "traditionally" Marxist, dialectical materialist tradition.

Even with its evident problems, Bowles and Gintis' work did two things. First, it helped establish the contemporary relevance of Marxist, neo-Marxist, and quasi-Marxist analyses of schools and education (Whitty, 1985). Second, it sparked a contentious debate, spurred a number of far-ranging critiques of economic determinist explanations of inequality in education, and moved critical researchers to go even further in their analyses

of cultural and ideological reproduction in schooling as well (Apple, 1979/2004; Au, 2006; Cole, 1988). The net result for critical theorists was to continue moving beyond relatively simplistic versions of class-based analyses of schools came to the forefront (Bernstein, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984) as did more explicit attention to issues of race and gender, signalling the growing influence of British and French theories of the relationship among culture, social institutions, and education (Young, 1971).

At the same time, the mobilization and movements that came out of feminist and racialized populations rightly challenged the emphasis only on class in critical work in both social and economic reproduction. The very notion of reproduction itself was dramatically challenged in the process (Giroux, 1983). Issues of contradiction and conflict within and between these dynamics became considerably more significant. Thus, for instance, McCarthy and Apple (1988) advocated a “nonsynchronous parallelist” framework for understanding issues of race, class, and gender, one that recognized the intense and contradictory interactions within and among various dynamics of exploitation and domination and one that asked critical educators to be less reductive in their assumptions. Hence, for example, it was argued that racial inequality could not solely be reduced to economic inequality (Apple & Weis, 1983), a position that while not yet fully developed, prefigures some of the immensely productive arguments of critical race theory (Gillborn, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995).

In order to seek new theoretical directions that addressed the complexities that analyses such as Bowles and Gintis’ (1976) lacked, many critical scholars such as Giroux turned to the works of Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Stuart Hall, and Raymond Williams, as well as to the scholars from the Frankfurt School. Soon an entire series of insightful analyses based on the relationship among lived culture, schooling, and the economy developed. Stimulated in part by Willis’s (1977) classic book on youth cultures, class relations, and masculinity, *Learning to Labour* and McRobbie’s (1978) equally thoughtful insights into the ways in which gender and class dynamics interacted inside and outside of schools, major gains quickly arose and continue to be made in understanding the ways in which popular cultural forms and practices are dialectically interconnected with classed, raced, and gendered/sexed practices and dynamics (Arnot, 2004; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Willis, 1990). These analyses pointed to contradictory spaces in peoples’ lived experience where cultural work might be able to bring youth under more progressive leadership (Weis, 1990).

Yet, even with the immense gains that have been made in Marxist and neo-Marxist understandings and in research based on feminist and antiracist theories, these traditions have come under serious scrutiny. Feminist poststructural approaches and powerful analyses based on critical race theory have made provocative interventions into the debates over all of this (Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995; Luke & Gore, 1992). A focus on indeterminacy, on capillary power, on power as productive not only reproductive, on identity and on its discursive “constitution” often based on Foucauldian insights (Youdell, 2006) have made critical pedagogy a terrain of rich debate and conflict, giving it a vitality that keeps it alive and growing. While we may have worries about the ways in which Foucauldian approaches have acted to tacitly depoliticize the terrain of critical education, to make the world overly discursive, or to de-emphasize the ways in which structural forces actually have immense power (Apple, 1999),

we do, however, wish to be respectful of the immense efforts in which deeply committed people have engaged to bring new insights and a broader sense of the political. This has been especially the case in those nations where the traditional left seemed to have lost some of its vitality (Dussel, 2004; Gimeno, 2005).

The international nature of these issues has been made more visible by the growth of analyses based on postcolonial perspectives. Influenced by the work of such figures as Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, and Homi Bhabha, postcolonial theories have proven to be increasingly influential as critical educators attempt to come to grips with the globalization of neoliberal and neoconservative policies and with attempts to interrupt them (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001; Singh, Kell, & Pandian, 2002). This is what makes the work and influence of Paulo Freire, a person whose name became nearly synonymous internationally with critical pedagogy, so significant. We shall use the development and status of Freire's as a template to continue our discussion here.

Paulo Freire and the Development of Critical Pedagogy

The publication and distribution of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1974) was a landmark event for critical pedagogy. Building on the postcolonial theories of Franz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral, and Albert Memmi, and the revolutionary egalitarian vision of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, Freire and his work are perhaps the most iconic and most widely used amongst critical pedagogues worldwide. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* alone has sold over 750,000 copies since its publication in 1970, and it would not be an exaggeration to state that Freire represents the growth and influence of critical pedagogy internationally, particularly in postcolonial contexts (McLaren, 2000).

Freire's critical pedagogy revolves around the central idea of "praxis", the unification of critical reflection and critical action. It seeks to be a pedagogy that enables students and teachers to be "Subjects of their own history". They become actors (and it is a constant process of becoming) who can look at reality, critically reflect upon that reality, and take transformative action to change that reality, thereby deepening their consciousness and working toward a more just world. Making use of the teaching methods of problem posing and dialogue, Freire's critical pedagogy intends for all relationships of hierarchical power to be challenged, including that of the student-teacher relationship. In this way, Freire's critical pedagogy invites students and teachers to become change agents both in their classrooms and in the world around them (Freire, 1974; Shor & Freire, 1987).

In Europe, Africa, Latin America, indeed the world over, the instantiation of critical pedagogical theory and practice cannot be dealt with without emphasizing the profound influence of Freire and those who have followed in his path. Even in the United States, a place where critical pedagogy has its own indigenous roots among people of color in feminist educational activities (Hooks, 1994) and labor education (Horton, 1990), and where there has sometimes been great antipathy toward overtly radical educational work, Freire's influences can be seen (McLaren, 2000, 2005; Shor, 1992; Rethinking Schools, 2005).

While Freire's importance to critical pedagogy would be difficult to overstate, his work was not perfect, and many scholars have sought to critique it, both justifiably (Weiler, 1991) and mistakenly (Bowers & Apffel-Marglin, 2005), or some measure of both (see e.g., Ellsworth, 1989). For instance, Weiler (1991), points to Freire's lack of specific analysis regarding patriarchy and women's oppression as they exist in education generally and within his own theorizing specifically. Others, such as Ladson-Billings (1997) have critiqued Freire's critical pedagogy for not adequately dealing with issues of race (see also Leonardo, 2005). Still others in the more critical wings of the environmental movement have critiqued critical pedagogy for needing to be "greened" – that is, needing to include environmental concerns as actively as it has included social concerns (Au & Apple, 2007; McLaren, 2005). In regard to such critiques Freire (1997) saw himself as providing "the possibility for the educator to use my discussions and theorizing about oppression and apply them to a specific context" (p. 309), which he felt could be applied to deal with racism and women's oppression in other contexts (Freire & Macedo, 1995). Indeed, Hooks (1994), Stefanos (1997), and Weiler (1991) all find affinity between Freire, feminism, and antiracism. Regardless, these critiques mirror the tensions within the critical educational research community to which we pointed earlier.

All of this is not to say that critiques of Freire's critical pedagogy are not warranted, or that critical pedagogy itself (beyond just that of Freire's conception) has no need for growth. Much as some critical scholars and theorists have critiqued and pushed on the edges of Freire's work, feminists and critical race scholars have likewise struggled to make certain that critical pedagogy generally addresses racism, sexism, the realities of homophobia (Kumashiro, 2002), and other forms of power in education (Erevelles, 2005). Our position is that, when guided by an urge to collectively build a "decentered unity" that tries to work across differences, critiques of critical pedagogy – feminist, critical race, and ecological as well as others – are valuable because they generally help the field evolve and strengthen it as a more viable means for making educational and social change (Au & Apple, 2007).

Tensions and Contradictions

The picture we have given so far, however, is deceptively linear. Critical traditions are complicated and filled with tensions and disagreements. Furthermore, there can be a loss of memory of important gains and as well a return to reductive and essentializing perspectives that have serious deficiencies. For example, economic functionalist perspectives strikingly similar to Bowles and Gintis (1976), but without their knowledge of economics, did indeed return. Given the rise of postmodern and poststructural analyses in education in the 1990s, types of analyses which tended to evacuate class from their critical frameworks – this pull to return to more economic explanations of schooling and social reproduction is somewhat understandable – led some Marxist and neo-Marxist scholars to essentially take ideological stands that stressed the importance of the materiality of class relations (Cole *et al.*, 2001). Unfortunately, in the process many of the gains that had been made in the critical traditions in our understanding of the complexities of

class relations within the state and between the state and civil society were lost – as if Althusser, Poulantzas, Jessop, Dale, and others had never written anything of importance. The immensely productive material on the relationship between ideology and identity; on the relationship among culture, identity, and political economy; on the crucial impact of politics; and on the power of social movements that cut across class lines, as well as a number of other issues, is now either seen by some to be a rejection of key tenets of the Marxist *traditions* (the plural is absolutely crucial here) or these advances are said to deal with epiphenomenal concerns.

On both sides of the Atlantic, a number of people have mounted attacks on these advances in the name of purifying “the” Marxist tradition of the taint of culturalism and of the sin of worrying too much about, say, gender and race at the expense of class (Kelsh & Hill, 2006). The British version of this simply does not understand the history of the United States and many other nations and the salience of race as a relatively autonomous and extraordinarily powerful dynamic in the construction and maintenance of its relations of exploitation and domination (Gillborn, 2005). Like Britain, in the United States there are crucial reasons to deal absolutely seriously with class and the materialities of capitalist relations. At times, however, this aim of purification seems to treat the realities of schools and other cultural and educational sites and the struggles over them largely rhetorically. It is as if this particular version of Marxism floats in the air above the material and ideological realities of the object of its analysis – education. This is a distinct problem, since as we noted earlier, critical analyses that are cut off from the actual movements surrounding schooling and the realities of pedagogy, curricula, evaluation, policy, and governance simply remain “on the balcony”, disconnected from material life.

Let us hasten to stress that critical discussions of the social relations of production and of class antagonism are crucial to our understanding of the limits and possibilities of critical cultural and educational work. No critical analysis can be complete without them. But they should be directly connected to something – for example, the *specifics* of such things as the labor process of teachers, the neoliberal and neoconservative restructuring of our institutions of education, the racialization of educational policy and practice, the politics of official and popular knowledge, the complex and contradictory effects of globalizations (there are different processes, not a single process, at work here) on the ground, and so on.

The above point again speaks to the tasks of critical educational analyses and action to which we pointed earlier. These tasks cannot be satisfied by rhetorical artifice, nor can an overly simplistic rejection of the theoretical and political gains that have come about because of the struggles of multiple movements be a satisfactory response. The hard work of building a decentered unity that acts on many fronts remains. Can we continue to build on the gains being made within the Marxist and neo-Marxist traditions and also integrate them with the intellectual tools and political insights within the growing traditions of critical race theory, feminisms, poststructuralisms, post-colonialisms, queer theory, disability studies, critical environmentalisms, and similar movements? Critical pedagogy must answer this question as we move deeper into the twenty-first century.

Critical Pedagogy and Conservative Social Movements

The vitality and the productive conflicts within critical pedagogy we have outlined here do not guarantee success, however, even as they remain vitally necessary. Done well, critical pedagogy offers analyses that provide theorists and practitioners a means to intervene in ongoing, even increasing, social and educational inequalities. However, critical pedagogy is also sometimes weakened by its tendency toward “romantic possibilitarianism” (Whitty, 1974), its lack of a sophisticated strategic sense of the power of social movements, and especially rightist social movements inside and outside of education in a considerable number of nations (Apple, 2006; Takayama & Apple, 2007). This is a crucial weakness, since the interventions associated with critical pedagogy are of even greater importance given the recent formation of extremely powerful rightist alliances in the United States, Japan, Australia, and so many other nations today.

As one of us (Apple, 2006) has argued, there exists an alliance of four major groups in both the United States and an increasing number of other nations in the world. These groups and the tactical alliance they have formed have varying degrees of power and effectiveness, depending on regional and national histories and the balance of forces in each local site. However, it has become evermore clearer that the forces behind this alliance currently hold hegemonic power by creating connections between people’s “good sense” and using such connections to disarticulate social groups and individuals from their previous ideological and social commitments and rearticulate them to new ideological and social commitments. This is a very creative process, one examined by such scholars as Hall (1980b), Apple (1996; 2000; 2006; 2003), Apple and Buras (in press), J. Torres (2001) and a number of others.

In many nations this alliance – part of what has been called “conservative modernization” (Apple, 2006; Dale, 1989–1990) – is made up of at least three and sometimes four social forces – neoliberals, neoconservatives, authoritarian populist religious conservatives (particularly powerful in the United States, Pakistan, India, Israel, and elsewhere), and the professional and managerial middle class. Neoliberals are generally guided by a vision of a weak state, students as human capital, and the world as a supermarket ripe for consumer (and producer) competition. In education, the neoliberal agenda manifests in closer linkages between schools and businesses as well as the implementation of “free market” reforms such as school vouchers into education policy. Neoconservatives, on the other hand, are usually guided by a vision of a strong state that asserts control over knowledge, culture, and the physical body. In education, neoconservatism manifests in national and statewide testing and curricula, content standards, the heralding of the Western canon of knowledge, a relatively uncritical patriotism, and moral education (Apple, 2006; Buras & Apple, in press).

Authoritarian populists are distinctly different from both neoliberals and neoconservatives. Their sensibility regarding social order comes directly from Biblical authority and “Christian morality” (although at times its authority may come from particular readings of the Koran or of, say, Hindu texts as in the Hindutva movement in India). Inerrantist interpretations of sacred texts provide guidelines for family structure and gender roles – and for what counts as legitimate knowledge and action in general. In education in the West, the authoritarian populist agenda manifests itself, for instance, in struggles over the exclusion of evolution and the inclusion of creationism

and intelligent design in science classes and in the rapid growth of home schooling, a phenomenon now found in increasing number in countries such as Denmark, Norway, Germany, Australia, England, Israel, and elsewhere (Apple, 2006).

The fourth part of this alliance is the professional and managerial new middle class. This class fraction uses its technical expertise in management and efficiency to support systems of accountability, assessment, production, and measurement required by neoliberal marketization and neoconservative control over knowledge (cf. Clarke & Newman, 1997). In education, this class fraction supports and benefits from, for instance, systems of high stakes, standardized testing and educational policies built upon reductive forms of accountability as they provide the technical means to make these systems and policies operational. They engage in complicated conversion strategies in which particular kinds of capital (cultural capital) are converted into social and economic capital (Apple, 2006). While each group of this alliance has its own internal dynamics and historical trajectories, together it has brought together different social tendencies and political commitments and organized them under its own general leadership, and thus represents a “conservative modernization” of social, cultural, economic, and educational policy in multiple nations, including those with a supposedly social democratic or even socialist past (Apple, 2006, 2003).

There are two reasons to devote critical attention to these forces and movements. First, whether we like it or not, these movements have been increasingly powerful in transforming our core ideas about democracy and citizenship. The social, economic, and educational effects of the policies that have come from the Right often have been strikingly negative, especially for those who have the least in our own and other societies (Apple, 2006, 2003; Apple & Buras, 2006). And one of the major effects has been to make it increasingly difficult to maintain the legitimacy of critical educational theories, policies, and practices.

Second, there is much to learn from the forces of the Right. They have shown that it is possible to build an alliance of disparate groups and in the process to engage in a vast social and pedagogic project of changing a society’s fundamental way of looking at rights and (in)justice. Radical policies that only a few years ago would have seemed outlandish and downright foolish are now accepted as commonsense. While we should not want to emulate their often cynical and manipulative politics, we still can learn a good deal from the Right about how movements for social change can be built across ideological differences (Apple, 2006). Capitalism (as well as the historical regimes surrounding race and gender, and the intersections and contradictions of these dynamics) plays a major part of the driving force behind these dynamics and movements, but saying that says very little about *why* people join rightist mobilizations and movements and how they might be convinced to join more progressive ones.

Critical Pedagogy and Progressive Social Movements

While it is crucial “bear witness,” to recognize and analyze the strength and the real consequences of neoliberal and neoconservative policies (Apple, 2006) and to document the ways in which new social movements can grow and have grown to counter such conservative movements and tendencies, it is also essential to understand the renegotiations

that are made at regional and municipal levels. As Ball emphasizes, “policy is ... a set of technologies and practices which are realized and struggled over in local settings” (1994, p. 10). Thus, rather than assuming that neoliberal and neoconservative policies dictate exactly what occurs at the local level, we have to study the rearticulations that occur on this level to be able to map out the creation of alternatives. It is here that the critical research tradition(s), the role of the researcher as a “critical secretary”, and the Freirean emphasis on the politics of interruption join.

Jean Anyon’s (2005) recent book, *Radical Possibilities: Public Policy, Urban Education and a New Social Movement*, provides a case in point.¹ It describes and critiques the class and race structuring of schooling in the United States — and at the same time in the process ultimately offers possibilities for mobilizing around new social movements. Anyon recognizes something others have argued at greater length elsewhere — that it is social movements that are the driving forces behind a good deal of social and educational transformation (Apple, 2000). Further, she directs our attention to the historical and current progressive mobilizations that have made a difference in society. She sets about examining the specifics of such social movements, documenting why and how they pushed this society, sometimes against great odds, toward a greater commitment to social justice. In the process of telling the stories of different kinds of movements, Anyon also shows how, by participating in political actions, new activist identities are formed by dispossessed groups at the same time as very real progress is made culturally, educationally, politically, and economically (Apple & Buras, 2006). But activist movements do not just help to transform economic, political, cultural, and educational institutions and policies. They also have profound effects on other sympathetic organizations. Movements making what seem at the time to be utopian and radical demands historically have pushed more mainstream organizations along, creating a situation where they too must support fundamental changes in policies that are deeply discriminatory and harmful.

While we concur with Anyon’s claim that schools can play crucial roles in raising critical questions about, and building movements to challenge, both the ways in which the economy now functions unequally and the ways in which, say, the politics of race operates in every one of our institutions, we are not romantic about these possibilities. Schools are sites of conflict. They embody not only defeats, but also victories in many countries. Educators in a number of nations have had to cope with the major transformations of ideology, policy, and practice to which we have pointed in this chapter. For us, it is important to learn two things from the experiences of other educators who are struggling against the forces of inequality. First, we can learn about the actual effects of neoliberal and neoconservative policies and practices in education. Second, and even more important, we can learn how to interrupt neoliberal and neoconservative policies and practices and how to build more fully democratic educational alternatives (Apple, 2006; Apple & Buras, 2006).

One of the best examples of this can currently be found in Porto Alegre, Brazil (Gandin, 2006). The policies that were put in place by the Workers Party, such as “participatory budgeting” and the “Citizen School”, have helped to build support for more progressive and democratic policies there in the face of the growing power of neoliberal movements at a national level. The Workers Party was able to increase its

majority even among people who had previously voted in favor of parties with much more conservative educational and social programs *because* it has been committed to enabling even the poorest of its citizens to participate in deliberations over the policies themselves and over where and how money should be spent. By paying attention to more substantive forms of collective participation and, just as importantly, by devoting resources to encourage such participation, Porto Alegre has demonstrated that it is possible to have a “thicker” democracy, even in times of both economic crisis and ideological attacks from neoliberal parties and from the conservative press. Programs such as the “Citizen School” and the sharing of real power with those who live in *favelas* (shantytowns), as well as with the working and middle classes, professionals, and others, provide ample evidence that thick democracy offers realistic alternatives to the eviscerated version of thin democracy found under neoliberalism. The administrative, organizational, and curricular reforms – taken together – have helped to create the beginnings of a new reality for the excluded. They have forged new leadership, brought about the active engagement of the communities with the communities’ own situations, and led to much more active participation in the construction of solutions to these problems (Apple *et al.*, 2003; Gandin, 2006).

Once again, we do not wish to be romantic here. There are problems in Porto Alegre – political, economic, and educational (Gandin & Apple, 2003). However, in spite of this, we are optimistic about the lasting impact of its democratizing initiatives and its construction of a more diverse and inclusive education. By itself, the Citizen School has been very successful in including an entire population that, if it were not for this project, would be out of the schools and even further excluded in an already actively excluding society. But the larger educative aspect of the Citizen School – empowering impoverished communities where they are situated and transforming both the schools and what counts as “official knowledge” there – is also of significant moment. The transformations in Porto Alegre represent new alternatives in the creation of an active citizenry – one that learns from its own experiences and culture – not just for now, but also for future generations. For these very reasons, we believe that the experiences of Porto Alegre have considerable importance not only for Brazil, but also for all of us who are deeply concerned about the effects of the neoliberal and neoconservative restructuring of education and of the public sphere in general. There is much to learn from the successful struggles there. Understanding these struggles, documenting them, and actively supporting them can assist us all in our attempts to live out the tasks of critical educational analysis and action that we noted at the outset of this chapter.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have outlined an ambitious agenda. We have suggested a series of interrelated tasks that are essential to the continual growth and success of critical education: “bearing witness”; analyzing reality in such a way that spaces for counter-hegemonic work are identified; acting as “critical secretaries” for critical social movements and practices; keeping alive multiple critical traditions in supportive but also self-critical ways; and participating in the movements that aim at social and

cultural transformations. Each of these is important, especially in a time both of conservative modernization and of attacks on an education worthy of the term *critical*.

But we have not been satisfied with simply enumerating a list of “what is to be done”. We have also pointed to some of the roots of critical education in the practices of subaltern groups in earlier periods of educational actions. In addition, we have surveyed the field of scholarship that has emerged over decades of work on the relationship(s) among power, education, reproduction, and transformation. And we have detailed the efforts of critical educators in policy and practice, in, for example, the work of Paulo Freire and the continuing possibilities in Porto Alegre. When these examples are connected to many others – the democratic schools movement in the United States (Apple & Beane, 2007), the critical pedagogical efforts now being built in schools and communities in places such as Spain, Venezuela, and elsewhere – and the list could go on and on – there is a sense of immense ferment and vitality. None of this is easy. As in the past, all of this requires constant struggles in both the state and civil society.

There is much more that could be and needs to be said, especially in detailing much more about the iterations of each of these areas in nations throughout the world. We are certainly aware of how much more needs to be documented both in terms of critical scholarship and critical policies and practices. However, perhaps this speaks to the power of the multiple intellectual, political, and cultural/educational projects associated with critical pedagogy in all its forms. It says something about the spread of these multiple resources and projects that no chapter – no matter how detailed – can do justice to the labor of so many people and movements. Even in the face of the global restructurings brought about by neoliberal and neoconservative theories, institutions, and policies, we remain optimistic that counter-hegemonic movements inside and outside of education will continue to grow and to challenge dominance. Continuing to take the tasks to which we pointed earlier seriously would be an important step in making this a real possibility.

Notes

- 1 We need to openly state that a few of the books mentioned in this essay, particularly the books by Anyon and Weis, are in a series that one of us (Apple) edits. But since the task we were asked to take on in this essay was to give a sense of the state of critical work in the United States and elsewhere, and these books are important statements about this, we felt that to exclude them would have led to a major silence in such an account.

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THE FUTURE OF INTERCULTURAL STUDIES IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES

Jagdish S. Gundara

Most of the diverse or multicultural societies have not succeeded in eliminating discrimination and inequalities within their national boundaries. Many of the educational initiatives have floundered and failed to make any significant difference to the educational outcomes of the poorer groups from diverse groups in society. The capacity of many national systems to resolve internal socio-economic differences and reduce disparities has been increasingly diminished as the powers of national governments to provide constitutional protection to their citizens has decreased. In external terms economic globalisation has in many cases eroded the powers of national public institutions and there are diminishing levels of trust in communities and increasing levels of ethnic nationalism in white Anglo-Saxon Protestant America or in an India marked by Hindu religious fundamentalism. Intercultural initiatives and citizenship and civic education in most countries draw on the received wisdom of the past. The chapter recognises these current dilemmas but will argue that it is not necessary to go forward into the future on the basis of the received wisdom of the past. For instance, in the United States it is not possible to go forward using the purely 'formal' institutional conception of democracy, as an expression of filial piety to America's Founding Fathers based on individualistically conceived liberty. The French Republic also needs to ensure that the public culture and institutions are inclusive of the minority and 'other' cultures. This is necessary to ensure that the corrosive aspects of racism and xenophobia do not undermine trust in democratic institutions and processes remain vibrant and do not stultify. This is because a purely formal democracy is culturally unsustainable, ideologically hollow and can be operationally subverted. To make democratic institutions more viable in the United States and other countries around the world a deeper conception of democracy that expresses the experience-based deeper conception of democracy is needed. Such culturally based democratic values would be inclusive of best values drawn from diverse groups at the local level and strengthen mutualities of community life which give validity to de Tocqueville's analytic concept 'habits of the heart' (Green, 1999, p. vi).

This chapter will examine the ways in which the national might be able to act differently within the regional, continental and international legal and institutional frameworks. It will refer to policies, especially as they pertain to educational rights and entitlements of citizens. Institutions like the European Commission, the Council of

Europe and UNESCO have a major stake in these fast-changing times. The continental and regional organisations like the Organisation of African Unity and Meracuer may have similar obligations within those regions. Within the Commonwealth, the Heads of Government meeting in Kampala have addressed the issue of the transformation of societies to achieve greater political, economic and human development which can use the stronger Commonwealth networks in education to contribute to these agendas (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).

Modern states confront increasingly serious challenges within their education systems at the present time. In general terms, social exclusion and inequality on various indices present a threat to the viability of the national political and social systems because of the ways in which such exclusion leads to injustice being institutionalised in many societies. Social and public policy-makers and professionals have a role to play in turning social exclusions into social inclusions using legal and constitutional powers in democratic contexts. Such professionals, however, confront a number of problems. For educators, these include the ways in which issues of difference and diversity have been conceptualised within the recent past, and how in some contexts difference has become construed as a deficit. Such conceptual distortions have further diminished the possibilities of improving the educational outcomes of marginalised and poorer groups in society and this chapter will address some of these issues.

Some of the most intractable problems are found in societies where racism, xenophobia and chauvinism have deepened inequalities in diverse communities which have thwarted ambitions of groups, communities and individuals who feel inter-generationally or permanently excluded. Hence, issues of how to bring about equity and deal with dominant and exclusive 'national' knowledge systems require sustained consideration and a critical appraisal. With the failures of many modern states to provide equity many groups have reverted to more singular and ethnic or religious identities and there are very few (if any) well-considered educational measures to address these issues internationally. Educators need to consider how the failure of the Enlightenment to deal with issues of racism and xenophobia has contributed to the disenchantment with national democratic and constitutional systems and international organisations. The reversion of groups to ethnic and religious identity in singular terms also necessitates a Renaissance and enlightenment amongst all faiths. This is necessary so that they can be effective in equipping believers to function as full citizens in the modern world with all the complexities of the cultural, social, economic and political realities. Single and singularised identities and communities do not have the wherewithal to cope with the new and emerging global inequalities and societal complexities. To address issues of global justice it is necessary to develop cosmopolitan public institutions and civic citizens (New Humanist, 2006). Secular humanism is now deeply entrenched in societies following long struggles waged by the subordinated and oppressed groups. Nevertheless, literalist religions are trying to reverse these victories in various parts of the world and replace them with religiously based societal values, mores, norms and institutions (*The Economist*, 2007, pp. 3–20; Gundara, 2000a).

Education systems can address some of these challenges and educators need to carefully consider these issues, and devise appropriate policies to deal with a range of problems confronted by social systems. This process needs to be part of much broader

public policy measures to obviate some of the current crises, which have led societies to fragment as has happened in south-east Europe, parts of central Africa and Somalia. Long-term conflicts also currently afflict countries like Afghanistan where international agencies and countries like Britain and Canada are trying to rebuild state institutions and structures especially schools for girls. Since 2001, 6 million children are in schools and over a third of them are girls (DFID, undated).

From an intercultural perspective and within the field of education a number of current and future challenges will be discussed in this chapter. These include the liberalisation of the public education systems on the grounds of meeting the prospects and problems presented by economic globalisation. There will be a discussion on the inadequate concepts and frameworks used in the field of intercultural education and how the practice-led initiatives have increased educational inequalities, knowledge centrism, racism and religious intolerance. This situation is exacerbated by the inadequacy of current teacher education (training) and the powerful negative role that the increasingly proliferated, privatised and commercial media plays in diverse societies.

The International Context: Globalisation, Diversity and Uniformity

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Article 26.1 provided for the right to education for everyone and is one of the building blocks of human rights more generally. Article 26.2 states:

Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (Batelaan, & Coomans, 1999)

This constitutes a good definition for intercultural education but it remains far from a reality because at least one billion people have largely been by-passed by aspects of globalisation such as the right to education (Power, 2000). The right to education from the Universal Declaration is translated into a more precise form in the International Covenant on Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In the 1980s and 1990s the human rights agenda has broadened with recognition of development rights, environmental rights and a more precise formulation of children's rights. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child devotes two articles, 28 and 29, to the rights to education and the aims of education (WCCD, 1995).

The Dakar Framework for Action committed signatories to 'ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls and children in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality'. In this sense the challenge for UNESCO's Education for All (EFA) is not just limited to the provision of basic and primary education in poor countries but also quality education to all, which by definition has to be intercultural in

both the richer and poorer countries. The UNESCO document 'Education and Cultural Diversity' established a principal priority for the year 2002–2003 and stressed that:

UNESCO will encourage issues involving values education in multilingual and multicultural societies to be included within national EFA action plans. (UNESCO, 2002)

This focus made the Dakar Framework for Action more intercultural by including provision for the nomadic, traveller and gypsy populations. In the Americas these groups include the Inuit, Maya and Quechua peoples. The importance of EFA for industrialised countries in many parts of the world has been to ensure that the educational content is appropriate to the likely future international context. In this sense unless education is intercultural it cannot provide equality and quality education for all. The provision of educational measures which is by definition intercultural and leads to greater levels of equality has been criticised as 'watering down' or lowering the quality of education. Such critiques need to be addressed to ensure that intercultural policies and practices do not lose credibility, since quality and equality in education go hand in hand (UNESCO, 2003). Education at the broadest level requires a partnership between statutory and formal education institutions within the public sector; with the private sector and voluntary sectors to provide with support for enhancing the informal educational provision for the whole community.

Moreover, there are several other hurdles on the way. Symbolic of such hurdles is the lack of action following the two major UN Conferences held in Durban on Racism and in Johannesburg on the Environment. Many member states of the UN marginalised the centrality of these issues, and since the Conference little corrective action has been taken at national levels. This has represented a lack of political will at both the national and international levels. Certain thinkers have even become despondent about the human condition. For instance, John Gray in his pessimistic and depressing book *Straw Dogs* indicated that little can be done to change the state of the world. He forcefully makes the following point:

At present there are nearly two hundred sovereign states in the world. Most are unstable, oscillating between weak democracy and weak tyranny; many are rusted through with corruption, or controlled by organised crime, while regions of the world – much of Africa, Southern Asia, Russia, and the Balkans the Caucasus, and parts of South America – are strewn with corroded or collapsed states. At the same time, the world's most powerful states – the United States, China and Japan – will not accept any fundamental limitation on their sovereignty. They are jealous of their freedom of action, if only because they have been enemies in the past and know they may become so in the future. (Gray, 2002, p. 12)

The attempts by the European Union to embed national sovereignties in multiple layers of rules, norms and regulations are an attempt to "obviate the violent history of the first half of the 20th century as the result of unbridled exercise of national sovereignty" (*The Guardian*, 7/9/2002). It is to be hoped that as a result of integrative processes

intercultural relations in twenty-first-century Europe will improve especially if notions of 'fortress Europe' in all areas of public and social policies including education are obviated. Reduction of inequality between and within richer and poorer countries can help reduce the likelihood of Europe being constructed as a fortress. Within Europe high levels of discrimination and inequalities between the immigrant and poorer communities has the potential for intercultural conflict and violence. Fortress mentalities and societies exist in most parts of the world and in socially diverse communities act as inhibitors for the provision of equalities in education. Measures to make education more inclusive and the provision of skills-based learning can obviate some of the brick walls which thwart ambitions. The DFID report on Afghanistan does indicate a shift in this direction especially in the education for girls and skills for women (DFID).

Therefore, some of the exclusive rather than inclusive tendencies referred to above are mirrored in the way in which intercultural relations and understandings at one level are being enhanced in some societal contexts and levels. In other societies and at many other levels intercultural conflicts on the grounds of racial, religious, linguistic, class and nationality are being exacerbated. This is the case in states in south-east Europe and Somalia where the governments have difficulties in curbing the literalist instruction (which of course is not very 'educational') is provided by many ethnically based institutions. There are, however, marked differences between an 'ethnically' diverse south-east Europe and the fragmentation based on wide-ranging differences, and Somalia where the 'ethnic' differences are very few. Therefore, it can be suggested that the narcissism of small differences in Somalia has been its continuing ruin.

At the global level many of these issues are not only a result of contemporary globalisation but also of the historical legacies of nationalism and the empires of the nineteenth century. If international initiatives especially of the United Nations agencies fail to succeed in bridging gaps then increasingly larger numbers of member states and their governments will have to deal the fragmentation of societies because of the resultant inequalities, polarisations, conflicts and unregulated competition. This section concludes by arguing that the gaps between people remain because even though increased multiculturalism within polities creates possibilities of better intercultural relations, it also increases the prospects of intercultural conflicts unless institutions of the state take positive measures including educational ones to foster equalities and to minimise situations of conflict.

Issues and Concepts

One of the problems arising from the complex range of issues causing intercultural conflicts is that there is very little agreement about the use of terms or a framework of analysis. In many English-speaking countries, some academics argue that the term 'multiculturalism' has been racialised. There is some truth to this assertion; for example, activists and others used issues of discrimination and diversity to only tackle discrimination against themselves and their particular communities. The ways in which policies arising from such a narrowly defined political stance were devised tended to suggest that only certain groups faced exclusion and discrimination. For instance, in

Britain activists from Asian and Caribbean communities did not consider to make common cause with the Jewish, Roma and other minorities to deal with educational inequalities. Many anti-racist policies in education, for instance, tended to stress discrimination against certain immigrant minorities but ignored, for example, the poorer sections of the dominant community and other nationalities and minorities. Hence, there have been interminable debates about the ‘politically correct’ nature of such policies which seemingly favoured and privileged certain groups (Gundara, 2000b, pp. 105–127; Batelaan & Gundara, 1992).

The essentialist rhetoric of such policies has led to some communities being designated as ‘the other’ and furthered the creation of binary oppositions (e.g., the majority–minority; immigrant–citizen; white/black; winners–losers; belongers–non-belongers). These oppositional definitions as well as the hierarchical positioning of groups within societies have detracted from societies developing inclusive institutions based on intercultural policies. Measures to experience the educational process as part of the growing up and learning in a community need to be revisited. This can be done along the lines of an African adage ‘it takes a whole village to educate a child’. At the present time however, the village itself may need re-educating thus necessitating the need for lifelong learning. Lifelong and community-wide learning has to have both formal and informal dimensions and needs to enhance the capacity building of communities to be sustainable at local levels. The provision of these educational measures within plural and diverse communities is a human right (Gundara, 1992; Batelaan & Gundara, 1992). The role of community education in London provides a positive way forward for such educational initiatives (Gundara & Jones, 1990, pp. 142–154). Further education colleges in Britain promote common values but in many institutions the political far right and religiously oriented influences pose a threat to the development of shared values amongst young peoples (*The Education Guardian*, 27/11/2007).

There is also another more complex issue of difference and diversity especially since it is sometimes suggested that we should celebrate diversity. This, rather superficial notion of celebration does not take cognisance of the way in which difference has been construed as a deficit and as a way of stigmatising groups. For instance, celebrating linguistic diversity without developing multilingual policies can heighten the lack of access to the curriculum and widen educational inequalities. Hence, policies, practices and strategies for developing linguistic competences of students are important (Gundara, 2005, pp. 237–251).

The UNESCO collaboration on the B@bel Initiative to promote multilingualism on the Internet as well as preventing linguistic segregation and protection of languages which may disappear is an important development. Initiatives in the fields of interculturalism and multiculturalism need to mirror some of the developments discussed in UNESCO’s paper ‘Education in a Multilingual World’ (UNESCO, 2003).

Many states especially monolingual English-speaking countries have not taken issues of linguistic or cultural diversity seriously. They have colluded with the racialisation of multiculturalism because it was viewed as a way of ensuring that social diversity was seen as merely a result of post-Second World War migration, particularly for people who were migrating from countries which had been previously colonised. For instance, in Britain, statements, like the ones made by the Department of Education and Science

in 1965, in the 'School Curriculum' document that 'our society has become multicultural', could only be explained as an attempt to ignore the more complex issues. In official governmental documents the questions about the historically based multicultural nature of British society were not followed up (Gundara, 1993, pp. 18–31). If one uses the taxonomy of linguistic, religious, social class and territorial (Hans, 1949) indices of diversity, then British society has historically been multicultural. The devolution of power to Scotland and Wales, which has largely been peaceful, is evidence of the historical multinational nature of the British state.

Intercultural educational policies in European countries until recently have been informed by a century-old history of international and local perspectives (CIDREE, 2002). Within this diachronic dimension, the dominant cultures of Britain and other European states are themselves the products of centuries of past and present interactions between peoples, their cultures and the state. The colonial empires and subordinated nationalities of the European states are an important part of these interactions. Thus, contemporary patterns of social and cultural inequality are underpinned by the historical legacies of nationalism, imperialism and colonialism. These are however, very complex issues for young people to understand in schools and it is important that they are written in a way which is comprehensible to young people in schools (Gundara & Hewitt, 1999).

One hundred years ago, after their near defeat in the Boer War, the English government set up the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration to enquire into the causes of this failure. Almost inevitably, their message was eugenicist, in that the lower orders were 'breeding' and would swamp the so-called 'polite society'. Indeed, the genesis of the social class classification, copied worldwide, was the 1911 Registrar-General's attempt to combat this position. But education was only seen as a means of minimum social inclusiveness. On a positive note, the provision of school meals for all was recommended by this committee.

Deficit and disadvantage models have continued to inform intercultural educational measures. In Britain this meant that those from social classes 4 and 5, using the Registrar-General's classification, were considered 'culturally deprived' or 'culturally disadvantaged'. The conservatives in this debate have continued to postulate an inferiority based on genetic factors. The liberals have tended to stress that the disadvantaged were the result of past discrimination on sex, race or class group. The IQ debate on both sides of the Atlantic has further continued to generate controversy, while in the ex-Communist states, policies to deal with minorities as being defective and therefore requiring special schools have disadvantaged children from the Roma and other minority communities (Tomasevski, 2003; Wilson, 2002).

This legacy of social inequalities formed the backdrop of the riots in 2000 in the northern British cities of Bradford, Oldham and Burnley. The riots involved both poor whites as well as the blacks, and the inequalities were graphically pointed out in the Cattle, Ritchie and Ouseley Reports (Cattle, 2002; Ritchie, 2001; Ouseley, 2001).

The French Enlightenment resulted in the idea of the 'nation' which was based on a social vision of society, and following the French Revolution, was based not on the ideas of some biological myth of ancestors but on the notions of a social contract. This nation state included Alsatians and Occitanians, who did not speak French, as well as

Jews. With the abolition of slavery in San Domingo, black African peoples were also considered to be 'citizens' (Amin, 1997). Hence, the nation was not an affirmation of the particular but an expression of the universal. While the securing of human rights was one of the core objectives of the French Revolution, the rights were applied selectively, with women being denied full citizenship rights. The assimilation of 'other' peoples and the abandoning of local languages in favour of the French language were additional indicators that the nation state was to take priority. The role of building the modern French nation around the new cultural and linguistic unity was assumed by the school system under the Republic. The legacy of officially nullifying and overriding differences has had manifestations in the twenty-first century. In 2005 and 2006, French cities were rocked by riots of young, poor, and disenfranchised French citizens, largely from minority and North African backgrounds. Demonstrations in nearly half of the 88 French universities have been indicative of the underlying barriers to equity and the rates of unemployment reaching 21.7% for the under 25. These rates are high for those who are black or wear head scarves (*The Guardian*, 10/3/2006). The challenge for educators is how to use this complex legacy of the universal and the particular, which provides substantive basis for citizenship, within the unequal nation state. In the economically unequal societies the basis of difference is a barrier to developing notions of similarity and mutualities based on greater levels of equality. The riots in France in 2006 and 2007 represent a watershed warning to ensure that integrative public and social policies, including education, are essential if social and educational inequalities are to be reversed. The Chirac government did not take these events seriously enough and the death of two young people in Villiers-le-Bel have been worse than the riots of 2006 and spread to Toulouse. The author of this chapter on behalf of the Evens Foundation presented an Award for work on intercultural relations one week before the riots (Even Foundation, 2007). The school in and of itself is not sufficient to tackle social exclusions at the wider level. In other countries like Britain there is also a legacy of such divisions and divides, and issues of institutional racism are now very high on the agenda with the implementation of the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) which requires both public and private institutions not to discriminate. The question is whether these measures are sufficient or they too weak? What are the other things that most states ought to be doing in public and social policy and practices to reduce discrimination and remove high levels of inequalities?

Future for Intercultural Studies

The largely peaceful and democratic transition to devolution in Wales and Scotland suggests that there is a positive role for interculturalism, especially as the Scottish and the Welsh peoples recognise their own treatment by the dominant English nation. Yet, public and social policies and practices are necessary to avoid the ghettoisation of communities. This is the case because both have guaranteed human rights legislation and follow a constitutional path in dealing with minority communities and especially their linguistic rights. Nevertheless, one cannot be sanguine that in devolved polities like Scotland there is no racism. A report commissioned by the Scottish Executive

indicated that 25% of Scots were racists and about half of them did not consider the use of terms like 'Paki' to be racist (Commission for Racial Equality, 2002).

There are also lessons to be learned from the conflict and conflict resolution in Northern Ireland which now has the potential of bringing British and Irish politics closer together after the recent political agreements. The Centre for Cross Border Studies has been bringing together educators from both the north and the south to develop greater levels of practical institutional and educational cooperation. This is not an easy task because politics and identity issues still play a powerful role. Hence, students from the north see the south as 'a different country' and want to complete their education 'on the mainland', while the other sees the north as 'not quite the same ... it's easier to stick with people you know best' (Centre for Cross Border Studies, 2007).

Concepts and analyses need to be developed which draw upon the historical and contemporary aspects of conflict and cooperation in socially diverse societies and which are relevant in developing an inclusive curriculum, and intercultural citizenship education. Within complex societies where technological changes may be leading to high levels of unemployment, greater stress needs to be placed on citizenship engagement with democratic institutions. The need to deepen democracy entails a critical appraisal of issues of societal concern and the development of community participation as well as curricular and pedagogic changes to enhance such collaboration.

Also, it is not only what children are taught and what they learn but also their actual experiences at school, which contribute to their understanding of their rights and responsibilities as future citizens. So, a democratic school ethos is important and this needs to be experienced through active citizenship and engagement in the context of the wider community. For the older groups the role of youth work, further and other formal and non-formal life-long learning are all important in ensuring that sustained educational experiences enhance the skills, knowledge and abilities of citizens and capacities to improve their life chances in the context of diverse communities (Bourne & Gundara, 1999).

Barriers to Equity

In many societies another dilemma needs to be dealt with, because the old solidarities based on social class as antecedents of a class-divided society, whilst providing a clear role for different groups in society created the divisions between classes that have been the subject of confrontations over the last 150 years. The divides based on race, religion and gender have led to the creation of 'seige mentalities' and siege communities which thwart the safety and security of many communities around the world that have become socially divided. Instead of social cohesion in these liquid times as Bauman describes them, the communities are becoming divided (Bauman, 2007). Now that there is no preordained class basis to solidarity the younger generation is faced with much clearer patterns of polarisation by being divided into winners and losers without any class referent. This poses a new challenge for intercultural education because of the exclusivity of identities. Of course the reverse is also true if the winners refuse to acknowledge any debt to society especially as groups from different backgrounds do not share solidarities or a set of resemblances. Intercultural education, therefore, has a

complex role of addressing the sense of exclusions and loss amongst all young people and creating a sense of shared values and citizenship.

In countries like India and the United States policies of ‘positive discrimination’ and ‘affirmative action’ were enacted to provide equity to the hitherto disadvantaged groups. Over a longer period of time these groups are now perceived as being privileged and are perceived as such by the dominant groups. Hence, unless such policies are carefully devised, target actually disadvantaged groups and have limited time span, they become counterproductive by exacerbating differences and reducing features of commonality amongst different groups. This, therefore, presents a challenge of rethinking of policies like affirmative action or positive discrimination so that they do not exacerbate differences and have divisive implications but develop policies that include the disadvantaged from all communities, including those who are poor from within majority or dominant communities.

If some groups are excluded from or marginalised within the education system and schools due to lack of social cohesion, should the state stay neutral or should it intervene? In other words should the state be fair or impartial? Rawls using the difference principle argues that the better off should not have special advantages than the worst off (Rawls, 1997). So to accord equity, the state is ‘fair’ but not impartial. In a democratic state, citizens should have access to education and knowledge in order to equalise their life chances. If the state remains impartial it cannot create level playing fields in educational terms. It can only do so by intervening. The state, however, is not the only agency in this sphere of social change. The private sector has social responsibilities and the voluntary agencies themselves have a powerful role to play in the development of active civic citizenship at the grass roots and community levels. This is especially the case, if the communities are to harness all the local resources and develop micro-economies to enhance the local economies (Pike, 2003).

One of the challenges for education systems and the diverse communities is to build inclusive polities, which can accommodate notions of differences. This could be achieved by:

- Creating conditions for equity and belongingness of diverse groups from an educational perspective
- Developing integrative mentalities based on difference not as disadvantage, and lessening levels of inequalities and providing multiple options
- Education systems building a set of mutualities amongst multi-divided groups in society so they can have ‘ownership’ of these affinities
- Policies to bridge gaps between groups at different levels and nurture notions of human rights and citizenship for the disenfranchised and excluded groups
- Inclusive affirmative action and positive discrimination and time-limited policies
- The development of universally inclusive feminism especially to ensure equity in public life and public institutions
- Diverse communities need to become active citizens and develop CAN DO mentalities and action

Centric Knowledge

At an even broader level these issues raise problems of centric knowledge, which according to COD 1990 is defined as ‘having a (specified) centre’. There are however, multiple sources of knowledge and there are many narratives and not a singular narrative about knowledge and hence ‘centric’ knowledge systems operate on simplified and exclusive criteria of official school curriculum. The criterion for selecting the curriculum from multiple sources in diverse polities presents a complex challenge to curriculum planners. This is especially the case because a curriculum centred on knowledge of dominant groups does not serve the needs of socially diverse polities. A non-centric or an inclusive curriculum which draws from different sources is needed within national, regional and local contexts (Gundara, 2000, pp. 161–205).

One of the problems in the implementation of intercultural education is that the languages, histories and cultures of subordinated groups in Europe are not seen as having equal value with those of dominant European nationalities. Such an entitlement to a non-centric or inclusive curriculum is perhaps one of the greatest challenges to actualising the development of an intercultural education. This exercise would entail a major intellectual challenge, as was the case when UNESCO undertook to write the history of Africa in an eight-volume series. The series largely has not been integrated within the main body of universal historical knowledge. There are also other important UNESCO projects on the Slave Trade, The Silk Route, The Culture of Peace and Education for International Understanding which have implications for developing intercultural education within the mainstream of national educational systems.

UNESCO proposes in the Guidelines on Intercultural Education over the next biennium to:

- Contribute to the improvement of curricula and textbooks for the teaching of history
- Promote dialogue on the role of language and culture as key factors in the development through education of understanding among people within and between Member States
- Support the educational activities of the International Decade of the World’s Indigenous People
- Disseminate new approaches to language education
- Support the production of guidelines on mother tongue and multilingual education
- Encourage the preparation of culturally appropriate materials in local languages

This UNESCO agenda should enable countries in Africa, Asia and the Americas to address issues of societal diversity through intercultural education policies (UNESCO, 2006). To maintain safety and security within their diverse polities, states in these continents need to develop curricula that avoid centrisms of their own. Devising the necessary basis of knowledge in a national and civilisational context presents curriculum planners with a difficult but essential challenge. Shared knowledge and habitué

can assist in the process of the development of shared and common democratic value systems in the public domain and public institutions.

A non-centric curriculum would enable teachers, students and other learners to develop the inclusive and shared value systems which are necessary for the development of democratic societies. For instance, in Taiwan the democratic cultures and the education system are able to withstand pressures of not teaching the superficial notions of Asian values. As Amartya Sen states:

An attempt to choke off participatory freedom on grounds of traditional values (such as religious fundamentalism, or political custom, or the so-called Asian values) simply misses the issue of legitimacy and the need for the people affected to participate in deciding what they want and what they have reason to accept. (Sen, 1999)

Intercultural Learning Societies

One aspect of the curriculum, which illustrates the issue of knowledge centrism, is the teaching of the history curriculum. The teaching of history from an inclusive perspective needs to be developed at a much wider level internationally. In Europe one attempt has been made through the Tbilisi initiative of the Council of Europe in Armenia, Georgia and Azarbijan. Similarly, given the political agreement in Northern Ireland, are there ways in which the selective memories of the 1916 rising in Dublin and the Battle of the Somme be taught and learnt by both the Catholics and Protestants to give shared educational substance and meanings to the recent political agreements? Such curricular developments should not only be part of mainstream education, but also build on the basic education and the acquisition of histories. Such an integrated system would enhance the intercultural competencies of active European, African, American and Asian citizenship within multicultural democracies. Subjects like the humanities and the social sciences particularly need to be appraised for their relevance to the contemporary needs of societies.

This is especially the case because 130–145 million people, at least, live outside their countries of origin. These figures would be higher if undocumented migrants were included. Over 21 million refugees live in other developing countries. Many subsist in ‘twilight zones’ and border areas of state boundaries and continue to remain ignored. Many young people grow up in these violent and displaced areas with no hope for a meaningful future within either one or the other state. The Afghanistan-Pakistan border and the Burmese-Thailand borders represent the ‘twilight zones’ and they are indicative of the permeability of borders and the lack of a singular regime of law and national institutions. Sassan explores the complexity of the border issues with the emergence of the global capital and electronic market and their implication for national borders (Sassan, 2006).

The development of an inclusive educational provision and a shared and meaningful curriculum is necessary for the creation of future belongingness to stable communities. Such

educational initiatives may help to provide these young people with bases to understand the meaning of democratic processes, modernisation and development. Such issues ought therefore to include relevant consideration of participatory pedagogies. In marginalised communities learning and teaching should be progressive and not constrained by a reactive traditional African, Asian and American-centric curriculum, which tend to inhibit questioning. This in turn allows Euro-centrism in knowledge to prevail and perpetuate its dominance at the global level. In reality, it is both the dominant and the subordinate, the majority and the minority, which need to define new dimensions of knowledge to make the futures more comprehensible (Gundara, undated).

To install the 'voice' of the disenfranchised in the curriculum will require a great deal of delicacy, diplomacy, persistence and sophistication, particularly if the desired changes are not to be relegated to the margins of academic life. Reactive, rhetorical and rebellious responses in curricular terms are not only inadequate but also counter-productive. While action is needed across all European, American, African and Asian societies, those in the poorer parts of these continents have greater levels of difficulties, and may require support from international agencies. Hence, the more affluent and experienced educational agencies like the European Commission and UNESCO, and its regional centres, can also be helpful in lending them non-directive support for educational change and development.

Secularism and Religious Armageddon

In historical terms Emperor Ashoka (BC 272–232) was driven to remorse by the slaughter, death and devastation his conquests had caused in India. This made him turn the victory column to a column of peace and non-violence. This historical example is indicative of many contemporary monuments which carry similar messages. These monuments are used by teachers and schools to deliver messages of peace rather than those of war, which most of the columns in squares of cities all around the world largely represent.

If one walks out of the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, into the Place Joffre in the Eiffel Tower Park there is a monument to peace. In Tavistock Square, London there is a monument for Mahatma Gandhi and the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs. After the bombing of a bus in this Square on 7 July, it is also a monument to those who died there more recently and it has a more poignant meaning to those who live and work in the Bloomsbury area and the whole of London. These are two of the many sites and symbols in Paris and London amongst those in other cities around the world which educators can use to teach about democratic, non-violent, peaceful and inclusive secular states. There are other monuments which share grief caused by national traumas include the Yad Vashim in Jerusalem, the Vietnam Wall in Washington and the Okalahoma City memorial. These symbols provide examples of the ways in which grief and being a victim are selectively portrayed and need to be used to read the stories of the past critically which help to disarm history. Most monuments, however, only continue to mark the triumph of one group and the Valle de los Caidos continues to celebrate Franco's victory and not commemorate the death of all who died in the

Spanish Civil War. Most educational materials also continue to represent the voices of the victors, the powerful and the dominant. There are, however, currently projects which deal with re-examining the ways in which textbooks have been written as well as the ways in which names on maps have been exclusive and not representing complex pasts. The Eckhart Institute in Germany and UNESCO have devoted time and expertise to these initiatives.

The tensions between secular and religious ideologies perhaps raise the gravest warning to multicultural and multi-faith polities and need to be addressed by educators and curriculum planners in a non-nationalistic and creative manner. While religion and personal beliefs may belong to the private domain there are issues from religious systems and knowledge, which can impinge on the national and global minds and the development of critical and democratic citizens of the future. It is a matter of grave importance that the role of religion in multi-faith, constitutional and democratic states is clearly defined to avoid being led to a societal abyss by fundamentalist and dogmatic notions of 'truth' fuelled by faith.

The importance of Gandhi and his protégé Nehru is that they had a genuine intercultural understanding of Western and Indian civilisations. They personified a creativity and determination which is currently lacking in many political and educational leaders. The ex-President of Tanzania Mwalimu (teacher) Nyerere, was usually simply called teacher and through his policies he unified the multicultural Tanzanian society. Perhaps, it is in his footsteps Nelson Mandela has formed a group of Elders which include former leaders and Nobel Prize winners and they may help provide influence to resolve intercultural conflicts and other crises in the casino of the unregulated global market. How can these initiatives be used by the educators to enchant the disenchanting with inclusive, democratic and active engagements?

At the underlying level a question has to be asked about the educational implications of President Mbeki's 'African Renaissance' and what role the academic institutions will play in it. Unless it is able to build a more equitable and inclusive South Africa the Renaissance will remain a chimera (*The Observer*, 24/11/2007). There is also a question about how much the rise of fundamentalism is also a result of the failures of governments to modernise societies and provide equity in public and social policy generally. If governments are failing in this role there is not much that the education systems can do in muting religious conflict.

In Nigeria, Wole Soyinka regrets the way in which the proselytising religions are eroding local traditions and faiths like the Orisa, and also disrupting education within schools and universities (*The Guardian*, 6/8/2002). In the West African context, the implementation of intercultural policies and practices may be one way of avoiding religious strife in educational institutions.

At the academic level, scholars such as Inayatullah in Pakistan and others argue for an alternative social science, which is not based on the nation state as a model of analysis but on notions of a 'layered sovereignty' (Inayatullah, 1998). Inevitably it poses complex issues not just for educational policy but also for curricular reform in deepening and raising the quality of education.

The Role of Media and Intercultural Relations

The media have an important role to play in enhancing intercultural relations because of their power to mislead or to educate. However, during the current period of globalisation the media have been constrained by market forces as far as programming is concerned. For many people in the world the media may be a more influential source of information than the classroom. When not concerned with redecorating or tidying the garden their focus has shifted to the exotic, travel and wildlife programmes instead of programming about development, poverty, intercultural issues, politics, history, economics or the environment (Nason & Redding, 2002). These issues only receive perfunctory treatment as part of news and current affairs programmes. However, such programming ought not to be paternalistic as it was in the past and ought to address issues to ordinary citizens.

Televsual audiences are largely committed to entertainment and do not watch documentary programmes, which either lecture or hector them. Viewers prefer a story, a good narrative and strong characters. At least two sets of actions may be necessitated. Firstly, the media and communication industries need to adopt a strategic and integrated approach, which is discourse- and content-strengthened. How can various forms of new media be used in teaching and learning? On issues of intercultural understandings, educators at all levels have a major role to play in using the media for educating viewers not only to become visually literate but also to acquire a critical understanding to distinguish between hype, rhetoric and productive or progressive discourse.

The Role of Intercultural Teacher Education

Teacher education institutions have a continued and major role to play in enhancing intercultural education because as multipliers the teachers educated by them affect the lives of many generations of those they teach.

In many countries around the world teacher educators need to revisit the Carnegie Foundation's Report of 1986, which recommended making the teaching profession a high status profession and on a par with other professions. Most higher education institutions both educate and train doctors, architects and lawyers but only train teachers. This is an important issue because there is a difference between 'training' and 'education'. Higher education institutions cannot ignore the same broadly based rigorous education for teachers. If the Harvard Business School, as Professor Colin Power former Director of Education, UNESCO, in a lecture at the Institute of Education University of London pointed out, educates barracudas, then teacher education institutions should not merely train teachers as social workers to pick up the pieces that the barracudas leave behind.

The key question is whether the issues are about teacher training or teacher education. 'Training' implies a lower order of knowledge and skill.

In order to get the best educated and professionally qualified teachers, their education should be undertaken at universities or institutions with comparable standards.

Teachers, therefore, as autonomous professionals should join a teacher education institution after an undergraduate degree, and have a professional education similar to those in other professions (Carnegie, 1986); of course the circumstances do vary in different countries.

A high level of professionally and rigorously educated teachers who have a post-graduate accredited qualification is essential to raise the competences of the teaching profession. As a part of this accreditation there is a need for intercultural dimensions of courses to be built into the teacher education process. This in itself raises some complex issues. Students from minority communities who have done well at university tend to join other professions and not the teaching profession. Yet to make intercultural teacher education effective both teacher education institutions and schools need to have a diverse student body and teaching members of staff. Not only does teaching have to be made an attractive profession but education of the underclass, minority and smaller nationalities needs to be improved, and measures instituted to ensure that a number of them do join the teaching profession. One of the advantages of interculturally educated and a multicultural teaching force is not only that it enables the negotiation of complex social values in schools and higher education institutions but also provides multilingual skills and knowledge for competent and professional teaching force.

In intercultural terms teacher skills ought to include expertise in interpersonal relations, the conduct of conversations, moderation of difficult discussions, dealing with conflicts and working with parents. Teachers confront the most complex task of tackling student racism and autonomous peer cultures. The need for communicative skills can only be met if teachers have the necessary experience and skills and understandings which cut across student–teacher and school–community divides.

Teachers can acquire knowledge, skills and understandings to deal with racism during their initial teacher education, which needs to be further refined on a continuing basis as part of their professional development. The complexity of the processes, of racism and class-based exclusions as well as the lethal mixture of these with religious divides demands a high level of skills and professionalism. It also demands institutional policies and support within schools. Teacher education institutions have a fundamental role to play in unpicking these complex issues and enabling all teachers to deal with them competently.

Communities of Development and Hope

One of the main reasons for developing an inclusive democratic framework is the fact that 10,000 distinct societies live in 200 states and may be denied equity and protection. The International Commission on Education for the 21st Century set up by UNESCO placed the issue of learning to live together not only as one of the four pillars of education for the future but as the greatest challenge facing education.

Both formal and informal lifelong learning has a major role in developing intercultural understandings among citizens in socially diverse societies. This needs to involve the non-governmental sector so that citizenship in such societies does not remain passive. It requires citizens to become active so that they can improve their own and their communities' lives for the better.

However, unless there are concerted efforts to develop democratic engagements and build ‘communities of development and hope’ intercultural conflicts are bound to increase. The creation of active citizens in poorer communities can only take place if there are deeper intercultural engagements both within and outside educational institutions.

Democratic and shared political cultures go hand in hand with greater levels of legitimate economic activities for all communities. Income inequalities are associated with increases in education and social inequality. From amongst the OECD countries Britain has the largest income gaps and the highest proportion (19.4%) of young people aged 16–19 who are neither attending school nor employed. Many of these young people are not only functionally illiterate and manifest anti-social behaviour but are also a threat to the security and lives of others. The thwarted ambitions of these young people form the basis of grave intercultural conflicts. A massive effort is necessary to create the preconditions for safer and securer communities in Britain as well as most other countries of the world.

In many of the crises referred to in this chapter there is an essential role of education as part of public policy provision to proactively deal with inequalities of educational opportunities and outcomes in multicultural societies. Educational initiatives based on currently developed policies and practices can also help in creating a new society which not only recognises differences but also helps in developing commonalities and shared citizenship values that can provide futuristic legitimacies in confederal communities.

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FEMINISM, LIBERATION, AND EDUCATION

Nelly P. Stromquist

Unquestionably, feminism will be seen by historians as one of the strongest social movements of the twentieth century. Ideas that the rights of women should be included among the rights of all people existed as a coherent set since the late 1860s and culminated in women's right to vote in the early twentieth century, with New Zealand being the first country to grant them that right. However, it was not until the 1960s that the feminist movement spread out to the corners of the globe. This effort, now called the "second wave" of feminism, endorsed the term "liberation" and sought to free women from economic oppression, cultural subordination, and political marginalization. The second wave documented the situation of men and women at all levels of society, from the household to the place of work and government, and concluded that it had to change to make both women and men benefit from those social arrangements. Liberation, in other words, implied a political movement toward changing the social order, but in ways that meant not the replacement of men by women in the existing hierarchies but the creation of other kinds of social relations, less characterized by rigid and arbitrary hierarchies. The ultimate goal was not always stated but it often involved the reduction of social differences between men and women.

Feminist groups today comprise various kinds: those that fight patriarchy, those that engage in academic and cultural production, groups that are pro-human rights, and community-based organizations working on the satisfaction of basic needs of poor women. They have been unified in the past by universalist approaches to human development and social justice. Many scholars recognize the family and the body as sites of the politics of power (Molyneux, 1985; Connell, 1987; Messner, 1992). Most recognize the issue of domestic and sexual violence as a deeply rooted feature of women's subordination and a growing set considers the recognition of sexual orientation – all issues linked to social change and national development (Subrahmanian, 2005).

Liberation in the early days meant moving away from definitions of women as weak, docile, passive, with mothering instincts and responsibilities, assigned to caring tasks, and responsible for the general functioning of the household. It also meant moving away from dependence on men due to low salaries, temporary employment, and dead-end jobs. A goal not envisaged initially was the freedom of sexual orientation; another goal, which came to divide the movement in many countries, has been control over one's own body, which includes abortion rights. Today, liberation as a mantra has

been lost, as different types of women have emerged and see reality in different ways and may seek different goals. Lazar summarizes the situation well when she states: “Gender oppression is neither materially nor discursively enacted in the same way for women everywhere” (Lazar, 2005, p. 10).

As action has followed new ideas, it has become manifested in four separate arenas: the efforts conducted by women themselves in their various terrains of social life; the lines of action undertaken by international development agencies – of critical importance for developing countries; the public policies enacted by governments in response to feminist and global pressure; and the theoretical and analytical work contributed by feminist researchers in the academy.

Globalization trends, with the shrinking of state-provided social services and emphasis on market forces as the best processes for social functioning (Krieger, 2006; Arrighi & Silver, 1999; Falk, 1999), have contributed to the weakening of feminism. Intense competition between firms as well as between individuals does little to foster social solidarity. Furthermore, harsh economic conditions among poorer populations, particularly in developing countries, demand time and effort for one’s survival that cannot be sacrificed for community or altruistic work. Consequently, women activists find increasingly difficult environments in which to operate. In the academic work, another group of women, those who are sympathetic to the feminist cause, have become more immersed in theoretical constructions in which power and material conditions take second place to cultural issues as explanatory variables. There is an increasing distance between feminist academics and women activists in NGOs. The latter include many more women from developing countries and are interested in such issues as poverty, trade, debt, and human rights. They work in independent organizations and community-based organizations that either specialize in gender issues or address broader development issues such as poverty and human rights. Women in some academic disciplines approach gender as a subject of interest, not as a dimension of political transformation (Mohanty, 2006). Their work, consequently, is not linked to a movement that seeks intervention in the political arena by pressing for specific policies or bringing women to political office so that they represent women’s interests.

This chapter considers how theoretical thought about gender and education has advanced in recent decades. To do so, it begins with a discussion of women and men’s education, then presents the various strands of feminist thought, and finishes with a discussion of what might constitute effective interventions, given the lessons learned over time.

Conditions of Women and Men in Education

In the early 1970s, when looking at the situation of women’s education, the general concern was for their access to formal education, especially primary and secondary education, two basic gateways to advanced knowledge. Girls’ access to schooling was lagging behind that of boys, especially in developing countries; thus, a crucial education objective became parity in access to schooling.

Over time, indeed, there has been an improvement in the proportion of girls attending primary and secondary schools although it is not clear that this is the result of specific governmental strategies or rather the collateral effect of expanding access to formal schooling by establishing more schools or moving them into shorter daily shifts so they could accommodate more students. Girls' enrollment has indeed been edging toward parity with boys although at the global level girls still represent 46.5% of the primary enrollment. Inequalities are greater in South and West Asia, the Arab States, and sub-Saharan Africa, where girls constitute 44.1%, 46.0%, and 46.5%, respectively (UNESCO, 2003). About 115 million children of primary school age were not enrolled by 2000, with girls representing 57% of those out of primary school in developing countries, particularly in Pakistan, Nepal, and India. Secondary school enrollment has also been improving though in the majority of countries women have not reached gender parity. In tertiary education, the picture is reversed, with higher male enrollment in 24 countries but higher female enrollment in 72 countries – an outcome that suggests that women finishing secondary schooling have a greater chance of moving into further education than men. On the other hand, university enrollment by field of study shows still a strongly gendered pattern, which raises the question of whether it is by personal choice or is rather the consequence of cultural and social beliefs and expectations about occupational roles for men and women. Substantial and persistent differences also exist between urban and rural educational enrollment – a reflection of development models that exploit the rural areas while benefiting the urban population. Yet, within these geographical areas, women constantly stand as inferior to men in educational attainment – further corroboration that gender disparities operate irrespective of location and wealth (Stromquist, 2007).

One wonders why women have been gaining greater access to education. Perhaps what is at work is more the widespread notion that the modern citizen in general needs education rather than specifically that women need education to transform their lives. Some observers consider that another reason might be that basic education is increasingly seen as a global public good, but this explanation would be limited to the wealthier nations since at least in 101 developing countries charge school fees at the primary level (UNESCO, 2003), a practice made necessary by the low budgets allocated for public education, caused in turn by structural adjustment programs, imposed by international financial agencies.

Some governments have taken statistics on access and completion as indications of their efforts to achieve gender equality. This is almost always an erroneous claim because equality of opportunity as a policy calls for specific measures to help a targeted group. Unless there is evidence that particular efforts were deployed to facilitate women's access to formal schooling, equality of opportunity cannot be assumed to have been a conscious state effort. Educational budgets in most countries rarely consider funds or personnel for gender-focused strategies.

Feminist ideas in education in the mid-1970s examined issues of access and practices in the classroom. They also addressed gender inequalities in terms of field-of-study choices and expressed concern with the lack of effort to question the messages that lead girls and women into those choices. With the passage of time, among feminist thinkers, there has developed an increasing realization that access to schooling and

successful completion, important as they are, do not guarantee that ideological beliefs about gender will change. Numerical gender parity may have little to do with cultural, economic, and political change. For instance, we need to interrogate ourselves, what has it meant to have more women doing better in access and retention in high school in Latin America and the US? Research studies do show that educated women do better than uneducated women in the labor market and in a number of social situations and decisions, yet detrimental notions of femininity and masculinity are imbued in society and affect most women, regardless of educational levels.

Aided by an extensive critical theory on the nature of schooling as sites for reproduction of social classes and hierarchies, feminist educational theory recognizes schools as sites where cultures and subcultures are created and in which systems of gendered power and gender meaning-making are maintained. By looking at school access as an end in itself, one becomes oblivious to the substantial gender differentiation that occurs through schooling, particularly in the creation of notions of masculinity and femininity. Access as an objective implies that schools are neutral environments for everybody and that those environments do not create gender hierarchies and differential treatment of girls and boys within classrooms and schools.

Girls' access to education remains a critical problem in parts of the developing world, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and in West and South Asia. In many developing countries, serious gaps exist in girls' access in rural areas. On the other hand, in a growing number of countries, girls are moving toward parity in terms of school access and they show a tendency toward greater success than boys in completion of primary and secondary education. Unfortunately, a number of governments are conflating equality of access and completion with gender equality, which leads them to assert that there are no gender problems in their respective societies.

Changes in Textbooks and the School Environment

Regardless of whether one adopts a feminist position or not, the relationship between education and democracy involves two aspects: how the educational structures and practices promote democracy in society, and to what extent schools function democratically (Perry, 2003/2004). The first implies access to school and learning and the second how practices in the classroom foster tolerance, recognition of the other, human rights, and democratic agency.

Important messages are assimilated through textbooks; therefore, feminist attention soon centered on these and, as a result of this interest, educational materials have been improving over time. Across most countries, there has been a reduction in the use of sexist language (usually expressed in the use of the masculine form as the key referent) or (in languages where this is applicable) in using only masculine pronouns for occupations and roles that can equally be fulfilled by women. Problems with illustrations, historic figures, and depictions of certain characters in stereotypic ways with women as mothering, sweet, abnegating and men bold, leading, intelligent, remain but they are certainly fewer than they were in the early 1960s.

What remains problematic in textbooks and curricula is the absence or the partial treatment of subjects central to altered conceptions of gender. Increasingly, schools

offer more programs dealing with sex education. Yet, their approach to the subject continues to be one based on anatomy, physiology, and the threat to health that sexuality poses. Very few are the programs that deal with sexuality, sexual orientation, gender and citizenship, gender-based violence (domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape, prostitution, pornography), and legal rights among others.¹ Seldom do they include this knowledge within the treatment of social studies or citizenship education (Arnot, 2006). Consideration of sexual abuse and sexual violence occurring within schools is notoriously ignored. In short, significant improvements could still take place in the content of knowledge and the context in which it is presented in school system. The curriculum still favors male knowledge and continues to convey the notion of women's comparative advantage in the domestic sphere.

Public Policies: Global and National

It has been through action at the international level, first through feminist organizations in industrialized countries in close alliance with feminist NGOs in developing countries, and later through the action of UN organizations, that significant attention has been given to women's and gender issues. A notable piece of global legislation was the enactment of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). First adopted in 1979, CEDAW had been ratified by more than 180 nations by 2006. During the 1990s there were several international conferences that further placed the issue of women's advancement on the public agenda. Notable among these conferences was the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (held in Cairo). All of these conferences highlighted the importance of women's education and the imperative for girls and women to have equal access to education. The Fourth World Women's Conference (held in Beijing in 1995) adopted an educational plan of action that revealed sophistication in defining educational issues and proposed a very complete set of measures to deal with gender issues in educational systems. This document has been signed by virtually every nation in the world.

UNIFEM, UNICEF, and UNESCO have emerged as major advocates of women's issues. A number of bilateral agencies focusing on national development have also adopted substantial programs of action to advance women's conditions; notably among them are the Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, and US development agencies. Major international lending organizations, such as the World Bank and the various regional development banks, such as the Inter-American Development Bank, have also become active in promoting consideration of women and gender in national development.

It has been the commonalities among women regardless of class, ethnicity, race, and age that have led to the formulation of public policies on gender and the justification of intervention. Since the adoption of public policies implies a role for the state, it has been liberal feminism – building on the notion of equality of opportunity – which has promoted these policies. Liberal feminism centers on individual rights and endorses an unproblematic view of agency, assuming that women have the autonomous capacity to modify existing relations. It is also optimistic about state behavior and assumes that the governmental machinery as well as the power of the law will be used to advance women's issues.

Public policies – and official discourse as well – have shown confusion between the concepts of equality and equity. While in the social sciences, particularly in education, there is an understanding that equality is the presence of identical conditions in certain social indicators (e.g., salary, political representation, access to university) and equity the measures taken to reach equality, several international organizations and national governments use the terms indistinctly, thus conflating desired outcomes with means. Subrahmanian (2005) suggests that equality be used to indicate parity and equity the result of “actions to translate equality into meaningful distributions of resources and opportunities, and the transformation of the conditions in which women are being encouraged to make choice” (Subrahmanian, 2005, p. 29). To this helpful definition, one could add the notion that, while equality may be the final objective, equity by force requires measures to intervene and that these measures require specific identification of groups to benefit, financial resources, and the allocation of personnel to accomplish the anticipated tasks.

Moreover, while education is essentially a form of social distribution (i.e., giving people certain forms and levels of education), equity in education involves some form of *redistribution* insofar as it involves the reallocation of goods or services so that the intended beneficiaries obtain more or a better good or during a longer or better service. Most gender policies build upon distribution rather than redistribution strategies.

Two current global policies that address the intersection of women and education are Education for All (EFA) and the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Enacted in Jomtien in 1990, EFA was restated in Dakar in 2000, following limited achievement of its stated goals. EFA calls for universal access to basic education for both boys and girls by 2015 and gender parity in primary and secondary education by 2005. The MDGs (approved in 2000) incorporate these two EFA goals and add the objective of women’s empowerment, in which women’s power is equated to parity access to education, participation in the remunerated employment, and their proportion in political representatives. The MDGs are backed by international financial organizations and the UN itself; as such they stand to be more fully implemented than EFA. Several feminist writers have noted with concern that the MDGs reduce the definition of basic education to four completed years – something that may be high for certain sub-Saharan countries and perhaps West and South Asia, but is low for East Asia and Latin America, where higher levels of education have already been attained by both girls and boys. According to UNESCO (2003) 60% of the 128 countries with data available for primary and secondary indicate that they are going to miss gender parity at primary and secondary levels by 2015.

Both the EFA and MDGs documents are infused with a discourse of equality and empowerment, but concrete action to move away from negative situations is missing. While assistance by international development organizations to basic education increased from 0.1% from their total in 1993 to 2.2% in 2002 (EFA Monitoring Report, 2003), action at the national level is either lacking or weak. For instance, though EFA agreements call for the production of plans of action by EFA country signatories and the subsequent implementation of these plans, very few countries have complied with such promises. By June 2005, the web site of UNESCO reported that national action plans existed in only 43 countries. Follow-up activities on MDGs objectives have

also been slow. In early 2006, UNIFEM reported that only 55 countries had presented their required annual progress reports. Global public policies in education (and other sectors as well) rarely include women's groups or feminist academics in the elaboration of objectives and procedures to reach them, with the exception perhaps of the participation of FAWE in the African region. However, to attain gender equality the participation of women through transformed basic rules, hierarchies, and practices of public institutions is necessary. Women therefore have to be present in public spaces where debates about a new governability are elaborated (Guzmán, 2003).

The move toward global economies, with rapid advance in technology as a facilitator, has created a hypercompetitive context for economic growth that has resulted in the intensification of hegemonic masculinity. It has resulted as well in the continued dominance of men in powerful institutions that prevail in the global economy such as the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the US Treasury (Kenway, 2005). Such conditions are not conducive to address gender and social justice. Although today many international institutions express an interest in poverty, their studies and policies rarely consider poor women, who constitute the poorest at every class, race, or ethnic level. On the other hand, when their interest is directed toward gender, they pay attention only to poor women. On the part of the state and its agencies, therefore, there is no proper consideration of how gender functions in society and how it intersects with social class beyond simply low-income women. Summarizing current global trends, Mazur notes that, "symbolic policies and non-decisions, policies without outputs, are a common type of feminist policy" (Mazur, 2002, p. 180).

National Interventions

The enactment of substantial educational policies containing a gender perspective has occurred in several industrialized countries, notably Australia, the UK, and the US. These policies have usually undergone revisions to expand objectives from the prohibition of discriminatory practices in admissions or provision of scholarships and loans to the creation of more girl-friendly environments to protection against sexual harassment and sexual orientation. The successful reform in Australia, characterized by several iterations of educational laws, has been attributed to joint action by teacher unions, teachers, feminist academics who had researched gender issues in education, and activists placed within the education system and other highly strategic places (Kenway, 2005).

Educational policies in developing countries increasingly consider the gender dimension. The prevailing pattern in these policies is to concentrate on universal access to basic education, which is acknowledged as a human right and therefore applicable also to women. These policies respond mostly to issues of access and retention, but do so through the use of statistics rather than a clear intervention to help women. As educational systems expand, women do benefit, usually as a side effect of overall expansion and changes in social mentalities, aided by, albeit contradictory, media messages. The main principle of these policies is equality of opportunity, which focuses

on equal access rather than on equal treatment within schools or on knowledge that will transform gender-domination patterns. As a concept, equality of opportunity faces limitations because it assumes fair rules while not considering that previous and current inequalities would have to be corrected if transformations in the social order of gender are to be attained. Equality of education, from a gender perspective, reduces concern for the ideological context of education, a reduction that tends to reproduce the social relations of gender (Blackmore, 1999). Consequently, many policies show limited attention to teacher training and to the development of new curricula.

A number of small interventions on gender and education have been put in place in several countries, while large-scale educational policies – characterized by greater investment and stability – are much more sensitive to issues of poverty than to gender. A major exception to this pattern is PROGRESA (now *Oportunidades*) in Mexico, which provides significant subsidies to poor families as part of an integrated approach that includes nutrition and health, and offers stipends slightly larger for girls than for boys in secondary school.² Another intervention of significance is the Female Secondary School Stipend Program in Bangladesh, which reached about 500,000 girls by 1995, and provides girls with small stipends to attend and complete their high school studies. Measures that have promoted girls' success in schooling also include the provision of nonformal education, such as those of Bangladesh's BRAC schools in small rural communities, which attempt to enroll at least 70% girls³; the Mahila Samakya program in India to help rural girls; and the Quetta Girls' Fellowship program in Baluchistan, Pakistan, that provides subsidies for private schools to offer basic education for low-income students.⁴ All these programs have succeeded in increasing girls' school attendance and completion, even though domestic divisions of labor have changed little. A cross-national study of three Latin American countries (Brazil, Costa Rica, and Peru) found that educational policies increasingly include gender issues (Stromquist, 2006b). These policies continue to do so primarily from the perspective of parity of access, although progress in the conceptualization of gender has emerged, particularly in Brazil. Overall, there tends to be little attention to the implementation of new practices regarding an empowered citizenship for women or to issues regarding one's body in a social and cultural context.

In part because of the very successful indoctrination that occurs through formal education, schooling is not grasped by the majority of people as an essential and profound setting for the transmission of ideological messages. Mazur (2002) notes that the content of feminist policies among Western governments does not often coincide with any particular current of feminist ideas in Western political thought, and that these policies tend to offer a fragmented incorporation, frequently incorporating liberal feminist ideas regarding the political representation by women and the adoption of women-friendly issues into the political process, and at times adopting radical feminist positions present in sexuality and violence politics (as happens in Sweden and Scotland). Mazur further contributes to the understanding of feminist policy by proposing a typology that identifies democratic representation, reproductive rights, family law, equal employment, and reconciliation of spouses. In her typology, Mazur includes "public service delivery policies", which she defines as those that exist in public services such as health, housing, education, and transportation. This view of education as merely a "public service" and not a major means by which ideologies are transmitted is fairly typical.

Theoretical Understandings of Gender Inequality⁵

Both first-wave feminism (culminating in women's right to vote in the early 1900s) and second-wave feminism (roughly from the 1960s to the present) saw women as a group with little differentiation among its members. Therefore, it theorized subordination and oppression as standing for *all* women. Third-wave feminism (perhaps since the mid-1980s and predominant in industrialized countries) sees major differences *among* women.

Initial arguments about the differential status and conditions of women were attributed to the socialization of men and women into complementary functions or social roles. This line of reasoning, broadly termed liberal feminism, assumed a simple correction in which the state played a major role enacting and enforcing antidiscriminatory laws to modify the sexual stereotyping of women and men. This perspective was later found limited because it perceived gender as acquired preferences and norms and avoided its examination as the expression of power of one group over another (Williams *et al.*, 2004). To a growing group of activists and some feminist academics, patriarchy (i.e., the diffuse ideology across most societies that accepted men's superiority, their cultural and economic privileges, and their responsibilities as heads of household) emerged as a more powerful explanation for the creation of arbitrary dichotomies between men and women, and between masculinity and femininity (Daly, 1978; Pateman, 1988). Connell (1995) introduced the notion of the patriarchal dividend to highlight the reality that all men benefit as a social group in terms of access to symbolic, social, political, and economic capital. The recognition of patriarchal ideologies also led to the studying of the household as a social setting that brings uneven burdens and rewards to its members.

Critical analysis, which assumed greater force in the 1990s, showed that "women" is not a unidimensional category, for gender intersects with other social markers (race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, and age among others) to create compounded ways of experiencing gender, what in 1997 Fraser termed "differences among females". From one perspective it could be asserted that women cannot be seen as a totalizing category. From another perspective it could be argued that gender differentiation occurs *regardless* of the experience of additional and multiple permanent social markers. As political and theoretical work has advanced, it is clear that there is a critical interface between gender and social class, as well as between gender and ethnicity, but that individual- and group-life outcomes cannot be reduced to social class or ethnicity alone. The theoretical understanding that gender inequality is located in a wider terrain of inequalities has had a concomitant challenge in practical action: how to recognize variability in the experience of gender without losing track of gender as a major form of inequality.

Toward the mid-1990s there emerged in industrialized countries a feminist interest in masculinity/masculinities and the education of boys. According to Kenway (2005), this emphasis has been less interested in human rights than in documenting the various manifestations of masculinity and their implications for boys and men as well as for girls and women. Such emphasis has also contributed to understanding gender violence and harassment in much more subtle ways. The description of multiple and intersecting differences and complex subjectivities was often the subject of research on gender and education. A parallel emergence of cultural feminism celebrated femaleness

(Kenway, 2005). In recent decades, gender discussions have moved away from the consideration of power and collective means to achieve change. Thus, while Molyneux (1985) spoke about the practical and strategic interests of women in the 1980s, the discourse moved in the 1990s to intersectionality and performativity, the former referring to the multiple intersection of social markers (e.g., being a woman, white, wealthy, and with a Ph.D.) and the second alerting us that gender is performed in everyday life by our micro-level actions – and thus the implication that gender can also be transformed at that level. Collins (2000), from her Afro-American experience, contested notions of individual acts of resistance and highlighted the weight of structural inequalities such as racism, capitalism, and sexism.

In contemporary feminist work, explanatory frameworks that deal with power, especially those that address the question of nondecision-making and the tendency of the mobilization of bias to block challenges to the prevailing allocation of values and interests – as proposed by Bachrach and Baratz (1970) – are no longer being used. Thus, there is a scarcity of studies concerned with the limited formulation of public policies to modify oppressive aspects of gender. Power, however, is present in all areas of decision-making and in the creation of systems of inclusion and exclusion (Lynch, 2001). Some scholars have challenged the nondecision-making framework and argued that it cannot be tested. In reply, Chilton (2005) notes that such a framework gives rise to two alternative hypotheses: a policy may have been either suppressed expressly or it was foolish to begin with and therefore was not considered at all. However, having a normative position on a given problem does enable researchers to pursue a given issue and trace the attention it receives in the policy arena.

Since the 1990s, postmodernism has brought a great deal of subtlety to the consideration of gender issues. Its main exponents are West and Zimmerman (1987) and Butler (1990). Among the notions proposed by postmodernism: identities are fluid and changing; power is diffused and relational, with micro-power playing crucial functions; performativity or how gender is constructed daily through social reenactment of practices and expectations; and metanarratives present truths from the perspective of those building them. Postmodern thought has been quite influential among educational researchers dealing with gender issues, although certainly there have been criticisms to it: moving away from binary and arbitrary categories such as woman and man sounds reasonable, except that doing so leaves the researcher or the policy-maker without a subject to refer to, much less to defend. Performativity places much emphasis on individual agency, when it is precisely at that level, in the face of powerful norms and the costs for alternative behavior, that people find it most difficult to act differently. Multiple and intersecting differences do create complex subjectivities, but if one carries this diversity to a logical conclusion, it serves more to paralyze than mobilize. Bradley (2004) contends that instead of looking at gender and gender and class, postmodern gender studies have delinked gender from social class and focused instead on sexuality, the body, representation, the media, identity, and nationality. Overall, postmodern ideas ignore the collective notion of the political, underestimate economic factors, and do not sufficiently consider the influence of the state, related social institutions, and diffuse structural forces. In short, postmodernism tends to take its diagnosis of gender problems as the solution itself.

Also, since the early 1990s, there has been a theoretical move toward issues of recognition; exponents of this thought include Fraser (1997, 1998) and Phillips (1999). Fraser (1998) has made major contributions to feminist theory by bringing up the distinction between redistribution and recognition, arguing that both a just share of economic resources and the recognition of distinct cultural identities must be involved in the elimination of gender differences in society. Redistribution in this case refers to material injustice, associated with economic exploitation, deprivation, and marginalization; recognition refers to cultural injustice, which in this case means women's cultural domination, denigration, and lack of recognition and respect. Implicitly, cultural injustice includes the nonrecognition or low recognition of feminine values. It also includes the failure to value properly the roles that women perform on a daily basis – those linked to caring and household management and to private sphere work in general. The notion of recognition seeks to rescue positive self-representations of one's own making (Lynch, 2001); in other words, recognition is the acknowledgment by society that women's attributes are valuable and that they have right to their own identities. Fraser (1995, 2000) cautions against an identity politics that is divorced from institutionalized status inequalities; both Fraser (1998) and Phillips (1999) underscore the need to link problems of recognition to problems of redistribution, or access to material goods and services. Kenway (2005) feels that perhaps today there is too much emphasis on aspects related to cultural injustice at the expense of material injustice. While there is much validity to the assertion that the recognition and the redistributive aspects of social justice are greatly pertinent to the understanding and modification of gender relations, this link has not been paid much attention in education although there has been some effort in several industrialized countries to address issues of difference and identity (Lynch, 2001) as well as interventions to eliminate sexual stereotypes from the curriculum. Educational policies have emphasized parity or equal participation of women and men in schooling. These policies have shown weak admission of the gendered character of society and schooling, and ignored feminist theories that deal with ideological issues such as patriarchy, material inequality, and identity-based conceptions. Implicitly, educational policies have been based on a theory of gender that relies on education as the means to foster the economic and social improvement of women regardless of underlying and pervasive historical and cultural forces. Consequently, educational policies have followed distribution (the provision of formal schooling) rather than redistribution (reallocation of resources) and recognition (reallocation of values and statuses) approaches to gender.

Countervailing Forces

As a movement that seeks major changes in the norms and beliefs that shape society, feminism has had to contend with several institutional and social responses against it. Significantly, prevailing feminist theories seldom conceptualize the emergence of groups that will fight against the introduction of changes in gender ideologies.

In the Latin American context, the Catholic Church has been decisive in preventing modifications in the curriculum in favor of introducing sex education and the treatment

of sexuality as a cultural practice with differential attributions and consequences for men and women. Its arguments have usually been that the family is under attack and that the questioning of the “natural differences between men and women” will lead to homosexuality (Bonder, 1998). Similar experiences have been documented in the Dominican Republic, Peru, Costa Rica, Chile, and Mexico. The Church’s tactic of removing certain issues from discussion resonates with the observations made decades ago by Bachrach and Baratz (1970), who introduced the idea that when the power of one set of interests or perspectives prevents fundamental questions from being introduced into the political agenda, citizens remain ignorant of such issues. In regions influenced by Islamic norms, women’s place is preponderantly in the domestic sphere.

A more diffuse but widespread force operating against gender issues has been that of globalization. By fostering the strategy of market-driven solutions and the role of individuals in moving ahead as opposed to a caring state or solidarity in the resolution of social problems, globalized competitiveness has fostered a climate that both exalts individualism and limits state participation in the consideration of social issues. Market-driven (neoliberal) policies, by reducing social services provided by the state, has shifted burdens to women (Subrahmanian, 2005; Kenway, 2005; González de la Rocha, 2006), an effect not recognized by state agencies. It could be argued that the subjugation of women, expressed in their ascribed role in the domestic space, is needed to subsidize costs for the elderly and the young through care, costs that the state, especially the neoliberal state, is not willing to pay (Odora-Hoppers, 2005). Despite these facts, many governments refuse to recognize that neoliberalism disadvantages women as the welfare state retreats. It has also been noted that many governments refuse to “grow conceptually” (Kenway, 2005, p. 50), failing to reflect on masculinity and femininity.⁶ The competition for survival or for one’s own livelihood has been sharply reflected in the slowing activism of women-led NGOs, whose levels of funding from external support have already diminished. Against the less-than-desirable funding of public schools by many governments, civil society has mobilized to demand greater state investment in education. In the case of Latin America, for instance, there is a substantial social movement in favor of public schooling of high quality. This movement has been quite visible in recent World Social Forums and yet it has little to say about *gender issues* in education. Consequently, today, civil society has been unable to exert sufficient pressure from civil society upon states to conduct themselves differently from a gender perspective.

In industrialized countries, following some limited support for a feminist agenda in education during the 1980s and 1990s, a backlash against girls’ education has emerged. This has been observed in Australia (Kenway, 2005), US (Stromquist, 2006a, Nash *et al.*, 2007), and the UK (Arnot *et al.*, 1999). Essentially, this backlash, known also as “the boys movement”, argues that there have been “gender wars in the classroom”, a result of which is that boys are suffering in terms of school access and performance. The complaint now is that all the attention to assist girls has resulted in a disregard of boys, who have been falling behind in terms of academic achievement and college completion. The arguments here move along the lines of boys and men in crisis rather than on the examination of the nature of gender cultures or the formation of pluralistic notions of masculinity; it tends them to see men as victims of feminist action

(Kenway, 2005). In the US, the backlash against girls and women has also taken the form of the “homosexual threat”, with sex education programs delivered by religious groups with federal government support to promote the notion of sexual abstinence and the labeling of masturbation as a “gateway drug” (Kendall, 2006). This backlash is also occurring in a climate that provides little attention to the differences in the labor market and political representation and their connection to gender ideologies. Several explanations for the reduced presence of men in education exist. Some observers assert, without evidence, that schools are becoming more girl- than boy-friendly. Others argue that it is easier for boys than for girls to join the labor market at lower levels of education, in such occupations as construction, mechanics, and transportation. Still others think that women tend to persist more in education because they realize they need more leverage to compete in the labor market. In any case, it seems that reindustrialization (in developed countries) and deindustrialization (in many developing countries) has affected working-class men, leaving many without work and without the traditional working-class culture that supported their masculinity (Kenway, 2005).

Conducting Institutional Change

The experience across several decades of efforts to improve school experience and content so that gender issues may be properly treated tells us change is possible but difficult. At present, the dominant school culture presses toward high performance, as manifested in individual achievement scores and, from those, in the production of school rankings. Efforts to address gender today face a hostile environment and the spaces where women can negotiate and even resist are increasingly more limited.

Various complementary strategies could be put in place, from mainstreaming gender in all educational functions, to building capacity among those in charge of implementing gender equity policies and programs, to altering educational materials and curricula to incorporate gender issues, to modifying school environments so that most of their physical spaces are conducive to supportive environments for the re-creation of gender along less polarized lines.

Gender mainstreaming is a comprehensive strategy that has been tried in very few countries (notably, South Africa⁷) and is one that demands solid commitment for it to work. Training is indispensable and it is clear that it cannot be limited to teachers. Principals, high-level education authorities, and policy-makers in general must have exposure to systematic knowledge about gender. Teacher training, crucial as it is, is seldom explicitly considered in policy documents, nor is it considered in the regulations that follow them. From a gender perspective, the absence of pre-service and in-service training is one of the major weaknesses of public policies.⁸

Gender-related knowledge should be incorporated into formal education via two main types of courses: those dealing with sex education and those dealing with social studies (including civic education). Such courses should consider themes common to all countries as well as those relevant to specific countries. For instance, students across the world should receive knowledge about sexuality, masculinity, gender, and responsible sexuality, but sexuality in serious matters such as HIV/AIDS should receive

major importance in the southern Africa region. In some countries, especially in rural areas, there are substantial problems with the sexual abuse of girls in schools, so this issue should receive clear attention. Civic education should include discussion of citizenship and how it still has many gendered features; in particular, it should foster the recognition of human differences and promote solidarity and collective action. More state-guided interventions would be needed to engage in tangible forms of affirmative action in favor of women's employment in administrative positions. Such policies should consider the complete cycle: preparation for the job, help at the entry phase, and assistance for proper performance. Most affirmative action policies at present limit themselves to entry.

Efforts to work on gender issues have been too centered on formal education and thus on young women to the detriment of adult women. Outside schools, away from the gaze of the state and the strictures of long-established bureaucracies, women's groups have been able to attain significant personal change and social modifications through self-organizing and applying pressure on the state to enact public policies in areas that involve domestic violence, health, jobs, and political representation. Women's and feminist organizations have been working on important gender issues through nonformal education and informal learning. Usually, these groups have been able to attain more changes than has formal education. As nonformal education serves adults, it incorporates women with varying degrees of experience in their private and public lives – experience that makes them receptive to transformative knowledge (Stromquist, 2006c).

Conclusions

The framing of a problem shapes its solution. At present, in different arenas and for different reasons, there is limited analysis of the gendered nature of social problems and only modest solutions designed to redress gender-based inequities. While the state in its national and international forums has been able to produce global agreements to work on gender and women's issues, these instruments have proven to be double-edged. On the positive side, the state has admitted that it should be responsible for its citizens, and that includes the provision of benefits and services to women. Global policies have brought salience to issues of gender and education and have led to the adoption of policies by governments that may otherwise have done little in that respect. On the negative side, the state has tended to co-opt the movement and its key concepts, and made its measures devoid of transformative purposes. State responses are often rhetorical and more recent global goals have even diminished previously achieved feminist agendas (as has occurred through several of the MDGs).

Discourses accomplish many tasks. They serve to present certain voices and by omission to silence others. Those most often presented become more legitimate and authoritative. Today, governments emit contradictory messages, extolling the values of individualism and competition and coupling them with declarations in favor of social inclusion and democracy building. Examined from a sociological perspective,

in which issues of content and power differentials are analyzed, it can be concluded that critical issues of the educational system are not treated. Public policies do not generally dismiss such issues as nonimportant after due consideration; rather, they tend to ignore controversial gender issues from the beginning. This occurs primarily by the failure of officials in governments and bilateral organizations to take the educational feminist literature into account. It also occurs through the co-opting of terms such as gender, gender equity, and women's empowerment without a serious effort to deal with such powerful concepts.

Further compounding the negative situation is the fact that the terrain of gender politics and education is not very active at present. Moreover, organized women rarely participate (nor claim to be included) in educational forums. It is difficult to receive a benefit from bodies in which women do not have a voice and when women's voices are too varied. It would seem, therefore, essential to encourage dialogue and alliances between the academy, civil society organizations, and sympathetic governmental units to stimulate greater attention to gender in education.

Our contemporary world is characterized by contradictions. Governments now call simultaneously for market-led development (assumed to take care of everything) and for human rights and democratization, especially in developing countries. The first, however, implies no state resources while the second makes them indispensable. While governments do express contradictory objectives at the discursive level, at the practical level, the emphasis is clearly on market-led efforts. Although public policies are being constantly enacted, the use of policy instruments such as material resources, legislation, equity plans and reports, and the establishment of gender machineries within the state lag well behind the use of symbolic politics.

The issue of gender in education has reflected considerable shifting in its ideological treatment. Among women-led NGOs, especially in developing countries, there is a concern with access to education and ensuring that gender parity is attained at all levels of education. Women's groups are concerned with the MDGs and would like to see them become a reality. Among women in academic spaces, gender is being conceptualized in forms that derive more from the humanities (philosophy and literary theories) than from the social sciences and that seek to understand gender in its full and elusive complexity rather than linked to making interventions to address the asymmetrical power consequences of gender. As postmodernism has become stronger in the academy, it has provided a bonus in the formulation of new ideas and perspectives without having solved old problems. In some ways, theory functions as a refuge from action. And, yet, as Lynch reminds us: "It is increasingly recognized that unless research on inequality develops some means of working towards an emancipatory goal for those with whom or about whom it speaks, there is a very real sense in which the research process becomes another tool of oppression." (Lynch, 2001, p. 243). Looking ahead, the real challenge for feminism lies in its ability to present a united front, both theoretical and practical, in its strategies to persuade men to join a struggle for ideological transformation, and in its ability to enter a negotiation for policy purposes that includes a recognition of the Other, one that nonetheless represents more than half of humanity.

Notes

- 1 Not surprisingly, pregnancy and motherhood are significant determinants among girls for dropping out of school.
- 2 By the end of 1999, PROGRESA covered 2.6 million families, or about 40% of all rural families and one ninth of all families in Mexico, operated in almost 50,000 communities, and represented an annual investment of \$777 million (or 0.2% of Mexico's GDP (Behrman & Skoufias, 2006). Its successor, Oportunidades, was reaching about 5 million families by 2005.
- 3 The BRAC schools, in existence since 1985, now number 40,000 and have served close to 8% of the primary school population in the country.
- 4 The Quetta program is small, reaching some 10,000 students in schools that comprise about 30% girls.
- 5 This section is a highly personal account of how theoretical issues have evolved. Several others are possible. The one I present emphasizes the trajectory within the educational sector.
- 6 Over the past decades, governments have come to recognize as problematic certain situations that had once been deemed normal and thus beyond legal action. These issues include child abuse (which was not recognized until 1965), domestic violence, sexual harassment, and marital rape.
- 7 In South Africa, success has been reported in setting up gender desks in teachers unions to achieve parity in salaries, intervening in curriculum development to employ a human rights framework (covering issues of sexual harassment), and promoting more women to management positions (Mannah, 2005).
- 8 Given low salaries and poor working conditions in many countries, teachers are generally mobilized by economic improvement rather than social transformation.

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COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, POSTMODERNITY AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH: HONOURING ANCESTORS

Marianne A. Larsen

The field of comparative education has been particularly slow to get ‘past the post’ (Cowen, 1996) and actively engage with the ideas of postmodernism.¹ Over 15 years ago, Rust, who was then the President of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), commented on our reluctance to consider the implications that new feminist, postmodern and post-structural theories present for comparative education. Rust (1991) claimed that postmodernism should be a central concept in our field’s discourse and called upon comparativists to

define more clearly the metanarratives that have driven our field [and] engage in the critical task of disassembling these narratives because they define what comparativists find acceptable, desirable, and efficient in education. At the same time, we must increase our attention to small narratives [and] the far-ranging Others of the world. (p. 625–626)

During the 1990s, we began to notice a tentative shift as a few creative comparativists engaged with the ideas of postmodernism. Ninnes and Burnett (2003) traced the slight increase in the number of citations of post-structural scholars in the comparative education literature during this period. Comparative education conference themes also began to reflect an interest in ideas and concepts associated with postmodernity (e.g., CIES Western Regional Meeting, 1998; World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, 2000). Some comparativists used the onset of the new millennium as an opportunity both to reflect upon our traditions and actively engage with new challenges that the ‘posts’ pose to our field (Cowen, 2000; King, 2000; Koehl, 2000; Mehta & Ninnes, 2000; Paulston, 2000). Since 2000, there have also been a few publications in the field with a clear postmodern bent, the most obvious being Ninnes and Mehta’s (2004) edited book *Re-imagining Comparative Education: Postfoundational Ideas and Applications for New Times*. We have also seen an increase, albeit a small one, in publications engaging with post-colonial theory (e.g., Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Hickling-Hudson, 2006).

However, these shifts have been limited ones and comparativists who explicitly position themselves as postmodern, post-colonial or post-structural researchers continue to remain on the fringes of our field. Arguably, the relatively late onset of this

debate within comparative education and relative lack of engagement with postmodernism over the last 15 years is surprising given the related interest in interpretivist and phenomenological research, and supposed commitment to valuing diversity, pluralism and heterogeneity within our field.

Despite the marginal position of postmodern thinking within comparative education, some comparativists have sounded alarm bells over the epistemological and methodological challenges that postmodernism poses for our research and the boundaries of our field (Crossley, 2000; Epstein & Carroll, 2005; Torres, 1997; Watson, 1998; Welch, 2003). One critic noted that as a result of these and past methodological debates, our discipline has lost some of its credibility and become “rootless and directionless” (Watson, 1999, p. 240). Others have gone so far as to decry the perils and dangers of postmodern thinking, claiming that postmodern comparativists are guilty of perpetuating a hegemonic and totalising discourse that is “plausibly the most serious challenge ever to boundary stability” that our field requires (Epstein & Carroll, 2005, p. 63). These critics would concur with Crossley’s earlier contention that our field has responded too directly to changing disciplinary fashions, with the result that the stages of its own development indicate a rejection of past practices, rather than a “cumulative advancement” (Crossley, 2000, p. 327).

I disagree with these claims. Contrary to what some of these critics claim, postmodern thought within comparative education is not (yet) a “force to be reckoned with”; nor have we been witnessing extraordinary growth (Epstein & Carroll, 2005, p. 64) in postmodern or post-structural thinking within our field. Further, I agree with Rust and others who believe there is room for a wide range of approaches within our field. Specifically, as a historian, I am particularly interested in how we can reinvent or rethink the role of historical research within our field to include the ideas of postmodernism, post-colonialism and post-structuralism.

What I intend to do in this chapter is explore three key ideas. In the first section, I challenge the claim that historical research has been waning in our field since the early days of historical comparative education studies. I then turn my attention to the value of historical research within the field and finally to the specific value of a postmodern form of historical research for comparative education, drawing upon some of the ideas and concepts of the French social philosopher Michel Foucault. Finally, I believe that the work of Foucault provides us with ways to engage with postmodernism, shorn of some of the excesses its critics so readily point out. In this respect, we can engage with existing possibilities to rethink historical comparative education research, through a critical, reflective, multi-interpretive postmodern lens.

A Discontinuous History of Historical Research in Comparative Education

Contemporary comparativists have noted their concern about the paucity of historical research within the field since the 1950s (Kazamias, 2001; Sweeting, 2005). Indeed, this would appear at first glance to be the case. A study of research strategies in comparative education from 1955 to 1994 revealed that there were only a small number of journal articles which relied on historiography and historical research. Studies based

on literature reviews, history and comparative methodology dominated in the field in the 1960s, but historical studies and literature reviews decreased significantly in the 1980s and 1990s (Rust *et al.*, 1999).

The authors of this study conclude that very few comparative education researchers note where their work is located within the methodological debates that characterised the field in the 1960s and 1970s. They suggest that contemporary authors may be unaware of those debates because they have little historical sense of the field to which they belong or contribute (Rust *et al.*, 1999). This shift has caused one commentator to note that our field now suffers from “historical amnesia” (Watson, 1999, p. 235). These concerns speak to the necessity of having histories of our field written and available for both new and more well-established comparative education scholars.

Some existing histories provide an overview of comparative education research and emphasise the centrality of historical perspectives and methods in the field’s early days (Altbach & Kelly, 1986; Crossley & Broadfoot, 1992; Epstein, 1994; Sweeting, 1999). These accounts are primarily written as chronological histories of the development of the field along an evolutionary path. However, as I argue later in this chapter, there is much to be said for a history that emphasises beginnings, not origins; small stories, not meta-narratives; and discontinuity over evolutionary principles. Within our own history, there has been considerable chaos, discontinuity and non-linearity, which this following short account of the role of historians and historical research within comparative education will attempt to illustrate.

Where one starts one’s history is an act of interpretation. In effect, as historians we are always constructing the past through the narrative strategies that we adopt, usually intuitively, to communicate our findings. Like other comparative historians of education, I choose to start with Sadler, whose words at the turn of the last century clearly demonstrated the need for comparativists to take into account factors beyond the school in order to understand education:

In studying foreign systems of Education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside. ... A national system of Education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties, and “of battles long ago”. (Sadler, 1979, pp. 49–50)

After Sadler’s 1900 speech emphasising the need to take historical contexts into consideration, there is a long 30-year break until the emergence of works by comparative educationists who were either historians or who explicitly integrated a historical perspective into their research. Individuals such as Kandel, Hans, Mallison, Schneider and Ulich approached comparative education from a contextual framework, which included among other factors the role that history played in the development of educational systems. However, it is important to point out the differences in how each of these comparativists approached the study of history. Schneider, for example, rejected the national case studies favoured by Kandel and Hans, emphasising instead the notion of historical immanence, a kind of ideational and institutional cumulative tendency possessed by societies (Schneider, 1961).

Kandel, Hans and Ulich can be located within the ‘forces and factors’ tradition of comparative education. They wrote not only about past events, but identified antecedent factors and forces that influenced educational forms, policies, and practices, and ‘determined’ the evolutionary development of educational systems. The historian Hans concluded that historical background (complemented by other approaches) is indispensable to any interpretation of comparative data (Hans, 1959).

Despite claims to the contrary, historical comparative research did not wane during the 1960s search for a scientific comparative education. Like Hans, Bereday used history as an analytic tool to understand contemporary events. On the other hand, rather than seeking to uncover historical causes from which explanation and prediction could be derived, Holmes used history pragmatically through his problem-solving method. In stark contrast to Holmes’ positivist position, King’s work during that same period seemed decidedly postmodern for its time. In 1958, he wrote:

In much present day examination of technological, social and educational development we often suppose that a continuous growth or historical ‘evolution’ has taken place. We also tend to suppose that different levels or stages correspond fairly closely to chronological periods. We often forget that at any one given time of considerable change several distinct educational idioms or assumptions may co-exist for a considerable time. These are not always compatible with one another. They may be in direct conflict. (King, 1958, p. 169)

Although King contended that most comparative histories assumed continuous growth and progress in educational development, C. Arnold Anderson noted only 2 years later, in 1961, that extreme historicism was on the wane, as comparativists were beginning to reject the unilinear evolutionary orientation which had characterised our early days. Yet, in that very same year, Ulich’s broad, evolutionary historical analysis *The Education of Nations: A Comparison in Historical Perspective* appeared. The contradictions within our history of historical comparative research are evident here: ambiguities and inconsistencies in how comparative educationists approached the study of the past.

Other historical accounts were published in the 1960s and 1970s, reflecting again the diversity of historical approaches within the field. We witnessed the publication of Anderson and Bowman’s (1965) *Education and Economic Development*, and Kazamias’ (1966) *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey*. Numerous other broad-based meta-narratives of historical research appeared soon after by authors such as Archer, Foster and Zohlberg, Husén, King, Paulston, Ringer and Whitehead, attesting to the continuing interest in history within comparative education research, even during the ‘science of comparative education’ days.

Another break occurred in the 1970s with the emergence of dependency, world systems and neo-Marxist theorising, which led to further historical studies, positioned apart from previous accounts in the field. During this period, comparative historical work shifted to include research on colonialism and cultural imperialism. Shifting forward 30 years we see both connections to these studies and marked differences in theoretical perspectives with the emergence of recent post-colonial research, which has also been framed within historical contexts.

Although there was a decrease in comparative education journal articles from historical perspectives throughout the 1970s, we would do ourselves a disservice to ignore the many thorough histories of education written by comparativists and comparative accounts of education written by historians from the 1970s through to today. Further, it is important to point out the historical studies by comparative educationists published in history journals and overlaps between those who worked within the field of comparative education and those within the discipline of history (Schuster, 2003). Indeed, one of my own comparative historical studies of education was published in a history journal (Larsen, 2002) and Cowen (2002) chose the journal *History of Education* to expand upon his ideas about time as a key ‘unit idea’ of comparative education.

Although there have been a number of recent calls for the reintegration and reinvention of historical studies within comparative education research (Kazamias, 2001; Sweeting, 2005), I would argue that there was never an end to history within our field. I have presented a brief overview of some historical comparative education studies over the last 75 years. Most of these reflected the dominant paradigm of historical research focusing on evolutionary principles, grand narratives and seeking to uncover the truth about the past. However, they approached their topics with varying perspectives and our own historiography of comparative historical research has been characterised by its discontinuities, differences and uneven development.

Rationale for Historical Research in Comparative Education

There are numerous reasons to continue our rich tradition of historical research within comparative education. Addressing the historical contexts in educational policy research can lead to more sensitively refined recommendations for the improvement of educational systems. Historical analyses can also better enable us to understand the educational systems under study. Lastly, and I would argue most significantly, historical research allows us to move towards developing a better understanding of ourselves and the world.

The use of the historical method within comparative education by individuals such as Kandel, Schneider, Hans and Ulich was meant to increase understanding of the development and present status of educational systems. Hans (1959) contended that the differences of denominational attitudes, national aspirations or what he called ‘national character’ are located deep in the past and sometimes subconsciously determine our present. Only through historical investigation can we “bring them to the surface, illuminate their potency in the cultural lives of nations and make comparative education really educative” (p. 307).

Hans was following Kandel’s lead in adopting a historical-functional approach to the study of comparative education. Kandel argued that comparativists must examine the “causes” that explain differences between national systems of education. In the introduction to his 1933 book, he wrote:

In order to understand, appreciate and evaluate the real meaning of the educational system of a nation, it is essential to know something of its history and

traditions, of the forces and attitudes governing its social organization, of the political and economic conditions that determine its development. (p. xix)

Although Kandel's 'forces and factors' approach was intended to facilitate greater understanding of educational systems, his approach was also melioristic (Kazamias, 1971). Such has been the case with most of the comparative-historical research even up until today. In this light, comparative educationists have been called upon by international agencies and different levels of governments to suggest improvements for educational systems. Most of this research, however, is void of historical context.

While most policy research faces financial and time constraints, resulting in little in-depth, historical analysis, an argument can be made that we need historical approaches in order to develop policies that are sensitive to local cultural, social, and economic concerns. In this light, Watson argues that "comparative historical experience of what has been tried elsewhere and with what success and failure ... is rarely called upon in policy recommendations, often with depressing consequences. ... There is a real challenge for comparative education to re-establish its unique role in providing comparative historical insights for future policy action" (Watson, 1999, p. 235).

While there might be value in reintegrating historical methods into comparative education research for problem-solving, policy purposes, others have noted the problems with this direction. We need to be cautious about blending the descriptive, 'what is' approach with a 'what ought to be' approach. The comparative education historian Kazamias (1971) suggests that before one embarks upon the 'ought', one should, as objectively and as dispassionately as possible, investigate what the problem is. Thus, the historian's task should not be to prescribe, but rather to describe and illuminate certain phenomena.

While comparative education has been used as a tool of explanation, prediction and scientific enquiry, I agree that our field should be more interpretive. We can, and I would argue, ought to use history to illuminate particular events, contextualise analyses, and most importantly to understand and problematise not only educational practices and systems, but the world itself. Indeed, if comparative education is to move away from prescriptive policy proposals to genuine understanding or *Verstehen*, then we need to reconsider Sadler's idiographic approach (Epstein, 1994). We need to shift beyond the idea that the task of comparative research is to understand educational systems to thinking about how our work allows us to "read the world" (Cowen, 2000, p. 334). In this respect, there is much to learn from historical research. As Bloch (1964) wrote in *The Historian's Craft*, history is animated not by the love of the past, which is antiquarianism, but by a passion for the present. It is this "faculty of understanding the living [that] is, in very truth, the master quality of the historian" (p. 43). The question is how can this be done while taking into account the criticisms, which are outlined next, that postmodernism has launched against traditional historical research.

Postmodern Critiques of History

Postmodernism is very much a contested terrain between those who would define and occupy it, and those who would discredit or demolish it. The discipline of history has been

actively engaging with these debates for many decades now. As early as the 1930s the discipline of history faced challenges to its commitment to objectivity from progressive US historians Beard and Becker who argued that since each individual had his/her own version of history, history functioned as a cultural myth rather than as an objective account of the past. They claimed that the ideal of a definitive, objective reconstruction of the past was chimerical. Facts did not present themselves directly to the historian. Rather, the historian picked and chose among them, guided by his ideological presuppositions, making it impossible for historians to escape the dominance of practical problems of the present in determining their interests, values and presuppositions. This relationship to the present made historians unable to achieve an objective approach to the past or to ever know it as it actually was (Beard, 1983; Becker, 1983).

The debate over the scientific status of the study of history continued among philosophers throughout the United States and Britain throughout the 1940s and 1950s. The discussion re-emerged in 1988 with the publication of Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*, in which he concluded that objectivity is not only a delusion but also an essentially confused concept (Novick, 1988).

Into the twenty-first century, history's attempt to follow Herodotus' goal, "to record the truth about the past" continues to be challenged by the discourses of postmodernism, post-structuralism, and post-colonialism. Historians have responded in different ways to postmodern incursions into their field. Some have considered postmodern challenges as threatening the very existence of history as an intellectual discipline and consider themselves defenders of history against the relativist onslaught of postmodernism (e.g., Himmelfarb, 1997; Roberts, 1998). Others, while considering postmodern contributions to the field of history, maintain a commitment to history's objective search for truth (e.g. Appleby, Hunt & Jacob, 1995; Evans, 1997). Lastly, there have been a few historians and historiographers who have, to varying degrees, embraced postmodernism as providing exciting new opportunities for their discipline (e.g., Ankersmit & Kellner, 1995; Berkhofer, 1997; Poster, 1997).

Some postmodernists have identified the end of history with the end of meta-narratives and traditional ways of knowing. Foucault, Baudrillard, Lyotard, Derrida, Deleuze, Barthes, Bourdieu and to some degree even Lacan and Althusser all demonstrate in their work a sense that modernity is coming to an end and that something new is emerging (Poster, 1997). In this respect, unlike modernists such as Fukayama, who also proclaim the end of history, they are expressing a postmodern or post-structuralist 'end of history' argument. In the contemporary field of historiography, Jenkins (1997) epitomises this approach. In his introduction to the *Postmodern History Reader*, he writes:

[T]he whole modernist History/history ensemble now appears as a self-referential, problematical expression of interests, an ideological – interpretative discourse without any non-historicized access to the past as such. In fact history now appears to be just one more foundationless, positioned expression in a world of foundationless, positioned expressions. (1997, p. 6)

Jenkin's argument is not so much an end of history as such, but an end of grand narrative history and the more familiar history produced by academic historians.

Others who have not gone so far as to proclaim the end of history, view the discipline as fundamentally flawed. Some have critiqued traditional or 'normal' history's attempt to provide some kind of true representation and understanding of the past (Berkhofer, 1997). Indeed, in the place of traditional history, postmodernism posits that the past cannot be the object of historical knowledge, or more specifically that the past is not and can never be the referent of historical statements and representations.

Like traditional historians, new social historians, including the *Annales* school, assume the historian as a stable knower of an objective world, whereby truth is viewed as the unmediated relation of the historian to the past. Poster's (1997) critique of the work of both 'old' political-intellectual history and 'new' social history demonstrates how both still seek to attain the truth about the real. Poster, like other postmodern historians, draws largely upon the ideas of the French historian Foucault who provided a comprehensive critique of the discipline of history.

What Can We Learn From Foucault?

Foucault critiques the discipline of traditional or what he interchangeably calls 'total' or 'continuous' history for focusing on overarching principles which govern the development of an epoch; its concern with notions such as evolution, development, spirit of the age or the mentality of a civilisational tradition; the emphasis upon historical continuity, series, periodisation; and the conception of time in terms of totalisation. The project of total history, according to Foucault, is:

one that seeks to reconstitute the overall form of a civilization, the principle – the material or spiritual – of a society, the significance common to all the phenomena of a period, the law that accounts for their cohesion – what is called metaphorically the 'face' of a period. (1972a, p. 8)

Furthermore, the teleological focus of total history means that it attempts to provide a direct link between origins and the present in order to legitimise the present as a continuation of the past.

The historical approach known as archaeology was developed by Foucault in a number of his earlier writings as an alternative to total history (Foucault, 1972a, b, 1986). The concept of discourse, defined by Foucault (1972b) as systems of statements whose organisation is regular and systematic, consisting of all that can be said and thought about a particular topic, as well as who has permission to speak and with what authority, is central to archaeology. Archaeology involves describing recurrent statements, understood as units or parts of knowledge, found in the archive related to a topic or theme.

The process of examining texts for recurrent statements on a particular topic or theme is one aspect of the archaeological method. Archaeological investigation then involves determining whether or not a statement has fulfilled a set of conditions that allow it to be considered an instance of a particular discourse. These conditions consist of the rules, relations, and patterns that connect, relate, and divide what can be said

and repeated about a topic (e.g., in *The Order of Things*, Foucault (1986) attempts to analyse the rules of formation that regulated the emergence of the human sciences). Description can therefore allow the historian as archaeologist to establish an open, theoretical model to understand the rules, relations, and procedures between and amongst statements. This highlighting of the way that knowledge is organised or systematised makes discourse an analytic tool.

In analysing a group of statements unified by a common theme, archaeological research does not attempt to smooth over the apparent differences, aberrations, and inconsistencies between statements. Foucault cautions that the archaeologist should not force unity and coherence on a group of statements. Rather, archaeology involves the process of studying forms of division and dispersion. Foucault (1972a) explains how this process is not an attempt to locate the hidden meaning of contradictions within documents:

In archaeological analysis, contradictions are neither appearances to be overcome, nor secret principles to be uncovered. They are objects to be described for themselves, without any attempt being made to discover from what point of view they can be dissipated, or at what level they can be radicalized and effects become causes. (p. 151)

From this it is possible to see that archaeology involves the dual process of attempting to locate unity and cohesion, while simultaneously destabilising that same unity. Discontinuities, divisions and breaks are highlighted, opening up spaces for a more careful analysis of how a series of statements becomes a recognisable object of discourse. Discontinuity, as I have tried to demonstrate in the above account of historical research in comparative education, becomes a problem to be investigated. Foucault (2000) explains:

History becomes “effective” to the degree that it introduces discontinuity into our very being – as it divides our emotions, dramatizes our instincts, multiplies our body and sets it against itself. Effective history ... will uproot its traditional foundations and relentlessly disrupt its pretended continuity. (p. 380)

As events, discontinuities are the moments when the normal course of things is interrupted. Unlike the traditional or social historian who aims to place and order events in a linear, continuous pattern in order to understand historical laws or phenomena, archaeological research leaves these breaks exposed.

Archaeology points to the specificity of each moment or period in time. Each historical period is viewed as different from our own, but not necessarily better or worse than the present. Foucault demonstrated this in his book *Madness and Civilization*, reversing the traditional narrative of madness and its treatment and showing how the contemporary situation is neither better nor worse than the past. In his examination of the ways in which the treatment of the mad has changed, he looked not for some original essential meaning of madness, but how the idea of madness was reinvented over specific times and places in history for different purposes.

Each moment in time is considered within its own specificity, and described without attempting to connect it in a linear, developmental pattern to that which went before and that which followed. This process, according to Foucault (2000), entails cultivating “the details and accidents that accompany every beginning” so that the historian can “recognize the events of history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories, and unpalatable defeats” (p. 369–92).

In emphasising the specificity of each moment in time and place, historical events are described as contingent, meaning that the emergence of any particular event was not necessary, but only one possible result of a whole series of complex relations between other events. Thinking causally privileges determinism where the existence of certain factors, in and of themselves, leads directly to or determines certain outcomes. With this type of thinking comes the correlative focus on predictability and inevitability. For if it can be determined that certain events inevitably cause or determine other events to unfold, then the historian, as social scientist, can predict the likelihood or probability of a similar event occurring if the correct conditions are met. In many respects, this form of thinking has characterised much comparative education research, especially within its international and policy-oriented manifestations.

An examination of conditions rather than causes eliminates the inevitable nature of how events unfold over time and place. Understanding how a certain discourse arose out of series of conditions means that there is nothing necessarily inevitable about the unfolding of historical events. This type of historical research is less certain and predictable, and acknowledges the possibility of a range of different ideas and practices emerging at any one time and place. In thinking about history in terms of conditions of possibility, the concern is not to explain why individuals start to think, speak, and write about educational topics or themes in new ways. Rather, the focus of attention shifts to *how* it became possible for new ideas and practices to emerge and new truths to be invented.

Here we can speak about the productive power of discourse to construct truths about, for example, educational practices, systems and actors. This conception of discourse moves away from a linguistic approach that concentrates solely on language as constitutive of truth towards an analysis of the relationship between disciplinary practices (technologies) and disciplines (bodies of knowledge). Discourse as a practice creates objects, and by creating them, determines their nature. In other words, objects determine our behaviour, but our practice determines its own objects in the first place. Given that there are no things, only social practices, we need to understand the sense in which language, or discourse speaks through us.

The notion of practice is not mysterious or vague. Foucault, according to the historian Paul Veyne (1997), attempts to see people’s practices as they really are: things that people do. The difference is that he speaks about practice “precisely” and does not say:

I have discovered a sort of historical unconscious, a preconceptual agency, that I call practice or discourse, and that provides the real explanation for history. Ah yes! but how am I going to manage to explain this agency itself and its trans-

formations?” No: he is talking about the *same thing we talk about*, for example, the practical conduct of a government; only he shows it as it really is, by stripping away the veils. (p. 156)

Ideas are only correlatives of corresponding practices, and it is this shift to the notion of practice and the effects of discourse, which is so powerful in Foucault's histories.

Finally, Foucault's archaeological history is a 'history of the present' not because understanding an ideal present is what stimulates investigation, but because history can be used as a means for diagnosing the present. Understanding of the present as historical can be best achieved through a process of making the past strange. Perhaps the best rationale for undertaking historical research then is that it allows us to disturb and shake up that which we recognise as given. Foucault (1980) has stated that when we use history, we must not allow this history to end, to rest comfortably in its strangeness, but rather we should attempt "to use it, to deform it, to make it groan and protest" (p. 54).

Foucault challenges our preconceptions about history and historical research, presenting histories that often confront our taken-for-granted assumptions about the past. The present appears that much more unsettling, as Foucault attempts not to demonstrate the similarities between the past and the present, but the differences between the two. In his work, he seeks to isolate past moments of difference or strangeness to destabilise our present moment and "undercut the sense of naturalness and legitimacy that surrounds present-day customs" (Poster, 1997, p. 28).

It may seem difficult to grasp Foucault's concepts such as discourse, archaeology and genealogy because they are so unfamiliar and removed from the normal procedures of the discipline of history. Yet, as Poster (1997) explains,

when the veils of unfamiliarity are stripped away, however briefly, one can see that his project does make sense and does offer a new notion of what intellectual history could be about. The texts of the past can be viewed without resort to the subject and can reveal a level of intelligibility all their own. The problem of reading Foucault is not that his writing is abstract, or that his style is elusive ... It is rather that he speaks from a place that is new and strange and perhaps threatening (p. 143)

Conclusion

Like the discipline of history, the field of comparative education requires new cognitive maps, methodologies and strategies to get us through the next century. Paulston (2000) has claimed that we ought to become social cartographers, to enable us to reflexively step out of or into different reality constructs or ways of seeing. Those comparativists, he writes, "who learn to negotiate ... the new spaces of knowledge ... will have unprecedented opportunities to imagine and help to shape an interactive postmodern comparative and international education beyond our understanding today" (p. 363).

We have much to learn from the variety of historical approaches that former and contemporary comparativists have deployed in their research. We also have much to learn from historians who have actively engaged with the challenges that the 'posts' pose to their discipline. And in particular, I would argue that Foucault provides a provocative and powerful postmodern approach to historical studies that would enhance comparative education research. Indeed, Foucault's historical, methodological, and epistemological writings are so compelling because they provide a theoretical bridge between ideas and practices, and new ways of understanding the past and our present.

Within the wider discussions about the future of comparative education, I contend that there are multiple methodological and epistemological choices for all comparative researchers. At the 2000 CIES conference, sitting side by side on the same panel, Rolland Paulston encouraged us to use our imaginations to envision new spacial, visual and discursive forms of truth, while Andreas Kazamias proclaimed that we needed to reinvent the historical in comparative education to better understand the world. While one may initially conclude that these two approaches are divergent, this is not entirely the case. We have much to gain from challenging the barriers that limit wider debate and dialogue. Comparative education could benefit from imaginatively adopting the pluralistic stance, multi-interpretive strategies and general incredulity towards totalising meta-narratives that postmodernism brings to the social scientific tradition.

As noted earlier, there are some who express reservations about the shifts that have been made within our field towards postmodernism. They argue that in embracing new, popular trends we threaten the stability of our field's boundaries and reject our best past practices. However, our field's boundaries have never been stable and fixed and there is no reason why postmodernism should force us to abandon our best practices, including historical comparative work. We can continue historical research, but need not return to the modernist-inspired educational histories of our past. Why not risk undertaking historical comparative education research within a postmodern framework? As Cowen (1999) has noted, "rather than an acceptable invitation to escape from it into the ludic or nihilistic, the interstitial or the despairing ... the literature on postmodernism and postmodernity reminds us forcibly of the possibilities of tragedy and chaos and invites us to step away from our earlier confidence about the possibilities of knowing, with certainty." (p. 80)

Foucault's historical and methodological work provides a cutting edge and crucial means by which we can engage in historical research. For example, by adopting the strategies of archaeological research, we can better understand the discursive effects of classroom, school and community practices on students, their parents and teachers. Within a postmodern framework, there is also much more to learn from post-colonial theorising to problematise the legacies of colonialism. Moreover, identifying the ways that statements produce subject identities can assist in historical research on the construction of gender, race and the 'Other' within educational contexts.

Foucault can help us rethink how we have seen the past and its relations to our present, rather than providing us with prescriptive answers about what to do in the future. Foucault's work, according to Rorty, can be read as "exhibiting the unexpected and painful consequences of our ancestors' attempts to do the right thing, rather than

as explaining the inadequacy of our ancestors' concepts to the great big object they and we are trying to grasp." (1995, p. 225)

In writing about ancestors, Epstein and Carroll (2005) assert that the postmodern incursions into our field are an "abuse" to the historical ancestors of comparative education, and that certain postmodern thinkers are nothing more than "abusing our ancestors". I could not disagree more with their conclusions. Proposing that we engage with postmodern ideas and concepts is no more an abuse to our ancestors than is the suggestion that we engage with ethnographic research or any other research methods that were foreign to early comparativists. Furthermore, it is an overstatement to accuse postmodernists such as Foucault of abusing us. Indeed, by allowing ourselves as comparative education researchers to consider the potentials of postmodernism in our historical research we honour our ancestors who drew upon a multiplicity of approaches in their research and we honour those postmodern ancestors who dared to do history differently.

Note

1. Postmodernism is a slippery concept, making it difficult, if not impossible, to define. Briefly, I am concerned here primarily with postmodernism as representing the idea that Western society has undergone a major shift, which has been characterised by a repudiation of the Enlightenment project of progress, evolution and commitment to reason. Postmodernism seeks to replace the grand narratives of modernity with a multiplicity of discourses, a questioning of the legitimacy of knowledge and power, along with a critique of the idea of truth. Lyotard's (1984) statement that postmodernism is an expression of "incredulity towards meta-narratives" (p. xxiv) best exemplifies this stance. I use the term postmodernism throughout the chapter as an umbrella under which fall the related concepts: post-colonialism and post-structuralism.

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ASPECTS OF EDUCATIONAL TRANSFER

David Phillips

There has always been much agonising and disagreement about the definition, purpose, and methods of comparative education. But there might be general agreement on one thing, namely, that among the aims of comparative inquiry in education should be the intention to learn from the foreign experience, to identify aspects of educational provision ‘elsewhere’ that might serve as lessons for the ‘home’ situation, that might be ‘borrowed’ or ‘copied’, ‘emulated’, ‘imported’, ‘appropriated’ – the vocabulary is both diverse and in various ways problematic – that might result, in Michael Sadler’s words, ‘in our being better fitted to understand our own [system]’ (Sadler, 1900, in Higginson, 1979).

The idea that policy and practice might be ‘borrowed’ or ‘transferred’ from other locations has, then, been a continuing theme – both enthusiastically embraced and dismissed as a simplistic notion – since the early days of comparative inquiry in education.

In this chapter I shall be concerned with ways in which notions of policy transfer have developed and in turn been analysed over the past 200 years or so. I shall refer to ‘policy borrowing’ as meaning the ‘conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another’ (Phillips & Ochs, 2004a, p. 774). ‘Borrowing’ is therefore seen as a deliberate, purposive phenomenon in educational policy development. Borrowing in this sense is a part of ‘educational transfer’, which can be seen to cover a range of possibilities for the movement of ideas and practices (see Figure 2).

First, I shall consider the place of borrowing in the work of some key figures in the development of comparative education since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then I shall describe some examples of borrowing over a long historical period and in various contexts. Next, I shall sketch some of the most important recent research into this general field of inquiry in comparative education. Finally I shall look at some present and future developments.

Borrowing

Marc-Antoine Jullien in his *Plan for Comparative Education* of 1816/17 had the implicit aim of identifying practices that might be transferable from one system to others:

One could judge with ease those [European nations] which are advancing; those which are falling back, those which remain stationary; what are, in each country, the deficient and ailing sections; what are the causes of internal defects which one would have noticed; or what are the obstacles to the ascendancy of religion, ethics, and social advancement, and how these obstacles can be overcome; finally, which parts offer improvements capable of being transposed from one country to another, with modifications and changes which circumstances and localities would determine suitable. (Fraser, 1964, p. 37)

This curiously modern ambition reminds us, incidentally, of the information collected in the OECD's *Education at a Glance* surveys and of the use that might be made of the PISA data.

If we jump ahead a few decades we can see much in the work of Matthew Arnold as Inspector of Schools that would lend itself to notions of borrowing. In his various writings it is clear that he found a lot to commend in what he observed in educational provision in Prussia and in France especially. But he was sanguine about the use that might be made of his findings:

'I hope with time to convince people,' he wrote in a letter of April 1868, 'that I do not care the least for importing this or that foreign machinery, whether it be French or German, but only for getting certain English deficiencies supplied'. (Murray, 1997, p. 240)

Arnold's scepticism about educational 'import' is mirrored in a comment by the Oxford academic and one-time Rector of Lincoln College Mark Pattison, who wrote a report on education in Germany for a government commission in 1861 (Arnold had reported on France at the same time):

The utility of ... study of a foreign system does not depend on the question: Are the German primary schools or training colleges better than our own? ... But the same difficulties in the way of national education with which we have to contend have to be met in the several countries of Germany, only under conditions so altered and infinitely varied as to afford a most instructive lesson. ... In this country we are little likely to err on the side of a hasty imitation of foreign modes, or to adopt a usage from a neighbouring country, forgetful that its being successful there is no guarantee that it will adapt itself to our climate. ... Much rather is everyone, who has any information on foreign systems to give, called upon to come forward with it, not as precedent to be followed, but as material for deliberation. (Pattison, 1861, vol.4, p. 68)

And no brief survey of the early comparativists and their views on borrowing would be complete without a reminder of Michael Sadler's much-quoted speech of 1900:

In studying foreign systems of Education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and

govern and interpret the things inside. We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of Education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties, and “of battles long ago”. It has in it some of the secret workings of national life. It reflects, while it seeks to remedy, the failings of the national character. By instinct, it often lays special emphasis on those parts of training which the national character particularly needs. Not less by instinct it often shrinks from laying stress on points concerning which bitter dissensions have arisen in former periods of national history. (Sadler, 1900, in Higginson, 1979, p. 49)

So, between Jullien and Sadler, the aims had shifted from reasoned faith in the notion of educational transfer to balanced scepticism about the possibilities (emphasising in particular problems of context) and an explicit desire to use the foreign example as a means by which a ‘home’ system might be better understood. The understanding thus engendered would then lead to reform which would take into account the home context. The foreign example could be used as an *argument* in the policy discussion, as Zymek demonstrated in a seminal study of 1975, a theme later developed by Gonon in 1998.

Transfer was a topic frequently addressed by some of the leading middle-to-late twentieth-century comparativists, among them Brian Holmes and Edmund King.

Holmes (1965), outlining his ‘problem approach’, talks of ‘cultural borrowing’ and of the force of comparative inquiry as an instrument in educational reform. In attempting ‘the anticipation or prediction of the outcomes of policies’ the comparativist will want to identify “the universal, vaguely perceived problem, to intellectualise (or analyse) it in general terms, and then to reveal its specific features in selected contexts” (1965, pp. 34–35). The revelation of such features would not result in their being directly borrowed but rather would facilitate prediction on the basis of potential reform which would draw on an analysis of them. In a later study Holmes asks if ‘selective cultural borrowing is theoretically justified and practically feasible’ (1981, p. 33). He sees value in ‘ideal-typical models in the light of which a clash of cultures can be analysed’ and argues for “appropriate normative patterns, which will permit us to weigh all the fruits and educative values of innovation and which will enable us to predict in known circumstances the outcomes of policy” (1981, pp. 33–34). Implicit in Holmes’s approach is a rejection of the methods associated with attempts at cultural borrowing unless the processes involved assist in the identification of general principles on which prediction might be based.

Edmund King disagreed with Holmes on the subject of prediction, preferring instead to think in terms of hypotheses. The very way that King would formulate problems indicates a fundamentally different approach. In writing of borrowing he talks in terms of ‘living examples ... elsewhere, which might be in comparable circumstances. Or they might give some indication of why expected results did not follow apparently comparable practices’ (King, 1968, p. 87). The foreign example thus helps to explain,

to inform and to provide a basis for speculation rather than forms of scientifically arrived-at prediction.

Historical Perspectives

As I have indicated, it would be wrong to regard ‘borrowing’ as a naïve phase through which comparative studies have passed, belonging only in stages 1 and 2 of Noah and Eckstein’s five-stage sequence for the development of the subject.

The first stage for Noah and Eckstein, we may recall, represents the time when travellers brought back ‘tales’ of what they had observed. Such reports formed ‘the most primitive... observations’, originating in curiosity and emphasising the exotic so as to produce stark contrast with the norm at home: ‘Only the rare observer could extract systematic conclusions with explanatory value from a mass of indiscriminately reported impressions’ (Noah & Eckstein, 1969, p. 5). British and other travellers who come into Noah and Eckstein’s first stage were visiting Prussia, for example, out of cultural and general intellectual curiosity, and they constituted a large group of commentators whose work was very variable in quality.

The second stage covers travellers who had an educational focus to their investigations. These visitors came in order to learn from a foreign example and thereby to help improve the circumstances ‘at home’. But their reports were ‘rarely explanatory’; they tended to concentrate on “encyclopedic descriptions of foreign school systems, perhaps enlivened here and there with anecdotes” (Noah & Eckstein, 1969, p. 5).

But another way of looking at phases or stages in the development of comparative inquiry is to describe, as Michele Schweisfurth and I have attempted, a ‘sequential chain of emphases beginning at certain broadly defined historical points and continuing alongside the already existing emphases, while modifying them in various ways’. This is depicted in Figure 1.

This ‘chain of development’ (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2006, p. 28) starts with a period limited for the most part to description, as seen in the ‘travellers’ tales’ to be found in many early accounts of political and social conditions in other countries. Next, it envisages an overlapping time when observers had a clear political purpose in mind in their investigations, a desire to influence the policy debate in their home countries and to suggest aspects of provision elsewhere that might be borrowed. An example of this approach would be the work of William Howitt (1792–1879) on Germany, designed to dissuade his British readers from espousing the notion of state control of education: “The free spirit of England and private interests will never permit government here, as in Germany, to take charge of, regulate, and enforce the education of *every* class of the community” (Howitt, 1844, p. 310). The third major development came with advances in the collection of statistical data allowing a more sophisticated analysis of socio-economic conditions and their relationship to educational provision. German governments were especially adept at the collection of statistics, and by the time of the setting-up of Michael Sadler’s Office of Special Inquiries and Reports in London (1895), it was possible to produce authoritative accounts of education in other countries based on something approaching ‘scientific’ evidence. At the same

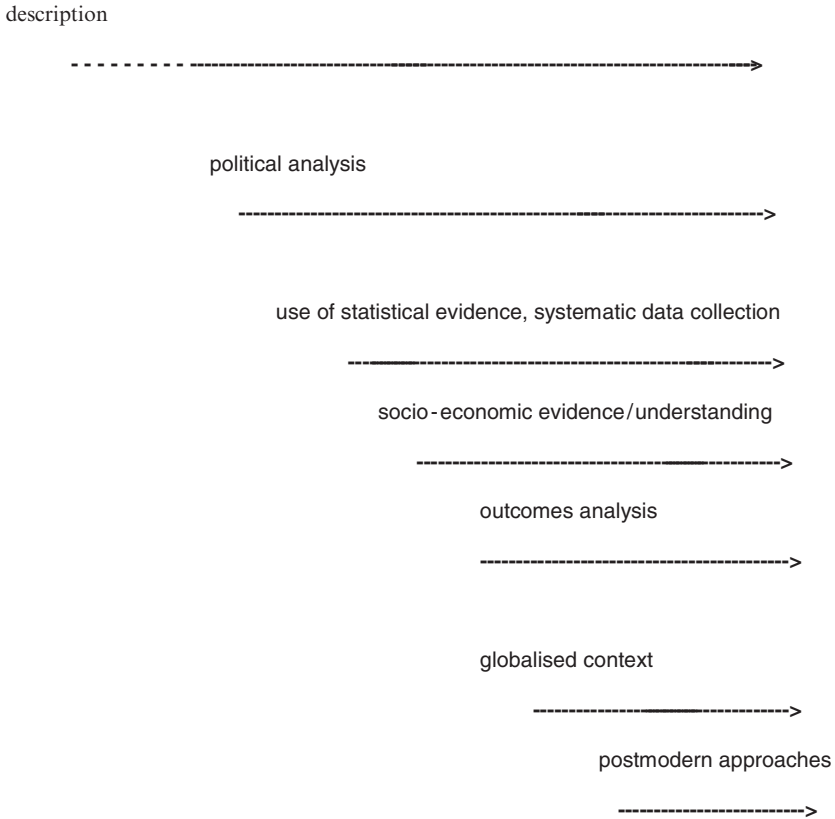


Fig. 1. Historical emphases in comparative analysis
Source: Phillips & Schweisfurth (2006, p. 28)

time, as Figure 1 describes, reporting within other traditions continued. Nearer to our own time we have seen growth in large-scale international surveys of pupil achievement and of the performance of national systems of education, as undertaken by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), as well as the continuing work of theorists who monitor globalising trends and explore postmodern themes in education (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2006, pp. 28–29). Policy borrowing would be a feature of each of these overlapping periods of emphasis.

Almut Sprigade has shown that in the early decades of the nineteenth century there was far more sophistication than is usually supposed in the reporting of the foreign example in education. Her study confirms, as she puts it,

the existence of a broad spectrum of information about education abroad in a variety of sources and [it] supports assertions of expertise in educational comparison and an

active involvement of groups and politicians in the exchange and generation of information about educational provision elsewhere. (Sprigade, 2005, p. i)

In view of this and other evidence, it would be wrong in my view to dismiss interest in ‘policy borrowing’ as a manifestation of a phase of comparative education through which we passed long ago.

If a principal purpose of comparative inquiry in education is, to use a term favoured by W. D. Halls, ‘meliorist’, that is, to improve things (Halls, 1990, p. 23), then (as I have argued above) it involves ‘learning lessons’, seeking out good practice, identifying educational policy and practice that might be emulated, copied, ‘borrowed’, if you will.

But if the endeavour to learn lessons does result in attempts to borrow, comparativists need to understand the processes involved, to monitor what happens at the policy level, and to warn appropriately. On a previous occasion I listed some of the forces which might produce the conditions for an intention to borrow:

- Serious scientific/academic investigation of the situation in a foreign environment
- Popular conceptions of the superiority of other approaches to educational questions
- Politically motivated endeavours to seek reform of provision by identifying clear contrasts with the situation elsewhere (what Steiner-Khamsi calls ‘scandalising’ the situation at home)
- Distortion (exaggeration), whether or not deliberate, of evidence from abroad to highlight perceived deficiencies at home (a common feature of reporting in the popular press) (Phillips, 2000b, p. 299)

Below I shall look at examples of actual and potential transfer – at various levels of sophistication – between countries (with a particular focus on British interest in educational provision in Germany over a long period) and point to some heuristic devices to aid analysis of the processes involved.

Examples

An early example of serious attraction to a foreign example is to be found in an account written by John Quincy Adams of his travels in Silesia in 1800 and 1801 and published in London in 1804. Adams (1767–1848) was at the time the US Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin; the son of an American President, he was to hold among other offices the post of Ambassador to Great Britain, to be elected to the Senate, and to become the sixth US President in 1825. Adams’s description of progress in elementary education in Prussia was later to be cited in England in a 1839 report of the Committee of Council, *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England*, and is worth quoting in part as a good example of early interest in educational provision ‘elsewhere’ and the lessons to be learnt from it:

Adams writes appreciatively of the educational reforms of Frederick the Great: it was due to ‘the zeal with which he pursued the purpose of spreading useful knowledge among all classes of his subjects’, that compared to the United States,

[p]robably, no country in Europe could so strongly contest our pre-eminence in [elementary education] as Germany. (1804, p. 362)

He mentions in particular the training of teachers:

The teachers are directed to give plain instruction, and upon objects applicable to the ordinary concerns of life; not merely to load the memory of their scholars with words, but to make things intelligible to their understanding; to habituate them to the use of their own reason, by explaining every object of the lesson, so that the children themselves may be able to explain it, upon examination. (1804, p. 366)

And he cites the regulations in place for compulsory attendance and for inspection:

The school-tax must be paid by the lord and the tenants, without distinction of religions. In the towns, the school must be kept the whole year round. It is expected that one month shall suffice to make a child know the letters of the alphabet; that in two it shall be able to join them; and in three, to read. The boys must all be sent to school, from their sixth to their thirteenth year, whether the parents are able to pay the school-tax or not. For the poor, the school-money must be raised by collections. Every parent or guardian who neglects to send his child or pupil to school, without sufficient cause, is obliged to pay a double school-tax, for which the guardians shall have no allowance. Every curate must examine, weekly, the children of the school in his parish. A general examination must be held annually, by the deans of the districts, of the schools within their respective precincts; and a report of the condition of the schools, the talents and attention of the school masters, the state of the buildings, and of attendance by the children, made to the office of the vicar-general, who must transmit all these reports to the royal domain offices. From these, orders are issued to the respective landraths, to correct the abuses and supply the deficiencies indicated in the reports. (1804, p. 367–368)

This relatively enlightened reporting covers matters of great concern in the early decades of the nineteenth century, as the debate began about the nature of educational provision and in particular the involvement of the state in it. The detail here is important, since it provides a blueprint for possible emulation and can thus be seen as an early example of identifying ‘what works’ in another system. There is of course no intention to ‘borrow’ from experience in Silesia, but information of the kind collected by Adams was routinely fed into the policy discussion and was used by others advocating reform.

Let us move from the personal to the official. A 1834 House of Commons Select Committee Report on the promotion of education in England was to include evidence from witnesses who could give testimony on the basis of first-hand experience of education in Germany. Here is what appears to be a verbatim record of an interview with William Davis, who ran a school in Whitechapel, London (on the lines of Bell’s monitorial system). The context is a discussion about expanding educational provision in England and exploring ways in which such expansion had occurred in Germany.

Are you of opinion that it is exceedingly desirable that a more extended system of education should be established?

– Yes, if possible.

And that with that system of education a system of employment should be combined, so as to give children useful habits?

– Yes; perhaps it may not be irrelevant to observe I have known much about foreigners of the lowest class, who have come to England for employment, and I have scarcely known an instance where one of them (Germans) could not write his name and read his Bible.

You mean to say that there is a much larger proportion of foreigners than of English who can do that?

– I have scarcely found one in my own experience, among many hundreds whom I have known, who could not read and write.

Are the class of foreigners with whom you have been conversant as low as those in this country whom you have known?

– They come from the class of peasantry of their own country, and are here chiefly labourers to the sugar refiners.

Have you found the German sugar bakers who have come to this country better educated than men of similar stations of life, and similar occupations in this country?

– I should think upon the whole they are better educated. (*Report from Select Committee, 1834, p. 215*)

This exchange is also worth quoting in detail, since it provides evidence of serious official endeavour at an early period – a time when there was serious debate about the need to consider state intervention in education in England – to identify evidence that might account for the perceived superiority of provision elsewhere. It is an example of what Steiner-Khamsi calls ‘scandalising’ the home system.

Thereafter many official reports in England throughout the nineteenth century devoted much space to consideration of foreign examples in education, a habit which continued in the twentieth century. Michael Sadler’s Office of Special Inquiries and Reports produced a remarkable range of studies on multifarious aspects of foreign systems of education in the period 1895–1905, an initiative which was emulated from 1989 by successive ministries of education in London which published reports on education in other countries (including no fewer than eight on education in Germany). These reports can be related directly or indirectly to decision-making in the policy realm.

The London Borough of Barking and Dagenham provides an important modern case study of borrowing in England on a local scale. The Chief Education Officer of this local education authority (LEA) initiated an extraordinary plan to improve teaching in local schools by learning from foreign examples. A special study was made of mathematics teaching in Swiss schools where good practice was observed and analysed and then ‘copied’ by teachers in the LEA. This involved the active cooperation of schools and the training of staff in new teaching techniques, together with the development of explanatory handbooks. This unusual example of the successful ‘transplanting’ of good practice identified elsewhere into the home environment resulted in observable improvement in standards in mathematics in the LEA (Ochs, 2006).

In the United States we might mention the important work of Horace Mann, whose account of education in Germany was widely influential, that of Calvin Stowe (1838) and of Henry Barnard (1861, 1876), as well as William Torrey Harris's vast 'International Education Series'. Notably in the twentieth century there were important reports from the US Department of Education on education in Japan (1987) and Germany (1999), countries whose educational provision has attracted much attention around the world.

In France, the report on education in Prussia by Victor Cousin was hugely influential. Translated into English (by Sarah Austin), it received widespread coverage in reviews and reports and was used both positively and negatively in the policy debate over a long period (Cousin, 1864).

In Japan we can cite the curious instance of the Iwakura Mission. Led by Iwakura Tomoni, a Japanese delegation set sail for Europe and the United States in 1871 and spent 1 year and 9 months away from Japan. It comprised half the government of the day. The mission was huge (107 in all), and its objectives were wide-ranging: to present credentials to countries with which treaties had been concluded; to begin treaty revisions; and to observe and investigate advanced societies in order to determine what features of those societies might assist the modernisation of Japan. This latter objective became the principal aim of the mission. The embassy visited the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Germany, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Austria, and Switzerland. It included an investigation of educational provision in the countries visited. A detailed report on the Embassy's travels and findings was put together by the Confucian scholar Kume Kunitake (1839–1931) and published in 1878 (*Tokumei zenken taishi Beiō kairan jikki*) (Kume, 2002).

In South Africa since the end of Apartheid we have seen the problematic import of 'outcomes based education' (OBE), despite worries about this style of teaching and learning in 'exporter' countries. This provides a good example of failure to learn from the foreign example and of insufficient attention to the importance of context. For OBE to work there has to be at an appropriate infrastructure in place to support it. To move swiftly from traditional modes of teaching and learning to a situation where a teacher could say to pupils 'I'm not the sage on the stage but the guide on the side' was seriously mistaken (Jansen, 2004; Spreen, 2004).

Elsewhere (Phillips, 2000b, pp. 302–303) I have listed the positive and negative use made of the German example during the nineteenth century in Britain. The positive features of German provision in education which attracted observers were:

- The coherent systematic nature of educational provision
- The unambiguity of the role of the state
- The high standards of basic education
- The long history and developing importance of vocational education
- The attention to technological education and research in the *Technische Hochschulen*
- The conceptualisation of the 'modern' university

On the negative side, there was concern about:

- The intervention of the state in matters which were seen by some observers to be quintessentially the concern of the people
- The overbearing nature of bureaucratic administration
- The overloaded curriculum and its departure (in the case of the *Gymnasium*) from the ideals of Wilhelm von Humboldt
- The tendency towards blind obedience which encouraged the state to be manipulative of education for its own political and military ends

The official voice has therefore been consistently heard pronouncing on positive and negative features of education elsewhere for the past 200 years and more. The task for analysts of policy transfer is to identify instances of actual ‘borrowing’ of policy and practice and then to attempt to explain the processes involved. There are some potentially very informative instances of transfer at various stages of what Kimberly Ochs and I have seen as a ‘spectrum’ (Figure 2) ranging from imposition to general influence.

At the extreme (‘imposed’) end of the spectrum we might look at instances of the imposition of foreign models on countries coming under authoritarian influence from outside, as in the case of the Soviet bloc countries after the Second World War, or in the case of colonised countries required to adopt approaches to education common in the countries of the colonisers. Next we can examine conditions in countries defeated in war and required by the occupying victors to introduce new measures – the cases of Germany and Japan after the War are relevant here. Further along the spectrum we can identify instances of countries being required to change policy and practice in return for aid of various kinds, from the World Bank, for example. Next comes the deliberate and voluntary ‘borrowing’, which we have defined as ‘the conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another’ (Phillips & Ochs, 2004a, p. 774). Finally, there is the general influence of educational ideas, ranging from the power of theories of education developed by such figures of international status as Pestalozzi or Dewey or Piaget to the forces of educational globalisation.

Spectrum of educational transfer

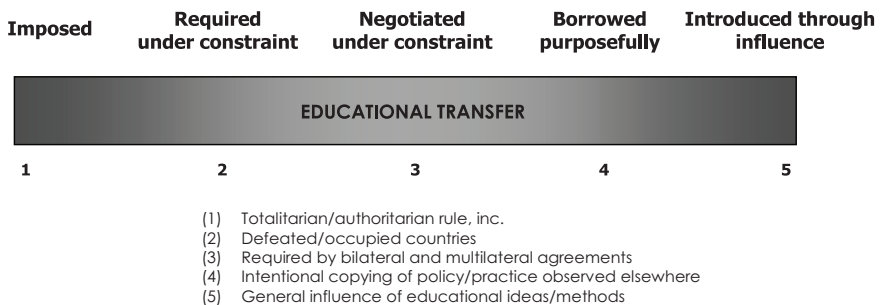


Fig. 2. Spectrum of educational transfer
 Source: Phillips & Ochs (2004b, p. 9)

Research

Given this rich historical background, there is a need to develop ways of analysing what happens in policy transfer of various kinds, and this is what many comparativists and others have been preoccupied with in recent years. In 1989, a special issue of *Comparative Education* investigated cross-national attraction in education (Phillips, 1989). The rationale for the papers included was that a commentator from country *a*, would write about that country's apparent interest in aspects of education in country *b*, while a knowledgeable observer from country *b* would react to the nature of country *a*'s attraction. Not surprisingly, there was considerable scepticism about the particular foci of attraction, as an OECD report had argued in a different context: "in nearly all countries, the reformers advocate following foreign models which their counterparts in the foreign country themselves criticise in the light of their experience of them" (Grégoire, 1967). Torsten Husén's contribution spoke of the example of reform in Sweden being 'exemplary both ways':

The reform-minded, particularly in Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, who wanted to change in the same direction as Sweden, tended to regard the reform as exemplary. Those of a more conservative disposition were on the [look out] for weaknesses and failures, and tended to view it as exemplary in a negative sense. (Husén, 1989, p. 346)

This reminds us of Steiner-Khamsi's descriptors 'glorification' and 'scandalisation' in order to illustrate ways in which the foreign example might be used in the policy debate.

More recently Jürgen Schriewer and others in Berlin have investigated the internationalisation of educational ideas in connection with world system theory (Schriewer, 2000; Caruso & Tenorth, 2002). Schriewer's concept of 'externalisation' involves the use of foreign models in attempts to legitimise controversial reform proposals 'at home' (Schriewer, 1990).

Steiner-Khamsi has looked at policy borrowing using in particular examples from Mongolia and Ghana (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006; Steiner-Khamsi & Quist, 2000).

Beech (2005, 2006a, b), Tanaka (2003), Ochs (2005), Sprigade (2005) and Rappleye (2006) have examined a wide range of instances of policy transfer in many different contexts and at various times.

Kimberly Ochs and I have described models and other devices designed to analyse processes of policy borrowing, using for the most part British attraction to educational provision in Germany (Ochs & Phillips, 2002a, b; Phillips, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2000a, b, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006b; Phillips & Ochs, 2003a, b, 2004a, b). Other edited volumes (Finegold *et al.*, 1993; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Phillips & Ochs, 2004b; Ertl, 2006; Phillips, 2006c) have covered policy transfer issues in a variety of present-day and historical contexts. The historical approach is especially important, since it allows us to analyse completed processes: the work of Caruso (2002) on foreign adoption of the Bell-Lancaster ('monitorial') system in the nineteenth century is a good example.

The devices which Kimberly Ochs and I have produced in Oxford have been concerned with the description and analysis of stages in the policy-borrowing process. We have postulated a four-stage model describing processes of attraction, decision, implementation, and internalisation (Phillips & Ochs, 2003a, 2004a, b), and we have described ‘filters’ or ‘lenses’ through which policy (or practice) might pass as it transfers from one location to another: ‘ideas move and morph’, as Cowen puts it (2006, p. 567). These devices are not supposed to be applicable to each and every case of borrowing/transfer, but simply to serve as a tool for researchers to use as they trace what has happened or is happening in cases of educational transfer in a variety of contexts. They have been described at length in the papers cited above and are reproduced here as Appendices 1 and 2.

Prospects

I began by asserting the significance of policy borrowing as a theme in comparative education and the importance of the aim of ‘learning lessons’ through comparative inquiry in education. So far I have not touched in detail upon globalisation, but it is clear that more than ever against the background of globalising tendencies there will be instances of the transfer of educational ideas – deliberately or not – between locations. There will be cases of seemingly irresistible imperatives driving such transfer, as has been seen in the interesting situation with the Bologna Process in education in Europe, where long-standing traditions are potentially giving way to a consensual standardisation.

Here the aim is the creation, by 2010, of a ‘European Higher Education Area’, with comparability and compatibility of provision from country to country. Ministers of Education met in Bologna in 1999 and have had a series of meetings since in order to take forward a programme involving the adoption of a three-cycle system of bachelor, master, and doctoral degrees and to agree on common approaches to quality assurance and the mutual recognition of qualifications and their associated periods of study. They agreed a remarkable series of objectives and declared:

We hereby undertake to attain these objectives – within the framework of our institutional competences and taking full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national education systems and of University autonomy – to consolidate the European area of higher education. To that end, we will pursue the ways of intergovernmental co-operation, together with those of non governmental European organisations with competence on higher education. We expect Universities again to respond promptly and positively and to contribute actively to the success of our endeavour. (Bologna Declaration, 1999)

The stage is set for an extension of processes observable since the creation of the European Community towards an ever-closer degree of cooperation, of convergence, between the member states and the nations of Europe beyond the European Union. It is this kind of convergence that it will be important for comparativists to monitor, in

particular to test Cowen's notion of 'moving and morphing' – to what extent will the notions underpinning the agreement be affected by local contexts?

Contexts are of course the key factor in analyses of policy transfer. Sadler reminded us of this in 1900, and others had done so in various ways before him. A difficult but important task for future research is to disentangle the contextual factors that aid or hinder educational transfer. This will involve detailed investigation of the 'internalisation' stage in the model described in Appendix 1.

Equally important will be an investigation of the roles of what in that model are seen as 'significant actors' (individuals and institutions) in promoting or hindering the transfer of policy and practice. Reportage in all forms will play a part in transfer processes, as we have seen in the case of worldwide interest in Finland, following that country's egregious success in the PISA surveys, or in the case of Germany, as a result of very disappointing performance in PISA. This too needs to be monitored and critiqued.

There is now a rich body of work on educational transfer upon which to build, and the further development of case-based theory in this important area of comparative inquiry will no doubt help to underline the continuing importance of the study of comparative education and the relevance of comparative data to the processes of policy making.

Summary

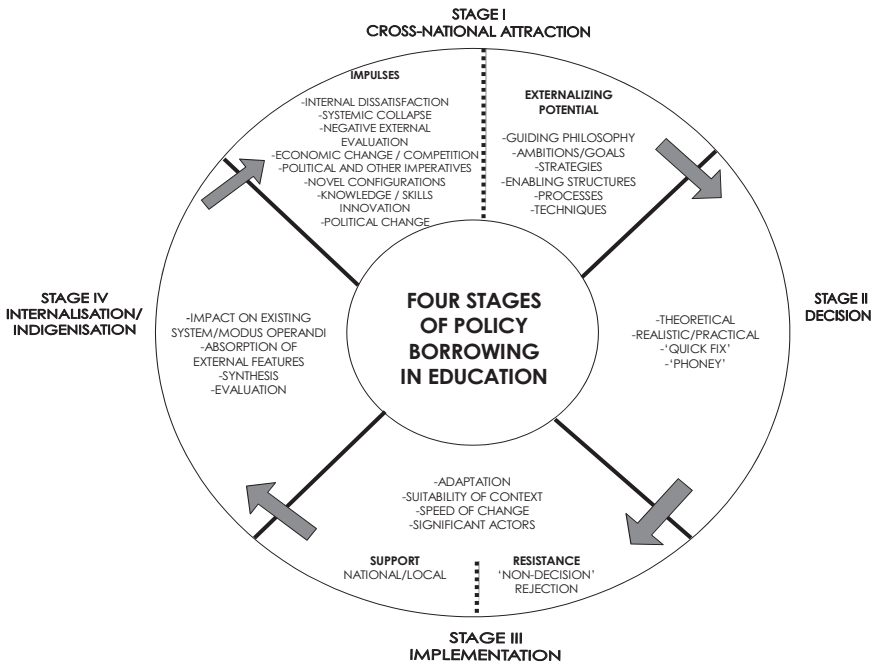
This survey of aspects of policy transfer in education has attempted to cover a lot of ground in a short space. In summary, I may attempt some conclusions:

- It is important to be clear about the terminology used when discussing transfer, much of which is potentially problematic; 'borrowing' is only one feature in a spectrum of possibilities for educational transfer.
- 'Borrowing' should be seen as a purposive phenomenon, where deliberate attempts are made to learn from the foreign example and to 'import' ideas in the shape of policy and practice into the 'home' system.
- A significant feature of the examination of foreign approaches to educational problems, whether or not they are 'borrowable', is that they help us to better understand problems 'at home'.
- In analysing ways in which borrowing takes place it is essential to tackle the difficult question of context and its appropriateness in terms of accommodating imported policies and practices.
- An important task for comparativists is to uncover the motives of those advocating the borrowing of aspects of educational provision elsewhere.
- With a seemingly irresistible and increasing convergence in education in a globalising context, tensions between the global and the local, between standardisation and tradition, will be evident and will constitute a rich area for future investigation.

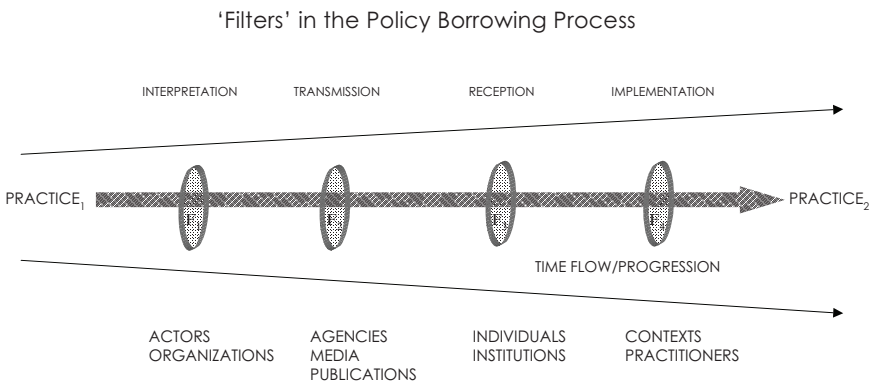
The centrality of educational transfer as a field of analysis and inquiry in comparative education is established. It is the task of comparativists to make sure that it continues to be researched in ever-new contexts.

Appendices

1. Four stages of policy borrowing (Phillips & Ochs, 2003a, b; 2004a, b)



2. Filters in the policy-borrowing process (Phillips & Ochs (Eds.), 2004b)



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AGAMEMNON CONTRA PROMETHEUS: GLOBALISATION, KNOWLEDGE/ LEARNING SOCIETIES AND PAIDEIA IN THE NEW COSMOPOLIS

Andreas M. Kazamias

Introduction: The Hypothesis/Plot and the Mythical Way of Knowing

This presentation “theorizes” about, and views critically, the undemocratic and dehumanizing consequences of the unfolding “Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalization” (BNCG) and the Information/Technological Knowledge/Learning Society (ITKLS)”. Using the ancient Greek myths of Agamemnon and Prometheus, it is presented as a *duology* (a two-episode performance) whose “hypothesis-plot” is twofold: (a) the “dehumanizing” and “depoliticizing” consequences of globalisation and the ITKS on knowledge, learning, education, society and the individual, and (b) the “reinvention” or “re-enchantment” of humanistic *paideia* through the cultivation of what may be called Promethean Neo-Humanism, in order to “humanize” the *anthropos-politis* (citizen-person/human) in what may otherwise be referred to as the Knowledge/Learning Cosmopolis (KLC).

In the first episode, entitled “Globalisation, Knowledge Society, and the Sacrifice of Humanistic *Paideia* —The Agamemnon Syndrome”, I shall use the myth of Agamemnon, as dramatised in Euripides’ *Iphigenia at Aulis* to view critically the “dehumanizing” effects of globalisation and Information Technological Epistemological Paradigm (ITEP), specifically the danger of constructing a *homo faber/homo fabricatus* (Jurgen Habermas) or *homo barbarus* (Heidegger) and a *homo economicus* type of citizen, rather than a *homo civilis/homo humanus* citizen (Martha Nussbaum). In the second episode, “Prometheus Unbound: Promethean Neo-Humanism and the Reinvention of Humanistic *Paideia*”, I shall use the myth of Prometheus as dramatised in Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* to argue for the “re-enchantment” or “reinvention” of humanistic *paideia*/learning as a means of empowering, liberating and “humanizing” the *anthropos politis* (citizen-person) in the emerging Knowledge/Learning Cosmopolis (KLC).

The Mode of Analysis: Combining *Mythos* with *Episteme*

The mode of analysis in this *duology* combines *mythos* (myth) with *episteme* (human science) and uses symbolic representations or images. We make use of two classical Greek myths for a twofold purpose: (a) as a device or tool to dramatise a particular

problem or human condition – this, hopefully, being the emotionally stirring element; and (b) as a way of knowing, thinking and expressing, in order to “theorize” and interpret a problem the full significance of which can be revealed symbolically through an imaginary or transcendent form of discourse. Myths, *icons* (representations or images) and symbols constitute, in the words of Vitsaxis, a Greek scholar, “that transcendent language which extends reflective thinking and leads it to imaginary spaces”. A myth, according to the same writer, “is nearer to the intuitive and aesthetic rather than the ‘logocratic’ approach or understanding of the phenomenological world”. Also, myth can even be ‘unorthological’, in the sense of not obeying certain “fixed” rules, without, of course, being “irrational”. Myth, according to Claude Levi-Strauss, the eminent social anthropologist, is an ‘aesthetic’ way of knowing, parallel or analogous to an ‘objective’ way of knowing. “Through myth, an aesthetic access to knowledge is realized” (Vitsaxis, 2002, pp. 15–21). And, according to P. Feyerabend: “The sharp distinction between science and non-science is not only artificial but also catastrophic for the progress of knowledge. If we want to understand nature ... we must make use of all methods and ideas and not just a small selection. The assertion that there cannot be knowledge outside science – *extra scientiam nula salus* – is but a useful myth” (Feyerabend, 1975; also see Bowra, 1957, pp. 127–128).

Episode One: The Agamemnon Syndrome, Globalisation, Knowledge/Learning Society and the Sacrifice of Humanistic *Paideia* in the Brave New Cosmopolis

Prologue – the Myth of Agamemnon

In *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Agamemnon of the House of Atreus and King of Argos, the commander-in-chief of the Greek expedition to Troy was enjoined by the gods to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia so that favourable winds would blow and the huge armada, anchored at the port of *Aulis*, could set sail on its deadly voyage. The expedition to sack Troy was ostensibly for the purpose of avenging the insult to the Achaeans (the Greeks) and the House of Atreus that was perpetrated by the abduction (not unwilling) of Helen, a “civilised” Greek princess and Agamemnon’s sister-in-law, by an oriental “barbarian,” the Trojan prince Paris. But there was more to the expedition than mere retribution for an insult. The Trojan War was also sparked by the Greek arrogance of power as personified in the imperious Argive King, and was waged for national pride, aggrandizement, wealth, power and glory, “for the common good of Hellas”, as the transformed heroine Iphigenia declared on the way to the altar to be slaughtered. The dramatic poet Euripides uses the myth of Agamemnon to “theorize” and critically interpret the politico-social conditions and problems of the democratic city of Athens during a turbulent period of its history, that is, towards the waning years of the fifth century BC.

Like Euripides, but without his dramaturgical artistry, I shall use the myth of Agamemnon and the sacrifice of Iphigenia as a methodological device to make a comparative and critical interpretation of a politico-economic and sociocultural phenomenon that is in the forefront of contemporary discourse and social policy worldwide.

This, simply stated, is the problem of education and more broadly *paideia/culture/Bildung* in the New Cosmopolis of what may be called “Neo-Liberal Modernity”. Reflecting on contemporary trends in this sociocultural area, I shall try to unfold the following plot.

In order for contemporary nation states and “international regimes” like the European Union (EU) to participate effectively and competitively in the New Cosmopolis, as a globalized Knowledge Society (KS) and a world economic system, modern systems of education, as state-steering mechanisms, are called upon to emphasize certain types of knowledge and culture at the expense of conventional others. In order to respond effectively to the demands and challenges of globalisation and the associated Information/Technological Epistemological Paradigm (Castells), secondary schools, and more so universities are being transformed in their identity and role. From socio-cultural enclaves, a main function of which has been a holistic/well-rounded education or *paideia* – intellectual, moral and civic – they are being metamorphosed into sites for the production of instrumental knowledge, techno-science and the acquisition of marketable skills. In such transformation, their mission becomes less the formation of the *anthropos-politis* (citizen-person), with a cultivated “mind and soul”, and more the construction of the informed, efficient and skilled “knowledge worker” for the competitive world economic markets. Schools and universities are being transformed from sites of *paideia* to places for what Jane Roland Martin, an American educational philosopher, has called education for mainly “productive processes” (Martin, 1994, p. 78), and what Aronowitz, an American sociologist, has called “Knowledge Factories”. Especially in the case of the modern university (the European and the North American), the “Idea of the University” has been changing from one whose function has been mainly “educational” and “cultural” – the provision and cultivation of “liberal education”, *Bildung*, *culture generale* or *paideia* – to one whose main function is developing to be the promotion of “instrumental rationality” and what the postmodernist French thinker Lyotard has called “performativity” (Lyotard, 1984). To use Robert Cowen’s apt terminology, the modern university is being transformed to “the market-framed university” (Cowen, 1996, 2000).

The Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation and the Information-Technological Knowledge/Learning Society

In theorising about the new *cosmos* that is unfolding before us, as we enter the third millennium, social theorists have constructed various and in some respects overlapping conceptual-epistemological schemata. One of the most illuminating such constructions is that of the Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells, who wrote:

A new world is taking shape at this turn of the millennium. It originated in the historical coincidence, around the late 1960s and mid-1970s, of three independent processes: the information revolution; the economic crisis of both capitalism and statism, and their subsequent restructuring; and the blooming of cultural social movements, such as libertarianism, human rights, feminism, and environmentalism. The interaction between these processes, and the reasons

they triggered, brought into being a new dominant social structure, the network society; a new economy, the informational/global economy; and a new culture, the culture of real virtuality ... [defined] as a system in which reality itself (that is, people's material/symbolic existence) is fully immersed in a virtual image setting, in the world of make believe, in which symbols are not just metaphors, but comprise the actual experience (Castells, 1998, 2000, pp. 367, 381).

Central in much of the relevant discourse about the new world that is taking shape at this turn of the millennium are concepts such as: 'globalisation', 'global society', 'global informational economy', 'knowledge societies' and 'knowledge-based economies', 'learning and information societies', 'network society', 'global education', 'culture of real virtuality', and the like (Castells, 2000; Lofstedt, 2001; Barney, 2004). And among such constructions, the concepts of "globalisation" and 'knowledge/learning society/societies' seem to be particularly prominent (Waters, 1995; Lofstedt, 2001).

Globalisation – Blessing or Curse?

Globalisation is a *protean* concept, not amenable to essentialist definitions or interpretations. Like the mythical demigod Proteus it wears different conceptual and ideological attire, depending on one's theoretical and ideological orientation. And like other all-encompassing cosmic theoretical constructions globalisation is a contested and controversial concept. Some social theorists have questioned its very authenticity, calling it a "chimera" (Vergopoulos, 2000), or a "mythology" (Tombazos, 1999). To such skeptics, globalisation has deep historical roots. It has always been there, at least since the advent of modernity in the eighteenth century, even earlier. The majority of scholars, however, social theorists and informed observers, to a degree more or less, have accepted globalisation as an economic, social and cultural historical reality, whose scope and intensity are quite recent. For example, in his recent political manifesto *The Third Way*, Anthony Giddens, the English sociologist, has written:

Economic globalization therefore is a reality, and is not just a continuation of, or a reversion to the trends of previous years. While much trade remains regionalized, there is a 'fully global economy' on the level of financial markets ... Globalization ... is not only, or even primarily, about economic interdependence, but about the transformation of time and space in our lives. (Giddens, 1998, pp. 30–31; 1999/2000, p. 28)

In the same vein as Giddens, Anthony McGrew, has conceptualized globalisation as an all-encompassing social, economic and cultural reality. According to McGrew, "Transnational networks, social movements and relationships are extensive in virtually all areas of human activity from the academic to the sexual" (McGrew, 1992, pp. 65–66; also see Scholte, 2000, pp. 15–16). Ka Ho Mok's definition appears to command wide acceptance:

While there is not a single, consensual definition of globalization, it is evident that the whole world is undergoing ‘a set of processes which in various ways – economic, cultural, and political – make supranational connections.’ In addition, the impact of globalization has not only been felt in the economic realm but, indeed, has also caused significant changes in the ideological-cultural realm and in the transformation of time and space. Even though no country is immune from the impact of globalization, heated debates have been held about the positive and negative consequences of globalization (Mok, 2000, pp. 148–49).

Within the category of globalisation theorists, however, there are different assessments as to the effects of globalisation on the economy, the polity, society, education and culture, and, more generally, on “human life”. Some critical social theorists and intellectuals tend to emphasize what may be called the “discontents” of globalisation, namely, its negative and ‘dehumanising’ effects on society and human existence. Thus, for example, in a study bearing the telling title of *Predatory Globalization*, Richard Falk examined “the effects of economic globalization on the capacity of the state to contribute to human well being”, and concluded:

Yet, despite these encouraging tendencies the structural and normative foundations of world order seem increasingly unable to provide minimum security for many of the peoples of the world. The state is being subtly deformed as an instrument of human well being by the dynamics of globalization, which are pushing the state by degrees and to varying extents into a subordinate relationship with global market forces. Partly in reaction to these developments and partly as a result of the shortcomings of secularism as a source of human fulfillment, the state is also losing its capacity in many settings to provide the social, economic, and physical ingredients of security within its own borders (Falk, 1999).

According to the French political philosopher Pierre-Andre Taquieff, globalisation can be described as an “empire of liberalized markets” which, while contributing to the increase of the world product on the one hand, has negative socio-economic and political consequences, on the other, such as a widening of the gap between the economically developed rich North and the underdeveloped poor South, and internally in the wealthiest nations, an increase in inequalities and social exclusion. In the political realm, Taquieff comments further, globalisation transforms the physiognomy of democracy and democratic citizenship to a “market democracy”, and restricts the public sphere (Taquieff, 2002, p. 107; also see Bauman, 1998, p. 66).

Other social theorists conceptualize globalisation as ‘neo-liberal globalization’ with all that ‘neo-liberalism’ as a politico-economic doctrine or ideology connotes and/or denotes. Thus, for example, according to Nelly Stromquist, “neo-liberalism emphasises three policy prescriptions: deregulation, privatisation, liberalisation” (Stromquist, 2002, pp. 25–26; also see Slaughter, 1998, p. 52). Finally, T. Fotopoulos brings out the corrosive effects of neo-liberal globalisation on ‘democracy’. He notes that “in contrast to the Liberal Old Right that was founded on tradition, hierarchy and political philosophy, the Neo-Liberal New Right’s credo was based on blind belief in the market forces,

individualism, and economic ‘science’”. According to Fotopoulos, “the neoliberal movement ... represented a powerful attack against social-democratic statism”. The main policies proposed by neo-liberals first in England and the United States by the administrations of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, and “later by governments all over the world”, have included: “Liberalisation of markets; privatisation of state enterprises; reduction of the welfare state into a safety net and parallel encouragement of the private sector’s expansion into social services (health, education, pension schemes and so on); redistribution of taxes in favor of high income groups” (Fotopoulos, 1997, pp. 33–36).

We tend to concur with the aforementioned views about the empirical reality of globalisation. In any case, whether it exists in reality or not, globalisation has become a legitimization concept in contemporary discourses and policies relating to national economies, and to national-state management of public services, in general. Unsurprisingly, and more pertinently for our purposes here, it has also been used as a legitimization concept in discourses and policies in the restructuring and reform of systems of education be it the school curricula and pedagogies, assessment and evaluation, student achievement or school governance. In this sense, therefore, that is, as part of the rationale that is often used to justify reforms in education, globalisation may be said to have indeed acquired an “ontological” existence (see Davies & Guppy, 1997, p. 435).

Knowledge Society (KS)

As with globalisation, Knowledge Society (KS) has become a dominant discourse in the unfolding New Cosmopolis. The significance of ‘knowledge’ and ‘information’, as activating forces in the New Cosmopolis, has been stressed by several social and political analysts of different ideological and epistemological persuasions (Bell, 1976, 1980; Castells, 1989; Drucker, 1993). Andy Hargreaves has recently conceptualised KS in terms of three dimensions:

First, it [KS] comprises an expanded scientific, technical and educational sphere. ... Second, it involves complex ways of processing and circulating knowledge and information in a service-based economy. Third, it entails basic changes in how corporate organizations function so that they enhance continuous innovation in products and services, by creating systems, teams and cultures that maximize the opportunities for mutual, spontaneous learning (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 9).

KS, in short, and such other coextensive concepts as ‘Information Society’ and ‘Learning Society’, could be said to be societies where the promotion of knowledge has become a dominant discourse as a determining factor in economic, social and individual development, and where “the fundamental distinction among people will not be between the haves and the have-nots, but between those who know and those who do not know” (Stamatis, 2005, p. 115; Kladis, 1999, p. 82; Kazamias, 1995; Commission of the European Communities, 1993).

As with globalisation, there are variations in the conceptualisation of KS. However, in the prevalent discourse on the subject, the following *epistemic* elements appear to be salient and given greater emphasis:

- Enormous development of ICTs and sophisticated learning technologies; the rise of the Network Society (Castells, 1996, 2000)
- Increasing importance of information technologies and “codified knowledge” for the accumulation of capital and for sustainable development in a competitive global economy
- Techno-scientific instrumental rationality
- Knowledge as a trading commercialised commodity
- Changing forms of organisation of living and work (a ‘learning organization’, a ‘flexible workforce’, a ‘knowledge worker’)
- The emergence of new patterns of exclusion/inclusion (e.g., the “digital divide”)

Globalisation, therefore, as well as KS, whether real or imaginary, is quite germane to our saga. It constitutes the context/matrix in the transformation of educational discourses (policy talk and policy practice), and what we may call ‘educational cultures’. But from our mythical way of thinking – the *Agamemnon Syndrome* – globalisation, particularly its “economistic” and rationalistic aspects, is also metaphorically viewed as a “curse” or as an *anomia* (anomie) that propels into action certain choices in education at the sacrifice of long-cherished others. Such choices may indeed bring about glory and benefits. Some, for example, have argued that globalisation contributes to ‘well-being’, that it blurs ‘inequalities’, and that it makes countries economically stronger and more competitive (Andrianopoulos, 2004, p. 14). In the same vein, OECD, the powerful Organization for European Cooperation and Development, sees nothing but good benefits accruing from the evolving global economy and the concomitant global market space: economic growth, material progress, increased prosperity and human welfare, political stability and greater equality (Spring, 1998, p. 160).

In the Greek myth, Agamemnon’s decision to sack Troy resulted in benefits and spoils – mostly material, but also glory. But, such benefits accrued at a very high human cost. In addition to impelling the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia, Agamemnon’s course of action had other tragic consequences: the complete destruction of the city of Troy, the rape and enslavement of the Trojan women, the slaughter of noble men and women and, after Troy, the murder of Agamemnon himself by Clytemnestra, his wife, and then Clytemnestra’s murder by her son Orestes. In our story, educational policies, as impelled by globalisation and the KS, could also have dire and dehumanising consequences.

Conquering Troy and Gaining the World – Educational Reform Discourses in the Knowledge/Learning Cosmopolis – Towards the Homo Economicus and the *Cyborg* Citizen?

As indicated in recent studies, as well as in important texts by international organizations such as the EU, OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO, the dominant educational reform discourse, as rhetoric (*logos*) and as framework for *praxis* at the macro level of public policy and the micro level of schooling, is pervaded by a predominantly economistic “ethos”, instrumental rationality, neo-liberal values and a business ethic.

These ideas and values can be said to inhere in such terms as efficiency, competition, output, yield, markets, liberal individualism, destatisation/ deregulation, privatisation, marketization, entrepreneurship, and the like. Below we refer to only a few such narratives from the international world of education.

- (a) In an international survey of “new educational proposals for the global economy,” involving the geo-cultural regions/rims of North America (the United States), Europe (the United Kingdom and the European Community), and East Asia (Japan and Singapore) and international organisations such as the OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO, Joel Spring documents the contemporary dominant discourse (policy talk and policy practice) on the interdependent relationship between education and the global economy as follows:

Education and the global economy are envisioned as having an interdependent relationship. Competition in the global economy is dependent on the quality of education, whereas the goals of education are dependent on the economy. Under these circumstances, education changes as the requirements of the economy change. As a result, human capital theory now dominates discussions of education for the global economy (Spring, 1998, p. 6).

Referring to certain educational reform discourses and policies, e.g., school or parental choice, national curricula, national and world-class academic standards, and national achievement tests during the heyday of neo-liberalism and the New Right in the United States and the United Kingdom in the 1980s and early 1990s, Spring has written: “The free market ideas of Friedrich von Hayek provided the underpinnings for discussions of school choice, national standards and curricula, eliminating the welfare state, and lifelong learning in the United States and the United Kingdom” (Spring, 1998, pp. 123, 128).

- (b) Similar discourses and policy statements are reflected in texts on the larger European scene. Of relevance in this connection, is the educational discourse in the various texts (white papers, green papers, resolutions, directives, circulars, conclusions and programmes) of the EU. In many of these EU “education and training” documents emphasis is placed on the development of skills and “competencies” to meet the needs of the Single European Market, an integrated European “knowledge society” and a European “knowledge-based competitive economy”. Although in some of the texts reference is made to “solid broad-based education” and to a “broad knowledge base”, what is also salient in them is the privileging of certain kinds of knowledge, skills and competencies (e.g. education in ICTs, techno-scientific instrumental rationality and vocational skills) for “competitive advantage”, that is, for the EU “to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth accompanied by quantitative and qualitative improvement of employment and of greater social cohesion”. Such an instrumentalist knowledge bias can easily be inferred from the “Communication to the Council and the European Parliament”, entitled *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* that was issued in 1997:

Noting that we are entering the “knowledge society”, the Commission in its *Agenda 2000* proposes making the policies which drive that society (innovation, research, education and training) one of the four fundamental pillars of the Union’s internal policies ... Economic competitiveness, employment and the personal fulfillment of the citizens of Europe is no longer mainly based on the production of physical goods, nor will it be in the future. Real wealth creation will henceforth be linked to the production and dissemination of knowledge and will depend first and foremost on our efforts in the field of research, education and training and on our capacity to promote innovation. This is why we must fashion a veritable ‘Europe of Knowledge’ (Commission of the European Communities, 1993).

The focus on “instrumentalism” and the “technological option” in the EU discourse on education and training, while at the same time emphasising “through symbolism” attachment to the humanistic cultural and epistemological tradition, is also evident in the various EU Action Programmes, namely, SOCRATES, LEONARDO DA VINCI, ERASMUS, ARION and COMENIUS. These initiatives, which covered virtually every aspect of the education and training systems, induced students, educators, education officials and policy-makers in the member states into the logic of seeking European funds to fulfil their educational expectations, in order to comply with the instrumental rationality of the EU guidelines. For the countries of the European South, the dependence on EU subsidies was enhanced even further by the funding channelled to national education systems from the European Cohesion Funds (the European Social Fund and the European Fund for Regional Development) on the basis of state-proposed “Community Support Frameworks”. These mechanisms subsidise national education policies which fall directly within the logic of the previously mentioned White Papers, promoting certain types of economic and social development and leading towards the envisaged ‘knowledge society’ and the ‘knowledge-based economy’.

In grappling with the putative commitment of developing an active European citizen in the globalised new European Cosmopolis, the European Commission was clearer about the cognitive and instrumental competencies than the ‘character’ traits and civic virtues or dispositions of the imagined/constructed citizen in the new ‘Europe of Knowledge’ (The European Commission, *Education and Active Citizenship – Learning for Active Citizenship*, 2001; Commission of the European Communities, 1995; Field, 1998).

(c) Several of the aforementioned core ideas and values are to be found in texts and pronouncements by other international organisations such as the OECD and the World Bank. The OECD, for example, has accepted globalisation “as the dominant trend in the world economy “and the creation of “a borderless global market system”. More than that, as noted above, the OECD sees nothing but good benefits accruing from the evolving global economy and the concomitant global market place. OECD’s educational discourse and policies are connected to what we have previously referred to as the economistic and rationalistic aspects of globalisation. These are well summarized as follows:

Education plays a dual role in OECD's plans. First, education is to aid the development of market economies through human resource development and lifelong learning. Second, education is to remedy problems resulting from globalization such as unemployment, increasing economic inequality, and fears of social and economic change. This dual role is similar to the function of education in European Union policies (Spring, 1998, p. 160).

More recently (2002), OECD's economic and instrumentalist approach to education and training was reiterated in a policy text published on the occasion of the creation of a separate Directorate for Education by the OECD Secretary-General "in recognition of the increased importance of education policy by member governments". In the words of Barry McGaw, the Director of this unit:

Contemporary societies demand high levels of knowledge and skills. Individuals without them have difficulty in participating effectively in social and economic life, so equity in education is as much a concern as quality. The knowledge and skills demanded [in a global economy] also change, making lifelong learning an increasing necessity. The OECD's work on education uses a lifelong perspective, shifts the focus from teaching to learning and connects education policy with economic and other social policies (OECD, 2002, p. 7).

- (d) Educational reform discourses and policies that put high premium on efficiency, performativity, instrumental rationality and knowledge production, marketable schooling and values can also be seen in such differing countries as Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey (for Greece, see Kazamias, 1998; for Cyprus, see Kazamias, 1994, 1999; for Hong Kong and Singapore, see Mok, 2000, pp. 150–151, 172 and Spring, 1998, p. 86; for Turkey, see OECD, 1989, pp. 12–14, 93–99; Zorlu-Durukan, 1999 and Turkish Ministry of Education, 2006; for Japan, see Green, 1999).
- (e) It is pertinent here to refer to Andy Hargreaves' insightful observations about the contemporary reform discourses on teaching {and education} in the 'knowledge society' and the related 'knowledge-based economy.' In his *Teaching in the Knowledge Society: Education in the Age of Insecurity* (2003), Hargreaves argues that contemporary capitalist societies that are also knowledge-based economies serve primarily the private good, and their schools are geared to develop primarily cognitive learning, instrumental skills and competencies for a KS and a knowledge economy. But a knowledge-based economy, according to him, is "a force of creative destruction". On the one hand, "it stimulates growth and prosperity," but on the other, "its relentless pursuit of profit and self-interest also strains and fragments the social order". In the knowledge-based economy, school systems "have become obsessed with imposing and micromanaging curriculum uniformity", instead of "fostering creativity and ingenuity". Hargreaves continues: "In place of ambitious missions of compassion and community, schools and teachers have been squeezed into the tunnel vision of test scores, achievement targets and league

tables of accountability. And rather than cultivating cosmopolitan identity and the basic emotion of sympathy, which Adam Smith called the emotional foundation of democracy, too many educational systems promote exaggerated and self-absorbed senses of national identity” (Hargreaves, 2003, pp. xvi–xvii).

- (f) Lastly, some additional observations regarding the transformation of higher education in the epoch of globalisation are pertinent here. A recent OECD study has noted that “tertiary education is changing to address client and stakeholder expectations, to respond more actively to social and economic change, to provide for more flexible forms of teaching and learning, to focus more strongly on competencies and skills across the curriculum” (OECD, 1998, p. 49). To these characteristics one could add related ideas such as Cowen’s “market-framed university”, Lyotard’s “performativity”, and others, for example, ‘entrepreneurial university’, and the ‘commercialization of university education’. Cowen’s characterisation of the market-framed university is illuminating:

Epistemologically, the market-framed university must deliver marketable, saleable, pragmatically useful knowledge. The market-framed university exists within a knowledge-market, and it must respond to the demands of its clients and customers (e.g., students; research funders). The knowledge production of the university must also be measurable—otherwise performance cannot be judged. Thus managerial decisions must be taken about the differential worth of knowledge products, against rules and criteria which are externally mandated” (Cowen, 1996; also see Cowen, 2000).

The Agamemnon Syndrome – An Epimythion

In the ‘Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation’ and the ‘Information/Technological Knowledge Society’, particularly economically advanced societies such as the United States, Germany, England, Australia, Japan and the other so-called Asiatic tigers (Singapore, Hong Kong, Korea and Taiwan), which depend more and more on scientific and technological knowledge, in order to participate effectively and competitively in the New Cosmopolis, are called upon to put most of their ‘knowledge eggs’ in the ‘techno-scientific basket’. As a consequence, they put pressure on those educational institutions traditionally responsible for the production and dissemination of knowledge, namely, the schools but more so the colleges and universities, to put a heavier premium on ‘techno-scientific’ knowledge and instrumental rationality. In turn, the university becomes hitched onto the wagon of the economy, its traditional autonomy is eroded, and so is the modern liberal-cultural ‘idea of the university’. In short, we observe the transformation of the modern university from a *studium generale* to a *studium speciale*, where narrow techno-scientific specialism and instrumentalism have supplanted and overshadowed what in English has been known as ‘liberal education’, specifically the ‘liberal humanistic canon’, in German as *Bildung und Wissenschaft*, and in Greek as *paideia* (Kazamias, 1997, pp. 39–42).

The ‘Humanistic Sacrifices’: Social Justice, Citizenship and the *Paideia* of the ‘Soul’

The crisis and reform discourse in education—‘policy talk’ and ‘policy practice’—presented above, provide us with an excellent modern scenario to use the ancient myth of Agamemnon in our critical interpretation of this contemporary politico-economic and sociocultural phenomenon. In the ancient myth, Agamemnon was ‘cursed’ because of a family ‘hubris’ which, as dramatised by Euripides, meant that for revenge, but also for glory, aggrandizement and the ‘good of Hellas’, he had to follow a course of action that necessitated the sacrifice of his daughter with ultimately tragic consequences. For such a quest, the human soul, personified in Iphigenia, had to be sacrificed. In our ‘drama’, we look at globalisation as a ‘curse’ or an ‘anomia’, as an imperial ‘knowledge power’ which enjoins the construction of a certain reform discourse in education. We hypothesise that in the Brave New Cosmopolis of globalisation and the Information-Technological KS, the hegemony of this educational *discourse*—as *logos* and as *praxis*—may indeed bring about wealth and “sumptuous spoils”, as in bidding farewell to Agamemnon in the closing stanzas of Euripides’ tragic drama, the chorus of Greek women had enigmatically intoned. But, we further argue, the type of *education* and I may add pedagogy demanded for such global knowledge cornucopia exacts several negative, in our judgment, costs or ‘discontents’. Among such ‘discontents’, or, from our mythical way of thinking, ‘sacrifices’, three ‘humane/ humanistic’ sacrifices are especially noteworthy: (a) the erosion of the public sphere, democracy, and democratic citizenship; (b) the ‘de-professionalisation’ and ‘deskilling’ of teachers; and (c) the sacrifice of humanistic knowledge and what may metaphorically be called ‘the *paideia* of the soul’.

The erosion of the public domain, democracy and democratic citizenship; possessive individualism and the “Faltering” of Democracy” (Jean Elshtain, 1995).

As analysed above, many social theorists, political economists and other commentators conceptualise globalisation as emphasising “markets, the private sector, and possessive individualism” as engines of economic growth in an increasingly competitive world. Hence the appellations “neo-liberal globalization” (e.g., Stromquist, 2002, Fotopoulos, 1997, Giroux, 2002), “market fundamentalism” (e.g., Soros, 1998) and “McWorld” (e.g., Barber, 1995), and such policy prescriptions as “deregulation”, “loss of nation-state sovereignty” (Bauman, 1998 and 2002), “liberalization”, and “privatization”. As a consequence of this emphasis, as Falk has argued, “the political is erased in the face of the economic”, and, among other things, “the state is being subtly deformed as an instrument of human well-being”. The state is also “losing its capacity in many settings to provide the social, economic and physical ingredients within its own borders”, the public domain is being restricted, and democratic institutions are weakened (Falk, 1999, pp. 49–51).

In a similar vein, Taquieff, the already referred to French political philosopher, has written:

The process of globalization, which is always accompanied by the symbolic representation of a messianic and pale utopian ideology of salvation through techno-commercial action, renders illegal the political while legitimizing absolutely

the technical/ technological, the economic and monetary. The social fabric/cohesion is dissipated, and is only replaced by the interactions of free exchanges. The political is erased in the face of the media and the market, while the democratic institutions are weakened (Taquieff, 2002, p. 16).

According to Benjamin Barber, in the McWorld “justice yields to markets”. McWorld “eschews civil society and belittles democratic citizenship”, and is indifferent to “civil liberty”. In metaphorical language, Barber adds: “If the traditional conservators of freedom were democratic institutions and Bills of Rights, the new temples of liberty, George Steiner suggests, will be McDonald’s and Kentucky Fried Chicken” (Barber, 1995, pp. 6–7; also see Fotopoulos, 1997, pp. 33–36).

The critical pedagogue Henry Giroux castigates the global neo-liberal discourse as “the most dangerous ideology of the current historical movement”, and explains:

It [neo-liberalism] assaults all things public, mystifies the basic contradiction between democratic values and market fundamentalism, and weakens any viable notion of political agency by offering no language capable of connecting private considerations to public issues ... Under the rule of neo-liberalism, politics are market driven and the claims of democratic citizenship are subordinated to market values ... The good life, in this discourse, ‘is constructed in terms of our identities as consumers – we are what we buy. The good life means living inside the world of corporate brands ... corporate culture rests on the dystopian notion of what he calls marketopia and is characterized by a massive violation of equity and justice (Giroux, 2002, pp. 428–430, underlining mine).

The weakening of the state and the concomitant erosion of the public sphere and of democratic citizenship, is having, as one would expect, negative effects on education. It should be noted here that, since the Enlightenment and the onset of modernity as well as the emergence of the nation state, public education has been considered to be an important ideological apparatus in the building of nations and in state formation (Green, 1990). In today’s global neo-liberal market-driven New Cosmopolis, in which possessive individualism and the private good supersede participatory citizenship, it appears that the wise counseling of the ancient sage Aristotle and the modern educational philosopher John Dewey about the inextricability of public education and democracy has been set aside, smothered or ‘sacrificed’ for the sake of ‘economic efficiency’, competitiveness, privatisation and the accumulation of wealth. Speaking generally about the effects of neo liberal globalization on public educational provision in ‘central’, that is, developed societies, Nelly Stromquist and Karen Monkman have observed:

[E]ducation is losing ground as a public good to become rather a marketable commodity. The state has become limited in its responsibility to schooling, often guaranteeing basic education but extracting in turn user fees from higher levels of public education, as any other service in the market ... The new outlook has made social policy secondary to the market and has ‘atomized the social’, centering on the interests of the individual as consumer rather than as citizen (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000, pp. 12–13, 15).

In more alarmist language, Nicholas Burbules and Carlos Torres have noted: “Public education today is at a crossroads ... in our view, nothing less is at stake today than the survival of the democratic form of governance and the role of public education in that enterprise” (Burbules & Torres, 2000, p. 23).

In 1995, Jean Elshtain, a distinguished political scientist, in her important book *Democracy on Trial* noted that in the United States the civic realm was characterised by cynicism, boredom, apathy, despair, violence, “exhaustion, opportunism, atomism, and ... a gradual loss of civil society”. She lamented whether democracy would prove sufficiently robust and resilient to survive. She counseled Americans to heed Aristotle’s words that the viability of a democratic polity and the democratic ethos presupposed an education or, more broadly, a *paideia* that, above all, aimed at political virtue (*arete*). In Elshtain’s own words, attention in America should be paid to “liberal learning and the cultivation of civic virtue” (Elshtain, 1995, p. 2). In the same wavelength, Benjamin Barber, has argued that public education and democracy are inextricably linked and that “public schooling and the public weal are intimately bound together”. Referring to the American tendency in education to emphasise instrumental rationality and vocational skills “to keep workers competitive in an economy increasingly dominated by what Robert Reich has called “symbolic analyst professionals”, Barber has argued that Americans needed to recall that education also had “a central civic mission”. And, like Elshtain, he has urged that “liberal arts education” must be taken more seriously in the United States, for “liberal arts education and civic education share a curriculum of critical reflection and autonomous thought” (Barber, 1997, p. 5). More recently, a collection of studies appropriately titled *Schools or Markets? Commercialism, Privatization, and School-Business Partnerships* (2005), documents the corrosive effects on the civic mission of public schools and democratic citizenship of the increasing involvement in public education of corporate America and the concomitant commercialisation of American schools and higher educational institutions (Boyles, 2005).

‘De-Professionalization’ and ‘De-skilling’ of the Teacher – from a Relatively Autonomous Professional Pedagogue to a Master Technocrat?

Paralleling the erosion of the public domain and the arresting of the ‘democratisation of democracy’, one observes a tendency towards the ‘de-professionalization’, or what is referred to as ‘de-skilling’ of the teacher. From a relatively autonomous ‘pedagogue’ and ‘public intellectual’, the teacher is developing into a ‘master technocrat’, whose job becomes one of how to organise and teach effectively, but uncritically, officially prescribed knowledge (curricula) and methods for high measurable achievement in examinations (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000, p. 13), and as Boyles would add “grading and preparation for future life-oriented curricula, i.e., pro-consumerism, job and workforce preparation, and skills-oriented approaches” (Boyles, 2005, pp. 220–221).

In countries like the United States, Canada and England, according to Hargreaves, the work of the teacher has been “intensified”, “formalized” and “technicized”. It “resembles more the work of a miserable manual laborer, and less that of an autonomous professional, whom we trust for the responsible exercise of authority and for straightforward judgment in the classroom, which he knows better than anyone else” (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 119; also see Apple, 1986). Essentially the same notion about the uncritical “technicization” and “bureaucratization” of teaching is implied by the Freirean-inspired critical pedagogue Donaldo Macedo in a provocative critique of the “instrumentalist” and “competency-based banking approach to literacy” – in its lower, that is, school, and higher, that is, university forms. According to Macedo:

For some, the instrumentalist approach to literacy may have the appeal of producing readers who are capable of meeting the demands of our ever more complex technological society. However, such an approach emphasizes the mechanical learning of reading of reading skills while sacrificing the critical analysis of the social and political order that generates the need of reading in the first place ... The instrumentalist approach has led to the development of ‘functional literates’ ... [it] also champions literacy as a vehicle for economic betterment, access to jobs, and increase in the productivity level. (Macedo, 1993, p. 189)

In another context, in a dialogue published in the *Harvard Educational Review*, Donaldo Macedo and the influential critical pedagogue Paulo Freire argue that the developing “objective” and uncritical “bureaucratized” teacher who “denies the oppressed the pedagogical space to develop a critical posture towards the world, particularly the world that has reduced them to a half-human object, exploited and dehumanised, is an educator who is complicit with the ideology of the oppressor” (Freire & Macedo, 1995, pp. 388–389).

And, as D. R. Boyles has pertinently claimed:

Schools [in the United States] are currently places where commercialism is rapidly intruding. Students, teachers, and leaders rarely critique commercial intrusion (resulting in uncritical consumers and uncritical citizens) ... Unfortunately, opportunities for questioning are limited as testing-, grading-, and preparation for future life-oriented curricula (i.e., pro-consumerism, job and workforce preparation, skills-oriented approaches) crowd out chances for such investigation. The concern here is that business partnerships inherently inhibit questioning and instead develop uncritical consumers rather than critically transitive citizens (Boyles, 2005, p. 220–221).

The ‘Sacrifice’ of Liberal Humanistic *Paideia*/Culture

The third significant ‘discontent’ of globalisation, about which there has been very little written or said, has been its effect on the ‘epistemic-cultural’ content of education,

especially on ‘liberal humanistic *paideia*/culture’, and more generally the ‘liberal educational tradition’. An illustration of this idea or ‘sacrifice’ is iconographically portrayed in a cartoon, which appeared in the English newspaper *The Times* (22 August 2000). The cartoon shows a young girl sitting on a sofa in front of a computer, and busily punching on the keyboard. By her side, there is a wastepaper basket with papers titled “history”, “religion”, and “theatre”. The caption below the picture reads: “History and Culture? Not Now!”

Permit me here to elaborate somewhat on this important historical development of the fortunes of “liberal humanistic *paideia*” from its construction in post-Enlightenment Europe and America – the nineteenth century – to today’s Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation and the Information/Technological Knowledge Society.

Phase I. Constructing the Classical Elitist and ‘Sexist Eurocentric Liberal Humanistic Canon/Liberal Humanistic Paideia in the Post-Enlightenment Europe and America

The classical concept of liberal humanistic *paideia* (LHP) or what has been called “The Liberal Humanistic Canon (LHC)”, first with classical studies as its core and later with a broader epistemic and cultural content, with a ‘non-practical’, ‘non-utilitarian’ and non-economic instrumentalist orientation, was constructed in the post-Enlightenment period – in the nineteenth century – and was promoted in the European and American secondary and higher education (in schools, colleges and universities). In England it was referred to as ‘liberal education’, in France as ‘*culture generale*’, in Germany as *Allgemeine Menschenbildung*, and in Greece as “classical humanistic *paideia*” (Kazamias, 1960, p. 264; Arnold, 1875, p. x; Halls, 1965, p. 2; McClean, 1995, p. 24; Sorkin, 1983, p. 63; Dimaras, 1973, pp. 60–67; Antoniou, 1987).

Turning to post-secondary education, the historical experience of ‘college education’ in the United States in the nineteenth century is especially noteworthy. A recent study by Caroline Winterer documents the central place that classical humanism (Greek and Roman) had in the curriculum of American colleges “from the founding of Harvard College in 1636 to the 1880s, when colleges across the nation began to drop their Greek and Latin requirements”. According to Winterer, “the schools and colleges were the nurseries of classicism until the late nineteenth century”, a classicism not defined narrowly but in the broader holistic sense of *paideia*, namely, “the process of realizing the full potential (intellectual and moral) in human nature through education”. It was believed that classical humanistic education in the broad meaning of *paideia* was fundamental in cultivating the minds and “in forming ethical human beings and upright citizens”. Further, it was believed that classical humanistic *paideia* would help combat the worst effects or “cancers” of “modernity”, such as “industrialization, materialism, civic decay, specialization, and anti-intellectualism” (Winterer, 2002, pp. 1–4).

As with the European secondary schools and the American colleges, the liberal humanistic canon of *paideia* (LHP) pervaded the idea of the modern European university, as developed in the post-Enlightenment epoch by the German neo-humanist Wilhelm von Humboldt and the English Cardinal John Henry Newman. In

Newman's idea of a university, the object of study was not "practical" or "useful", that is, utilitarian knowledge, but strictly "educational" and "intellectual". For Newman, the university was a site for "liberal education" and the cultivation of "cultured gentlemen" with "philosophic habits of mind" (Readings, 1996, pp. 65–75).

Humboldt's idea of liberal humanistic education was broader than Newman's. Key concepts in the Humboldtian idea of the German neo-humanist "University of Culture" were *Bildung* (the harmonious character development of man), *Wissenschaft* (scientific study), and *Kultur* (culture/national culture). *Bildung*, according to Gert Biesta "refers ... to the cultivation of the inner life, that is of the human soul, the human mind and the human person; or, to be more precise, the person's humanity". Furthermore, the same author has noted, "*Bildung* was more than only an educational ideal". It was also "and perhaps even primarily, an answer to the question about the role of the subject in the emerging civil society, viz., as a subject who can think for himself (not herself) and who is capable of making his own judgements ... In this respect the modern conception of *Bildung* has a political history as well" (Biesta, 2003, p. 62, underlining mine).

In both the German and the English idea of the modern university education, as conceptualised by Humboldt and Newman respectively, one discerns a clear preference for 'culture' and *episteme* ('science') – in German *Bildung und Wissenschaft* – as the university's defining mission and *raison d'être*. In both ideas, "intellectual culture", the quintessential element of a university education, emphasised the 'liberal philosophical' aspect rather than the 'mechanical' or 'useful'. And within this cultural-epistemological framework, in both cases, "national literary culture" gradually gained ascendancy (Readings, 1996, p. 75ff.).

Contesting the Hegemony of Liberal Humanistic Culture Paideia

With the advent of modernising developments such as industrialisation and democratisation, and the consequent political, economic, intellectual and sociocultural changes, the hegemony of the Eurocentric and elitist liberal humanistic *paideia*/culture, defined mainly in terms of the classical humanistic education, as the staple of the secondary school and university curriculum, began to be contested. At the same time, the concept of 'liberal education' was being re-examined and redefined. 'Modern' subjects, for example, modern languages, modern literature, history and the natural sciences, laid claim to liberal education and even 'humanistic' culture (Kazamias, 1960; also see Jordan & Weedon, 1994, p. 23ff.).

The questioning of the hegemony of the liberal humanistic canon, with classical education as its core, was also evident in France, Germany and the United States (for France, see Talbott, 1969, p. 14; for Germany, see Albisetti, 1987, pp. 182–183; and for the United States, see Tozer, Violas & Senese, 2002).

Phase II. What Knowledge Is of Most Worth in a Free and Democratic Society? A Modern Sequel

In Western Europe and America, the knowledge controversy and the associated conflict of studies, as well as the related concept of "liberal education" and the "liberally

educated person”, continued to be subjects of discussion and controversy at different historical junctures in the twentieth century. Such discourses have been especially manifest in the post-Second World War decades, and more recently, in the New Cosmopolis of late modernity, even postmodernity. The literature on this theme is vast and even a cursory examination of it is beyond the scope of this presentation. Here we shall merely highlight some key developments and discourses in the Anglo-Saxon world in the post-war period (the 1950s and 1960s), and the more recent period of globalisation and the information/technological knowledge society, that are relevant to our argument. First we shall highlight key discourses in the years following the Second World War.

In the United States, major universities grappled with the related questions: What should the intellectual and, more broadly, the educational experience of a college or university student consist of? What knowledge, intellectual/mental skills, and character traits should a college or university graduate possess in order to be called “an educated person and citizen in a free democratic society”? Harvard and Columbia Colleges/Universities and the University of Chicago, for example, but also other liberal arts colleges and universities, produced influential reports and books in which they developed an expanded concept of “liberal education”, which in America was viewed as being coextensive with “general education”. Specifically for our purposes here, both the famous Harvard Report, *General Education in a Free Society* (1947) and the Columbia Report, *Reforming of General Education* (1966) strongly recommended the preservation of general/liberal education as “the foundation of college education” (Bell, 1966, p. xix). According to the Harvard Report: “The task of modern democracy is to preserve the ancient ideal of liberal education and to extend it as far as possible to all the members of the community” (*General Education in a Free Society*, 1952, p. 53). During the same period, Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago (UC), who had also placed the “liberal arts” – with a heavy emphasis in the humanities – as the core of the much publicised undergraduate curriculum of UC, decried what he had perceived as being a pragmatist “service-station” conception of the American university and its instrumental vocational orientation. In his many writings and speeches Hutchins advocated vigorously an education in the “liberal arts” as being “indispensable” and “unavoidable” for an “effective democracy” (Hutchins, 1936, 1952, 1953; Lyford, 1962/1986. For a more detailed analysis of the controversies about liberal education in the United States in the post-Second World War period, see Kimball, 1986).

In Britain, one hundred years after Spencer penned “What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?”, C.P. Snow, another Englishman – renowned scientist, novelist and public figure – gave the famous 1959 Rede lecture *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*. Like Spencer’s essay, Snow’s lecture sparked widespread and heated debate that, according to a recent critic, “is still raging in the media today” (van Dijck, 2002). C.P. Snow’s provocative thesis was stated unequivocally as follows:

I believe the intellectual life of the whole of western society is increasingly being split into two groups ... literary intellectuals at one pole – at the other scientists. ... Between the two a gulf of mutual incomprehension – sometimes (particularly among the young) hostility and dislike, but most of all lack of understanding.

... This polarization is sheer loss to us all. To us as people, and to our society.
(Snow, 1959, p. 2ff.)

From the perspective of this study, the American and the English discourses in the post-Second World War period illustrate the changing conceptions of what types of knowledge and culture constituted “liberal or general education” and concomitantly an educated citizen should possess in an advanced capitalist democratic society where science and technology were considered to be basic desiderata for progress and economic development. They also show that in the twentieth century, the nineteenth-century concept of LHP with a “classical humanistic curriculum” as its core, was no longer dominant in education, although an expanded concept of humanistic education that, in addition to the classics (particularly Latin) included history and literature, was emphasised in the British secondary Grammar and Public schools, and was still considered to be “high status knowledge” in the British universities and in some American Liberal Arts Colleges (for Britain, see McLean, 1990, p. 26). In the United States the “humanistic curriculum” in the secondary schools all but disappeared. The “struggle for the American curriculum”, as Herbert Kliebard has shown, was won over by the “social efficiency” advocates (Kliebard, 1995).

From the review of the discourses above, the comparative historian can draw certain inferences that are germane to this study. First, it is clear that by mid-twentieth century (the 1950s and 1960s), at least in the Anglo-Saxon world, “liberal or ‘general’ education/culture” was being re-conceptualised, and its *epistemic* space or content expanded. No longer could one say that “humanistic *paideia/culture*”, either in the classical meaning (cf. Winterer’s “culture of classicism”, in Winterer, 2002), or indeed in the modern broader sense of “education in the humanities”, held a pre-eminent position in the “liberal or general education” of citizens in a free democratic society. The classics – Latin and Greek – all but disappeared in the United States, while the “humanities” in traditionally “humanist Europe”, were “demoted” at best to an equal status with the natural sciences and “social studies”. At worst, humanistic *paideia/culture* was devalued in terms of its “usefulness” and instrumental worth in the developing post-industrial and increasingly techno-scientific world, compared to the ascendant “sciences”. Even in traditionally “humanist” England, where the humanistic liberal arts – the Trivium – “dominated the university” as Basil Bernstein had later noted, “what we are seeing is the growing development of the specialized disciplines (science and mathematics) of the Quadrivium” (Bernstein, 1996). A second inference is that despite its broader “two- or three-culture” epistemic content and orientation, “liberal/general education” continued to be elitist and basically Eurocentric.

Contesting the ‘Modern Sequel’, and the ‘Crisis’ in the Humanities

The conflict of studies and cultures and the related discourse about the epistemic content of liberal education, indeed the place of liberal education/culture in schools, colleges and universities, and the ancillary question of the place of “humanistic education/*paideia*”, continued to characterise the knowledge and pedagogical controversies, with varying degrees of intensity, in the ensuing decades of the twentieth century.

In the 1960s, the “Students for a Democratic Society” questioned the value of humanistic studies in American education. They considered such studies as being “elitist” and tied to the past, and not relevant for the burning questions of the present. These students were calling for “knowledge relevance” (Rasis, 1988, pp. 135–136). At the same time, however, Mario Savio, the leader of the student protest at Berkeley in 1964, criticised the developing idea of the University as a “knowledge factory” that emphasised “socially and economically useful knowledge” and privileged “the scientific and technical disciplines” at the expense of the “human sciences”, particularly the “humanities”. It should be noted here that Savio’s protest occurred one year after Clark Kerr, the President of Berkeley, first published his influential book *The Uses of the University* where he had “posited the production of useful knowledge as the core of the university’s mission (Kerr, 1963; Aronowitz, 2000, pp. 30–35). Also, in the ensuing years, the “two- and three- culture” conception of liberal/general education was criticised by “multi-culturalists” as being elitist and Eurocentric (see Dijeck, 2002).

The value of humanistic studies and their role in contemporary society as well as their future, were also a subject of wider discussion and concern. Humanist scholars were already talking about a developing “crisis” in this area, which they deplored, a crisis that became more acute in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Calling the tradition of the humanities “education’s great amnesia”, Robert Procter, an American scholar, in a well-documented historical study has written that “[t]he humanities have had a strangely cyclical history: they degenerated in the late Renaissance, came back to life in the early eighteenth century, and have degenerated again in our own time” (Procter, 1988/1998, pp. ix, 87). And, according to Graham Good, a Canadian scholar, in the contemporary “inclusive university”, humanism has been “betrayed”; the liberal humanist ideal is being eroded (Good, 2001, p. 103; also see Schein, 2001, p. 213).

Phase III. What Knowledge Is of Most Worth in the Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation and the Information/Technological Knowledge Society – a Post-Modern Sequel?

In North America – the United States and Canada – the decline of “classical liberal humanism” (CLH), and the concomitant dethronement of Liberal Humanistic *Paideia*/Culture (LHP) from its privileged position in education have been attributed to a concatenation of factors. As higher education was being further expanded and democratised, CLH and LHP were criticised for being elitist, racist, male-dominated/patriarchal, culturally restrictive and Eurocentric. At the same time, as noted above, liberal humanistic knowledge was seen as being “non-relevant” and non-practical in the capitalist world of late modernity. Equally important, the deteriorating fortunes, nay what we have here metaphorically referred to as the “sacrifice” of CLH and LHP, must also be sought in the changing Idea of the University, its mission and its role in the unfolding Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation and the Knowledge Society. Speaking about higher education in North America, Graham Good has attributed the “betrayal of humanism” to the “politicization and commercialization of the university”:

The university no longer adheres to the central defining purpose of its liberal humanist phase – the disinterested pursuit and preservation of knowledge.

Instead it caters to, and tries to reconcile, a plurality of interests: individuals want marketable skills, employers want suitably trained employees, and political and economic forces want their agendas and preferences represented. In the absence of a common end, the university can only be governed by bureaucratic rationality. ... Thus, the university can be simultaneously commercialized (by the quest for corporate sponsorship for professorships, buildings, and research programs) and politicized (by the new sectarianism and its group politics, equity officers, and pressure groups). (Good, 2001, pp. 103–104)

Related to the above, the American university, in the second half of the twentieth century, was being transformed into what Robert Hutchins, earlier in the century, had called “a service station” educational establishment that over-emphasised the “empirical sciences”, and instrumental knowledge with a vocational orientation, at the expense of the classics and the liberal arts (see Hutchins, above). A similar Idea of the University, that emphasised the production of “socially and economically useful new knowledge”, as mentioned earlier, was propounded by Clark Kerr, the President of the University of California at Berkeley. “New knowledge”, according to Kerr, was virtually identical with scientific and technical knowledge. In Kerr’s *New Idea of the University*, the humanities were accorded a secondary place (Kerr, 1963; Aronowitz, 2000, pp. 32–34).

In one of the most severe critical analyses of the nature, the structure, the curriculum and the intellectual orientation of the changing university and college education in the United States the critical sociologist Stanley Aronowitz has boldly claimed: “With only a few partial exceptions, there is little that would qualify as higher learning in the United States. ... By ‘higher learning’ I mean places where students are broadly and critically exposed to the legacy of Western intellectual culture and to those of the Southern Hemisphere and the East” (Aronowitz, 2000, pp. xvii–xviii). Some of the key ideas in this indictment of American higher education, that are relevant for us in this presentation, may be summarised as follows:

- Vocationalisation of public colleges at the expense of liberal arts and sciences, as shown by the growth of “enrollments in business, accounting, education, engineering, and other technical areas, including media technology at the expense of the arts and sciences” (Aronowitz, 2000, pp. 55–56).
- Privileging of “instrumental reason/rationality” and “training in undergraduate “core curricula” of general education: for example, according to Aronowitz, “Harvard’s twenty-year old educational reform is, at the bottom, profoundly ensconced in instrumental reason” (Aronowitz, 2000, p. 139).
- Related to the above, Aronowitz criticised “the academic system of American society” for being “geared to practical ends”, namely, “the production of useful knowledge” and “supplying the vast but segmented market for intellectual labor”, instead of “being the home of scholars engaged in the disinterested pursuit of truth” (Aronowitz, 2000, p. 38).
- Dismantling the American “corporate university”, and a “new vision for true learning”: for the reasons adumbrated above, Aronowitz argues that the American “corporate university” should be “dismantled”. Instead, in “an era of globalisation and rapid technological change”, he offers “a vision for true

learning that places a well-rounded education back at the center of the university mission". He elaborates:

The fundamental mission of higher education should be to play a leading role, perhaps the leading role, in the development of general culture. ... Colleges and universities] must be centers of learning, but also sites of discovery, not only in the natural sciences but also in the natural sciences and the humanities. (Aronowitz, 2000, p. 172.)

Similar observations and critiques, as the above, have been made about contemporary university education in the West. In his book *The University in Ruins* (1996), Bill Readings claims that the University "no longer participates in the historical project for humanity that was the legacy of the Enlightenment: the historical project of culture" (Readings, 1996, pp. 5, 74–75). In today's world of economic globalisation, the rise of transnational corporations (TNCs) and the concomitant "decline of the nation-state", the university", Readings argues, "is a "ruined institution", for it "has been stripped of its cultural mission". It has been forced to abandon its historical cultural mission. Instead, it has become "a bureaucratic arm of the unipolar capitalist system" and "ensconced in consumer ideology. ... It is no longer called upon to train a citizen subject" (pp. 14, 44–48).

The "instrumentalist pressure on knowledge production" in the contemporary university, and the corrosive effects on liberal culture, the arts and "the life of the mind" by the "instrumentalist ethos of the market", and by "pragmatic" and "philistine" concerns, are discussed in another pungent critique of contemporary cultural institutions, including the universities of Europe and North America. In a controversial volume entitled *Where Have All Intellectuals Gone? Confronting 21st Century Philistinism* (2004), the English sociologist F. Furedi claims that "the philistine ethos ... informs much of educational and cultural policy", where the term "philistine" is defined as "a person deficient in liberal culture; one whose interests are material and commonplace" (Furedi, 2004, pp. 1, 3). He characterises university life as "banal", while real scholarship, namely, "the pursuit of excellence and truth, is frequently represented as a bizarre, self-indulgent and irrelevant pursuit" (p. 2).

Furedi criticises the conformism and passivity of today's critical intellectuals. He urges that intellectuals should "reconstitute themselves through reclaiming the autonomy for which their predecessors fought in previous years". And he concludes his critical diatribe with the following thought:

There is very little we can do to force the elites to give up the instrumentalist and philistine world view. But we can wage a battle of ideas for the hearts and minds of the public. How we can do it is one of the key questions of our time. (Furedi, 2004, p. 156)

Essentially the same idea about the corrosive effects of Globalisation on Liberal Humanistic *Paideia*/Culture is implied in judgmental statements made by others. For example: (a) Stephen Ball has argued that "problems of globalization frame and

produce the contemporary problems of education” and “new orthodoxies”, one of which, according to him, is “the increasing colonization of education policy by economic policy imperatives” (Ball, 1998); (b) John Field has commented that the “EU’s action programmes are relentlessly vocational, utilitarian and instrumental in their emphasis”, a “technological option” that has created a tension between “instrumentalism” and the European “attachment to the humanistic tradition of education” (Field, 1998, p. 8); (c) referring to “schooling and the free market” in the United States and the United Kingdom, Spring has exclaimed in obvious despair: “The bean counters are taking over! Accountants and economists are replacing Confucius, Buddha, Plato, John Newman, Robert Hutchins and the many others who have discussed the meaning of a good education and the good life” (Spring, 1998, p. 149); and (d) according to Robert Cowen: “The contemporary crisis – globalization and the relative increase in powerlessness of the ‘nation-State’ – is not merely an economic crisis. It is a cultural one, which requires historical, sociological, anthropological, cultural and philosophical analysis. If the social and human sciences are impoverished by technicization – by performativity, by pragmatism, by an excessive concern for the immediate and the useful – then one of the defences of nations to understand what is happening to them will be dramatically weakened” (Cowen, 1999).

Finally, it would be relevant here to note that the drive towards instrumental and “techno-scientific” forms of knowledge can be interpreted as a contributing factor to a “shift in values and social ethic”, whereby, according to Neave, education is “increasingly viewed as a sub-sector of economic policy”, and less as “part of social policy” (Neave, 1988, p. 274).

The Sacrifice of Liberal Humanistic *Paideia*/Culture: An *Epimythion*

In Euripides’ play *Iphigenia at Aulis*, when Agamemnon’s daughter Iphigenia is brought to the altar to be sacrificed, she is snatched by the goddess Artemis and taken to join the gods as a high priestess. Agamemnon is elated and hastens to comfort his distraught wife Clytemnestra that they should feel happy because their daughter is alive among the company of the gods. He then bids her farewell telling her that he looks forward to seeing her again when he returns from Troy. Clytemnestra, however, remains ominously silent. And the curtain falls after these rather sibylline stanzas by the chorus:

Farewell, son of Atreus, I wish you good voyage to Phrygia
and a good return, bringing with you sumptuous/beautiful spoils from Troy!

Of course, the Athenian audience knew the myth and what these words portended: triumph and spoils, but also tragic consequences. Agamemnon’s pillaging of Troy, and his triumphant return to Argos “bringing with him sumptuous spoils”, as the Chorus enigmatically had prophesied, were accomplished at heavy “human” cost: the sacrifice of his own “flesh and blood”, the raping and enslavement of the Trojan women, the slaughter of the finest Greek and Trojan youth, and the killing of innocent people. And after Troy:

the butchering of Agamemnon himself by his wife Clytemnestra, who never forgave him for the *hubris* he had committed, Clytemnestra's murder by her own son Orestes for the *hubris* his mother had committed, and, in turn, the vengeful pursuit of Orestes by the bloodthirsty Furies for his equally condemnable act, the *hubris* of matricide.

As in the Agamemnon myth, in the first episode above, we have argued that discursive statements and practices in education (*logos* and *praxis*) that are constructed and legitimised in response to and through the prism and the imperatives of the globalisation of capitalist "market fundamentalism" and the associated Knowledge/Learning Society may indeed bring wealth, blessings and "beautiful Trojan spoils". But, as the myth of Agamemnon presaged, they will also exact a heavy "human" price and necessitate "humanistic sacrifices", namely, violence, competitiveness, possessive individualism, the "economic colonization of people" (Korten, 1995, p. 245), the loss of social justice and other democratic civic virtues, and most pertinently for our purposes here, liberal humanistic culture and anthropocentric pedagogies, what we have called "*Paideia* of the Soul", with ultimate dire consequences.

Now, if (a) being human creatures quintessentially signifies having minds as well as souls, (b) the imagined "Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation and the Information-Technological Knowledge/Learning Society", as presented in the first episode of this duology, can be said to be not "wholly human", (c) the role of education is, among other things, the cultivation of minds and souls, and what Martha Nussbaum has called "humanity" (Nussbaum, 1997), and (d) one agrees with Sophocles' paeon to man, namely, that "he is the greatest wonder on earth" and "for every ill he hath found a remedy" (chorus in *Antigone*), or, in the same vein, with Shakespeare's Hamlet, namely, "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In apprehension how like a God!" (Hamlet in *Hamlet*), then, one may legitimately pose the question: What can the contemporary human (the politician, the intellectual, the scientist, the artist, the educator, the pedagogue, the citizen) do "to arrest" the "dehumanizing" tide of economic globalisation and "market fundamentalism"?

In the second episode, I try to answer this question by using another ancient Greek myth, the Myth of Prometheus as dramatised by Aeschylus in *Prometheus Bound*.

Episode Two – Prometheus Unbound: Promethean Neo-Humanism in the Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation and the Information/Technological Knowledge Society

Prologue – The Myth of Prometheus

In Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, Prometheus the Titan, son of Earth, creator and friend of "mortal man" as a superior being blessed with a "higher soul" than an animal, and with the ability "to reason"; Prometheus the "foreteller", germ of intelligence and moral order in a brute, chaotic and violent universe, had sided with Zeus in his overthrow of Cronos, the Olympian lord of the gods, and with Zeus' subsequent succession as the undisputed master of the universe. But when Zeus, the

dynastic Olympian planetarch (ruler of the planet), wanted to destroy the “miserable race of men” and replace it by another – by a race of fettered and servile “sub-human” creatures – over whom he would rule with brute force, Prometheus the philanthropos (lover of mankind) stole Fire, the source of all civilisation, wisdom and all human arts from heaven, and bestowed it as a gift to humanity. Fearing that this act of philanthropy would increase the power, the confidence and the wisdom of mortals, Zeus condemned Prometheus to be nailed by the mighty fire-god Hyphaestus (Vulcan) to a rock in the Caucasus, where an eagle continually preyed on his liver. Sympathisers with Prometheus visited him and urged him to accept the sovereignty of Zeus – the new master of Olympus – to cease acting as the champion of freedom, justice and the human race, and to recant. But despite his agonising ordeal, Prometheus did not compromise; he continued his defiance of Zeus’ tyrannical power, until in the end Zeus released him (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*).

In Aeschylus’ drama, Prometheus symbolises the rebellious and creative human being who possesses an acute mind and, as a benefactor of humanity, the will to rebel against absolute sovereignty, tyrannical power and violence and the dehumanising enslavement of mortals. As the foreteller, he could foresee that the almighty hegemon Zeus would create “humanoid” rather than “human creatures” devoid of human “minds and souls”.

Prometheus Unbound: Promethean Neo-Humanism and Paideia

In the second episode of this duology, globalization, through stakeholders like the Transnational Corporations (TNCs), is presented as an imperial “knowledge power”. Like the newly enthroned planetarch Zeus in *Prometheus Bound*, globalization is bent on constructing not wholly human creatures, what otherwise could be referred to as cyborg citizens (Mann, 2001), without the quintessential human minds, feelings and “souls”, as symbolically represented in a brilliant advertisement of Johnny Walker whiskey. The videoed advertisement shows a talking anthropoid (with a human façade, a mechanical neck and backside head), which in successive dramatic scenes emits audibly the following thoughts and sentiments:

- I am faster than you; I am stronger; certainly I will last much longer than you.
- You may think I am the future, but you are wrong.
- You are.
- If I had a wish, I wish to be human: to know how it feels, to feel, to hope, to despair, to wonder, to love.
- I can achieve immortality by not wearing out.
- You can achieve immortality.
- Simply by doing one great thing – keep walking!

To recollect Plato’s famous allegory of the Cave, in a Cyborg Cosmopolis the human being is placed in a modern “virtual cave”, a site of “non-*paideia*”, where he/she is held captive of a “virtual reality” devoid of human qualities, dispositions and aesthetic skills. Such an imagined Brave New Cosmopolis may indeed be a rational techno-scientific and an economically hegemonic Cosmopolis. But, we have argued, it will be a Dehumanised Knowledge Dystopia (DKD) – a Post-Human Empire (PHE)?

What Is to Be Done?

In the second episode, Prometheus Unbound, we argue that what could be done to “cultivate humanity” (Nussbaum) in the “dehumanizing” Knowledge/Learning Cosmopolis, the Post-Human Empire, or to use Furedi’s terminology, the Philistine Empire (Furedi, 2004), is to re-conceptualise/re-imagine/reinvent and promote Liberal Humanistic *Paideia*, by which we mean an education that refers to and cultivates human attributes and qualities, namely, the mind, the virtues, the passions, the feelings (in the words of the anthropoid above, “to know how it feels, to hope, to despair, to wonder, to love”), the problems, man’s and woman’s human condition. Such an intellectual, epistemological and pedagogical project would entail the creation of “humanist learning societies” or in O’Sullivan’s terminology, “human communities” (O’ Sullivan, 2001), through the promotion of a humanist *Paideia* and Pedagogy, with a re-conceptualised and reconstituted humanistic learning occupying a prominent place in the curriculum of schools, colleges and universities.

By re-conceptualising Liberal Humanistic *Paideia* we do not mean reviving the narrow concept of classical humanistic *Paideia* that was centred in the classical literary and philological disciplines (see Jaeger, 1939; Papathanasopoulou, 1987). Nor do we mean exclusively the *Trivium* – Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic – plus Music, of the *Septem Artes Liberales* (The Seven Liberal Arts) of the Medieval University (Kimball, 1995). We argue for the reinvention of a Promethean neo-Humanism in education, that questions the hegemony of the Information/ Technological Epistemological Paradigm (Castells) and rejects all constraints on the humanness, the free spirit and the imagination of man, by cultivating “all the human arts”, especially the broad epistemic space of the Arts and the Humanities. We would argue for a Humanistic *Paideia* and Pedagogy, based on the broad spectrum of what has come to be known as Liberal Arts (the *artes humanitatis/studia humanitates*), and among them, the broad concept of humanistic education, that includes Language, Literature, Poetry, Drama, Philosophy, History, Music and the Arts (see Procter, 1988/1998). Contrary to possible criticisms that such an education would be conservative and not devoid of Eurocentric elitist, sexist, racist, and “classist” elements, our re-conceptualised *Paideia* and Pedagogy could indeed be “empowering”, “emancipatory”, “transformative” and, above all, humanising to all, including the poor, the oppressed and the underprivileged. In support of this idea, it would be relevant here to refer to the much-acclaimed Clemente Course in the Humanities (CCH), as expounded in Earl Shorris’ book *Riches for the Poor* (2000). The CCH started on an experimental basis in the Lower East Side of New York and then it expanded to 17 sites in the United States, Canada and Mexico. Its aims, according to Shorris, were: “through the humanities to enable poor people to make the journey into the public world, the political life as Pericles defined it, beginning with the family, and going on to neighborhood, community and state”. By the “political life as Pericles defined it” Shorris meant *vita activa* – active, reflective citizenship – and, we might add, what Aristotle meant by “man” being a “political animal” (*zoon politikon*), as exemplified by Socrates, the “philosopher citizen”. (Shorris, 2000, pp. 4–10). As to the aforementioned possible criticisms of humanistic education, Shorris’ comments about the study of the humanities would be quite in order here:

To call for the study of the humanities now as an answer to the problem of poverty in the United States contravenes the views of both the left and the right. The left abandoned the study of the humanities as the cultural imperialism of dead white European males, giving it over to the conservatives, who have claimed it as their own. In fact, the humanities should belong to the left, for the study of the humanities by large numbers of people, especially the poor, is in itself a redistribution of the wealth. The right, on the other hand, has had no use for the living humanities since Plato banned poets from *The Republic*. (Shorris, 2000, p. 105)

Epistemic areas such as the arts and the humanities represent different forms of knowledge from techno-scientific studies and empirical social sciences, which, more than ever, are needed in the dehumanising Brave New Cosmopolis of Globalisation and the Knowledge/Learning Society. In an enlightening essay on “Aesthetic Modes of Knowing”, Elliot Eisner has argued that areas such as Literature, Music and Art represent “aesthetic forms of knowledge” that is different from the most widely accepted “scientific knowledge”. Viewed this way, “both artist and scientist create forms through which the world is viewed ... both make qualitative judgments about the fit, the coherence, the economy, ‘the rightness’ of the forms they create”. And in support of the “aesthetic mode of knowing”, Eisner avers:

The aesthetic is not only motivated by our need for stimulation; it is also motivated by our own need to give order to our world. To form is to confer order. To confer aesthetic order upon our world is to make that world hang together, to fit, to feel right, to put things in balance, to create harmony. ... The aesthetic, then, is motivated by our need to lead a stimulating life ... the aesthetic is also inherent in our need to make sense of experience. (Eisner, 1985, pp. 26–30)

In the same vein, the epistemological, the liberatory-humanistic and the aesthetic value of the Arts, particularly “during this period of global change”, was unequivocally declared by the editors of the *Harvard Educational Review* (HER) in a published symposium on “Arts As Education” in 1991. The editors averred that “learning in the arts is fundamental to education because the arts are an essential aspect of human knowing and being in the world”, and “educational reform and debate without the arts is incomplete reform”. Their reasoning behind this claim is worthy of quotation in full:

We perceive the arts to be a fundamental way of knowing, or, as first-grade teacher Karen Gallas puts it in her essay’s title: Arts as Epistemology. The arts can be, for both students and teachers, forms of expression, communication, creativity, imagination, observation, perception, and thought. They are integral to the development of cognitive skills such as listening, thinking, problem-solving, matching form to function, and decision making. They inspire discipline and dedication. The arts can also open pathways toward understanding the richness of peoples and cultures that inhabit our world, particularly during this period of global change. The arts can nurture a sense of belonging, or of community; they can foster a sense of being apart, or of being an individual. The arts give rise to many voices. By acknowledging the role of the arts in our lives and in education,

we acknowledge what makes individuals whole. (*Harvard Educational Review*, 1991, p. 25)

The epistemological, ethical, aesthetic and *a fortiori* humanising potential for the study and teaching of Literature – poetry, drama, novel, biography, essay – in a democratic society, especially in the contemporary turbulent, uncertain, insecure and problematic world, has been presented eloquently by Louise Rosenblatt in her classic and influential *Literature as Exploration* (1938/1965/1968/1976/1995). Echoing Henry James, the province of literature, according to Rosenblatt, is the human experience, “everything that human beings have thought or felt or created”. And she explains: “The lyric poet utters all that the human heart can feel. ... The novelist displays the intricate web of human relationships with their hidden patterns of motive and emotion. ... The dramatist builds a dynamic structure out of the tensions and conflicts of intermingled human lives” (Rosenblatt, 1995, pp. 5–6).

Promethean neo-Humanism through the Arts and the Humanities has the potential not only of developing cognitive skills and “forming minds”, which are necessary qualities of being human. As conceptualized here, more than the “sciences”, it also has the potential of cultivating the “human soul” – the social, ethical, emotional and aesthetic attitudes, the skills, dispositions and virtues, and the character traits that are quintessentially human (also see Cohen, 2006, and O’ Sullivan, 2001). In the opening essay in the aforementioned HER symposium (1991) on “Arts As Education”. Maxine Greene, the distinguished American philosopher of Education, argued that *imagination*, which is “at the core of understanding” and responsible for “the very texture of experience”, and the *emotions*, including taste and sensibility, “can be and ought to be, educated ... through initiation into the artistic-aesthetic domains” (p. 31), by which she meant the Arts, namely, the spectrum that includes Dance, Music, Painting and the other graphic arts, Literature and Poetry. The arts, according to her, “offer opportunities for perspective, for perceiving alternative ways of transcending and of being in the world, for refusing the automatism that overwhelms choice” (p. 32). And speaking about the “transformative” pedagogical potential of the arts, Greene asserts that “one of the functions of the arts is not only to make us see (as Joseph Conrad wrote) ‘according to our deserts’ ... not only to change our everyday lives in some fashion, but to subvert our thoughtlessness and complacencies even about art itself” (p. 33). And again: “At the heart of what I am asking for in the domains of art teaching and aesthetic education is a sense of agency, even of power. Cockburn’s notion of the power of folk music ‘as a means of individual expression and a tool for social change’ suggests possibilities in the main domain of the arts. Painting, literature, theatre, film; all can open doors and move persons to transform” (p. 38, underlining mine).

An illustrative example of an Art that represents a different form of knowledge from the “sciences”, and has the twofold potential of developing the “mind” and “cultivating the soul” is that of Music. In a recent study titled “The Neglected Muse: Why Music is an Essential Liberal Art,” Peter Kalkavage, a musician and a teacher of music, argues that Music “is the union of the rational and irrational, of order and feeling. ... Even apart from its profound connection with mathematics, music is pre-eminent among

the arts for the order and clarity, the sharply defined character, of its elements.” Music, he further explains, “is an essential part of who we are as human beings ... ultimately, by shaping feeling, music shapes the whole human being”. And in bolstering his argument about the educational value of Music, Kalkavage refers to the Greek philosopher Aristotle, for whom Music, as an ingredient of *Paideia* was crucially useful for the intellectual, moral and political development of the virtuous *anthropos-politis* (citizen-person) (Kalkavage, 2006, p. 16).

Another example of the difference between the approach of the “social sciences” and that of the Arts is provided by Literature. According to Rosenblatt:

In contrast to the analytic approach of the social sciences, the literary experience has immediacy and emotional persuasion. Will President Madison or Rip Van Winkle live more vividly for the student? Will the history of the Great Depression impress him as much as Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath*? Will the theoretical definitions of the psychology textbook be as illuminating as *Oedipus* or *Sons and Lovers*? Obviously, the analytic approach needs no defense. But may not literary materials contribute powerfully to the student’s images of the world, himself, and the human condition? (Rosenblatt, 1995, p. 7)

Epilogue/Epimythion – Tending to the ‘Mind’ and the ‘Soul’

In his defense/apology at the trial at which he was indicted and condemned to drink the hemlock for his alleged “impiety”, specifically for preaching “new demons/ ideas”, different from those of the State, and for “corrupting the youth”, Socrates the “humanist philosopher-citizen” of democratic Athens, like the mythical humanist Prometheus, refused to obey the dictates of those in power and give up philosophy, which he considered to be a *sine qua non* for the cultivation of the “minds” and “souls” of the democratic *anthropoi-polites* (citizens-persons). In his defiance at the trial, he reiterated that he would prefer to die rather than cease to say to whomever he met: “How can you, my friend, an Athenian citizen of the greatest, wisest, most glorious and most powerful city, not be ashamed for caring more about how you acquire honor, glory and riches, and not be interested in your intellectual development, in truth and in tending to your soul?” (Plato, *Apology*).

Our re-conceptualised humanist *Paideia*/Pedagogy for the creation of democratic citizens with “minds and souls” in the Knowledge/Learning Cosmopolis of the twenty-first century may be epitomized in terms of the following key ideas and human values: Character, Community, Inclusiveness, Integrity, Cosmopolitan Identity, Sympathy, Caring and Democracy (Hargreaves, 2003; Nussbaum, 1997, Noddings, 1984), but also Justice, Wisdom, Responsibility, Friendship, and Critical Thinking.

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BEYOND METHODOLOGICAL ‘ISMS’ IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN AN ERA OF GLOBALISATION

Roger Dale and Susan Robertson

Introduction

[A] whole series of key concepts for the understanding of society derive their power from appearing to be just what they always were and derive their instrumentality from taking on quite different forms. (Smith, 2006, p. 628)

Gavin Smith's pithy insight takes us straight to the heart of the methodological – but also the substantive – problems posed to comparative education by ‘globalisation’. We do not need to define globalisation very precisely to recognise that it has brought about major challenges to comparative education's objects of study, and the terms and concepts it uses – and this means, we will argue, that it has also brought about changes in the meaning of comparative education itself. In this chapter we will be suggesting that recognising the nature and extent of this problem is one of the most important requirements of being comparative in education in an era of globalisation, for a major consequence of globalisation, not just for comparative education but more generally, is that while it has profound effects on the key features of the economic political and social worlds we inhabit, we remain tied to the concepts with which we described and understood the world prior to globalisation.

We will focus here on both the changes brought about by globalisation in the core objects of study of comparative education, ‘*national*’ ‘*education*’ ‘*systems*’ and their consequences for the area of study, both methodological and ‘political’. In terms of the first, we will suggest that the three central elements of the field of comparative education, respectively directly related to those three core objects of study, are in danger of becoming somewhat ossified and of thereby restricting, or even obstructing, rather than expanding, our opportunities to come to terms with globalisation and the ways in which institutional and everyday life has been transformed.

We will suggest that the danger can be summed up by suggesting that the ways of approaching the central elements of comparative studies of education, national systems, state-run, of education, are in severe danger of becoming ‘isms’. We may be confronted by, or reliant on, not just methodological *nationalism*, but methodological *statism* and methodological *educationism*. In each case the ‘ism’ is used to suggest

an approach to the objects that takes them as unproblematic and assumes a constant and shared meaning; they become ‘fixed, abstract and absolute’ (Fine, 2003, p. 465), and the source of the danger lies in the nominal continuity provided by the ostensibly ‘same’ concepts, as Smith warns. The assumption/acceptance of the ‘isms’ means that the understanding of changes brought about by globalisation may be refracted through the lenses of unproblematic conceptions of nationalism, statism and educationism, even as these changes themselves bring about changes in the meaning of, or the work done by, nation states and education systems, and thereby undermine their validity. One reflection of the depth of the embeddedness of this set of concepts is that they become themselves a kind of benchmark against which perceived changes are measured and represented; thus we have the ‘De-’conceptions; de-territorialisation, de-statisation, de-concentration, decentralisation and so on (Patramanis, 2002).

It is our argument that it has taken the impact of globalisation to expose the problems of the ‘isms’ in comparative education (and indeed education studies more widely). It is fundamentally the changes of the scale and the means of governance at and through which ‘education’ is carried out that have exposed the shortcomings of previous theorising. What seeing the core elements of comparative education as methodological ‘isms’ reveals is that it has rarely ever been the case that ‘the state did it all’ in the case of education, that educational activities and governance have ever been confined to the national scale and that ‘education’ has ever been a single straightforward, unproblematic conception.

Comparative Education and ‘National Education Systems’

Methodological Nationalism

The most widely recognised of the ‘isms’ is methodological nationalism. The nation state has been at the core of comparative education throughout its history. It has been the basis of comparison, what has been compared. As Daniel Chernilo puts it, “the nation-state became the organizing principle around which the whole project of modernity cohered” (Chernilo, 2006, p. 129). We might see it as the institution that embodies the principles of modernity and through which those principles are to be delivered. Furthermore, the nation-state conception is further reinforced by its being embedded within a well-established system of similar states, (where nation states are recognised as legal entities under international law) which deepens the difficulty of both looking beyond, and of imagining alternatives to it.

The nation state has been the core concept on which the methodological nationalism that has characterised not just comparative education, but most of social science, has been based (Martins, 1974). In fact, we can identify four distinct elements of this problem (for an extended critique of the conception of methodological nationalism in comparative education see Dale, 2005). The first, and best known, is the idea that methodological nationalism sees the nation state as the container of ‘society’, so that comparing societies entails comparing nation states (Beck, 2002; Beck & Sznaider, 2006). The second is the close association between nation states and comparison brought about by the ‘national’ being the level at which statistics have traditionally

been gathered; as one of us put it elsewhere, methodological nationalism operates both about and for the nation state, to the point where the only reality we are able to comprehensively describe statistically is a national, or at best an international, one (Dale, 2005, p. 126). The third element of the problem arises from the tendency to juxtapose an unreconstructed methodological nationalism to underspecified conceptions of 'globalisation' in a zero-sum relationship. This typically takes the form of the global 'affecting' the national, or the national 'mediating' the global. This is not to say that such relationships are not present, but that they are not to be taken as the norm. The final element we wish to mention here concerns the extent of the suffusion, or identification, of concepts of the nation state with a particular imaginary of rule. This has become clearer through recent discussions of conceptions of 'sovereignty', 'territoriality' and 'authority' (cf. Ansell & Di Palma, 2004). These discussions essentially see the particular combination of responsibilities and activities that nation states have been assumed to be responsible for as historically contingent rather than functionally necessary, or even optimal. Thus, though the ontology that "a region of physical space ... can be conceived of as a corporate personality", the nature, implications and consequences of this have varied greatly, and it remains the case that "the unity of this public authority has generally been regarded as the hallmark of the so-called Westphalian states" (Ansell, 2004, p. 6), while "the chief characteristic of the modern system of territorial rule is the consolidation of all parcellised and personalised authority into one public realm" (Ruggie, 1993, p. 151). However, while "public authority has been demarcated by discrete boundaries of national territory ... so, too, has the articulation of societal interests and identities that both buttress and make demands upon this authority" (Ansell, 2004, p. 8). The question then concerns the "implications of a world in which the mutually reinforcing relations of territory, authority and societal interests and identities can no longer be taken for granted" (2004, p. 9).

Methodological Statism

The assumptions of the unity of public authority and a single public realm take us towards and what we are referring to as 'methodological statism'. If methodological nationalism refers to the tendency to take the nation state as the container of societies, the related but considerably less recognised term methodological *statism* refers to the tendency to assume that there is a particular *form* intrinsic to all states.¹ That is, all polities are ruled, organised and administered in essentially the same way, with the same set of problems and responsibilities, and through the same set of institutions. The assumed set of institutions that has become taken for granted as *the* pattern for the rule of societies is that found in the West in the twentieth century, and in particular the social-democratic welfare state that pervaded Western Europe in the second half of that century (Zurn & Leibfried, 2005, p. 11). Central – and, we might argue, unique – to this conception was that all four dimensions of the state distinguished by Zurn and Leibfried (resources, law, legitimacy and welfare) converged in national constellations, and national institutions. What Zurn and Leibfried make clear, however, is that "the changes over the past 40 years are not merely creases in the fabric of the nation state, but rather an unravelling of the finely woven national constellation of

its Golden Age” (2005, p. 1). To put it another way, both the assumption of a common set of responsibilities and means of achieving them, and the assumption that they are necessarily rather than contingently associated with each other, can no longer be sustained, outside a continuing methodological statism.

A further consequence of methodological statism is that the model of the state that became taken for granted in academic discourse across most of the social sciences is not one that was ever established or present in the greater part of what we refer to as developing countries. That model was not only imposed on the majority of postcolonial states that were created after the Second World War, but formal acceptance of, and attachment to, it became the main basis of membership of the ‘international community’. As has been pointed out by Ferguson and Gupta (2002), among others, that model of the state was never an effective means of conceiving of how the majority of developing societies were ruled. They see work on states based on two assumptions; *verticality*, which “refers to the state as an institution somehow above civil society, community and family” (1982). This top-down assumption is contrasted with *encompassment*, “the state, (conceptually fused with the nation) is located within an ever widening series of circles that begins with family and local community and ends with the system of nation-states” (ibid). This politically imposed simulacrum of a constructed form of rule has not only distorted attempts at introducing fair, efficient and effective forms of rule in those countries, but its acceptance as a valid and accurate account by academics as well as politicians, on the basis that the same term meant the same thing irrespective of circumstances, has equally distorted analyses of the governance of developing countries. The depth of the penetration of the assumptions of the ‘isms’, and their consequences, is summed up by Ruggie, writing of international relations, but in terms applicable to all social sciences. He sees them as displaying “an extraordinarily impoverished mind-set ... that is able to visualize long term challenges to the system of states only in terms of entities that are institutionally substitutable for the state” (1993, p. 143).

The main conclusion to be drawn from this brief discussion, then, is that one essential basis of any response on the part of comparative education to globalisation is to recognise that using ‘the state’ as an explanatory concept, without major qualification, is both to accept an inaccurate picture of the world and to perpetuate a particular outcome of political imposition. To put it briefly; one consequence of globalisation for comparative education, and for social science more generally, is to make it clear that the nation state should be regarded as *explanandum*, in need of explanation, rather than as *explanans*, part of an explanation. Or, to put it another way, the component parts of what is connoted by the nation state, need to be ‘unbundled’, and their status and relationships examined anew in a globalised world, by comparative educationists as by other social scientists. One effective means of summarising the points made here about methodological nation-statism is to display the bones of the argument diagrammatically.

Figure 1 illustrates the points made above about methodological statism by recognising that the national state is no longer the only, or taken-for-grantedly the most important, actor in the area of education. This means that the first thing that is to be compared as globalisation affects education more and more is the *governance* of

SCALE OF GOVERNANCE				
Supra-National				
National				
Sub-National				
INSTITUTIONS OF COORDINATION	GOVERNANCE ACTIVITIES			
	Funding	Ownership	Provision	Regulation
State				
Market				
Community				
Household				

Fig. 1. Pluri-scalar governance of education

education. By governance, we mean the combinations and coordination of activities, actors/agents, and scales, through which 'education' is constructed and delivered in national societies. The diagram seeks both to indicate, and at the same time to reduce the complexity of, what is involved in governing education, through 'unbundling' the range of activities, or functions, of educational governance. We identify four categories of activity that collectively make up educational governance (that are for the sake of exposition taken to be mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive): *funding; provision or delivery; ownership; and regulation*. These activities may in principle be carried out independently of each other and by a range of agents other than the state. To utilise the figure directly, this means that all the cells can be empirically populated. However, one crucial point to be made here is that none of the relationships framed in this diagram should be seen as zero sum, as entailing mutually exclusive relations. The lines between the various cells are assumed to be porous rather than taken as border. Thus, the diagram also reflects the argument that it is neither 'natural' nor essential that all these activities are carried out by the state, or by any other single

agency. Rather, we may expect different combinations of agents, actors and scales in the governance of education, bearing in mind that at all three levels, agents, activities and scales, there will be hybrid combinations; respective examples are public–private partnerships, complex forms of ownership and ‘jumping’ scales from local to supranational. However, this does not mean that we are faced with choices between hybrid and ‘pure’ categories; we have, for instance, argued elsewhere, using the example of higher education in Europe, for the existence of ‘parallel’ discourses, which exist separate from each other at different scales, in that case, the institutional, the national and the European (Dale, 2008).

What this means in practical terms is that we need to focus on and seek to understand the implications for education, of not just a new range of actors who are now involved in the process, but of a new range of activities that it involves, and a new range of scales at which it takes place – as well as, of course, studying the interrelationships of these changes in actors, activities and scales.

One example of the kind of theorising made possible by the recognition of and escape from, methodological nationalism and statism is to conceive of ‘education’ as not necessarily and exclusively associated with the nation state, but as constituted through the complex workings of functional and scalar divisions of the labour of educational governance (Dale, 2003), which can mean any or all of a single locus of governance; parallel loci of governance at different scales; or hybrid forms of governance across scales, and/or activities, and/or agents. So, what is broadly meant by governance here is the replacement of the assumption that the state always and necessarily governs education through control of all the activities of governing, with what might be called the coordination of coordination, with the state possibly retaining the role of coordinator, or regulator, of last resort (Dale, 1997).

Educationism

At this point we will turn to the third, and possibly most controversial, ‘ism’, ‘educationism’. What is taken as education in comparative education, and far beyond, is as unproblematic as nationalism or statism. What is understood by education can be seen as equally fixed, abstract and absolute as the other two ‘isms’, as also requiring explanation rather than providing it, and as having similar consequences for analysis and understanding. It is crucial to note that the central elements of what we refer to as ‘education’ have themselves co-evolved in a rather similar way – indeed, alongside the evolution of the nation state (Green, 1993) – and may be in need of a similar kind of ‘unbundling’.

‘Education’ would appear on the surface to be the most constant of the three components we are currently examining. After all, everyone in the world has either been to school, or is to have the opportunity to go to school – which, interestingly, is how education is defined in the *Millennium Development Goals*. However, we also know both that what is understood by education differs widely and along multiple dimensions, and that the experience of schooling varies enormously – which, of course, has been the grist of comparative education from its inception.

More precisely, what we are calling ‘educationism’ refers to the tendency to regard ‘education’ as a single category for purposes of analysis, with an assumed common

scope, and a set of implicitly shared knowledges, practices and assumptions. It occurs when education is treated as abstract, fixed, absolute, ahistorical and universal, when no distinctions are made between its use to describe purpose, process, practice and outcomes. Particular representations of education are treated in isolation from each other, and addressed discretely rather than as part of a wider assemblage of representations – for there is no suggestion that the different representations of education have nothing in common with each other, or that the label is randomly attached. Far from it, it is the recognition that there are crucial relationships between different representations of education that are being occluded or disguised by the failure to distinguish between them that makes it so important to identify and seek to go beyond educationism. Educationism does not discriminate between uses of the term or make them problematic, and this makes it almost impossible for 'education' to be the object of comparison. This is compounded by two self-limiting parochialisms. Disciplinary parochialism restricts the bases for the study of education to approaches that come within the field, often, it seems, to work that contains 'education' in its title; this leads to analyses that share the same assumptions about the field – with the lexical equivalence removing the need to problematise them (see Dale, 1994). Institutional parochialism similarly refers to the tendency within all education studies to take existing education systems, institutions and practices in isolation as self-evidently the appropriate focus for their endeavours, and not to problematise these systems, and so on (Dale, 2005, p. 134).

Fundamentally, educationism treats education as a single, indiscriminate aggregate of representations that are qualitatively different from each other. There are three elements involved in addressing this problem. The first is to disaggregate, or 'unbundle' these different components. The second is to seek to establish the determinants and consequences of the boundaries and content of education as a separate sector; and the third is to focus on questions around how, by whom and under what circumstances, education is currently represented.

The first, which we have discussed previously (Dale, 2000), involves replacing the single term education by a series of questions that any understanding of education has to take into account. This essentially entails stipulative representations of 'education' with a set of variables. The basic idea behind the Education Questions is that rather than assuming/accepting that we all mean the same thing when we are talking about education, we pose a set of precise questions that can frame discussions and provide a basis for coherent discussion and systematic comparison. The questions are intended to provide some common ground where the nature and bases of different conceptions of education and its purposes, institutions and practices, might first be made clearer and eventually lay the ground for the kind of productive dialogue that their mutual neglect and incommensurability had denied. They are also intended to make different conceptions of education 'mutually intelligible' through providing a set of questions to which they are all able to respond, albeit, and expectedly, in a range of wholly different ways (Dale, 2006a).

The Education Questions

These questions are set at four levels (both to reflect the range of meanings that might be attached to 'education' and to make clear the complexity of the questions, none of which can be answered from within a single level alone).

These levels are those of educational practice; education politics; the politics of education; and the level of outcomes. Finally, it needs to be stated that the Education Questions still assume a national basis for 'education'. This is because that is the level at which empirically we still find the greater part of the activities that come under the heading of education taking place. However, as a glance at the Level 3 questions will confirm, this does not mean adopting a wholly, or exclusively, national focus. Nor does it mean that the national is the only or the most important scale of analysis. Nor does it entail any assumption of comparability between national levels; it is still important to problematise the comparability of the categories we use within and across levels and scales (see Table 1).

Education as a Sector²

One very useful approach to looking at the changes that have – and have not – occurred to, and within, national education *sectors* has been put forward by David Levi Faur

Table 1. The Education Questions

Level	
Level 1	
Educational practice	Who is taught, (or learns through processes explicitly designed to foster learning), what, how and why, when, where, by/from whom, under what immediate circumstances and broader conditions, and with what results? How, by whom and for what purposes is this evaluated?
Level 2	
Education politics	How, in pursuit of what manifest and latent social, economic, political and educational purposes; under what pattern of coordination of education governance; by whom; and following what (sectoral and cultural) path dependencies, are these things problematised decided, administered, managed?
Level 3	
The politics of education	What functional, scalar and sectoral divisions of labour of educational governance are in place? In what ways are the core problems of capitalism (accumulation, social order and legitimation) reflected in the mandate, capacity and governance of education? How and at what scales are contradictions between the solutions addressed? How are the boundaries of the 'education sector' defined and how do they overlap with and relate to other sectors? What 'education-related' activities are undertaken within other sectors? How is the education sector related to the citizenship and gender regimes? How, at what scale and in what sectoral configurations does education contribute to the extra-economic embedding/stabilisation of accumulation? What is the nature of intra- and inter-scalar and intra- and inter-sectoral relations (contradiction, cooperation, mutual indifference?)
Level 4	
Outcomes	What are the individual, private, public, collective and community outcomes of 'education', at each scalar level?

(2006), through a Policy Sector Approach to comparative political analysis. He suggests:

When we study sectors we examine them in two senses, the *Generic* and the *nation-specific* (cf. Vogel, 1996, p. 258). The generic characteristics of the sector are the most common features that a sector has; they exist beyond nations and regions and are applicable in principle to countries as different, for example, as Jamaica and Germany. The nation-specific characteristics of a sector reflect the changes in the generic features as the result of its integration into the national setting or context. To distinguish between generic and nation-specific characteristics of a sector is to be sensitive to the commonalities of ... sectors beyond nations but at the same time to understand that sectors are embedded in national settings and thus acquire characteristics of their own. Indeed, it makes sense to distinguish three different aspects of the sectors' *generic* and *nation-specific* characteristics: the technological, the economic and the political. (Vogel, 2006, pp. 368–369)

Our argument is that both the generic and the nation-specific (indeed, what counts as nation-specific) characteristics of education sectors have changed and are changing under the pressure of the political and economic aspects on the technological aspects. So, while this approach is extremely interesting and important in this context, for its value to be realised it is crucial not to confine the analysis to 'nation-specific' characteristics, but, in the spirit of the changing governance of education, to extend it to 'sub-national-' and 'supranational-' specific characteristics.

It might be argued that the two central elements of the technology of the education sector are its discourses and its practices, and that both are part of a globalised Western modernity, rather than the product or property of any particular nation state. The key evidence for the former is to be found in Meyer and colleagues' analyses of the global scripts of education (Meyer *et al.*, 1992). The most crucial, but also the most taken-for-granted feature of these discourses is that they essentially *equate education with (compulsory) schooling*. We see the continuing centrality of this association quite dramatically, for instance, in the formulation of the Millennium Development Goal for Education, which is 'to achieve Universal Primary Education'; this is even more explicitly related to schooling in Target 3, which is to 'Ensure that by 2015 children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling'. Progress towards the achievement of the goal is monitored by increases in the number of children able to access primary education. Thus the practices of education are to be found in the processes of schooling, which – as the Education MDG again shows – themselves have taken on an equally 'global' aspect, to the point where we may refer to them as a common 'grammar of schooling' (Tyack & Tobin, 1994; Dale, 2008). Together, then, these discourses and practices may be seen as comprising a significant part of the *technology* of the education sector. In a very real sense, they define what education *is*; 'education' is identified as that which takes place through the grammar of schooling and transmits a particular culture.

Essentially what we might see such discourses and practices explaining is the nature and tenacity of key elements of what have been historically (over a very long period – cf. Vanderstraeten, 2006) the generic features of education sectors – —in the technological form of the equation of education with schooling and common curricular categories across the world – and the political form of their support and diffusion by epistemic communities, professional experts and so on. What they do not explain so effectively is the economic aspect (Dale, 2000). However, more fundamentally, we see in education in an era of neo-liberal globalization, significant shifts in both generic and nation-specific features of the education as a sector, and in the relationships between them. That is to say, education as sector is changing in ways that make existing assumptions and forms of analysis – those that make up methodological educationism – unhelpful, even misleading. We might best elaborate this point by seeking to identify the changing nature of the sector's generic (or transnational) features, and of its political, economic and technical features. The essence of the argument here is that rather than a single set of shared features making up a fundamentally common and undifferentiated – generic– education sector, with the 'generic' being 'mediated' into the national in various ways, what we see is a breakdown of the generic characteristics of the education sector, and their replacement by what may be seen conceptually as a dual – or even triple, if we take into account the development of the sub-national level – set of features framing different 'education' sectors, with the relationship between them not confined to one of mediation, but taking forms such as hybrids and parallel operations. And further, we suggest that the basic characteristics that set the political, economic and technological aspects of the education sector are being framed by the work of international organisations, operating to a broadly common script (Dale, 2006b).

However, when we introduce the possibility of the sector extending beyond the national scale, a rather different story appears. Rather than an assumption of a requisite level of compatibility of national political and economic characteristics, we have been assuming that the forces of globalisation will both make the relationships of the political and economic at the national level problematic, and will themselves be formed into different but parallel sets of demands, definitions and expectations at supra- and sub-national levels. And here the emphases are rather different. At sub-national levels, the stakes concern largely political issues, of representation, voice, etc. At supranational level, the stakes are much more economic, as is witnessed in the constant reiteration of the importance of international economic competitiveness, and the paramount need for education to contribute to a global knowledge economy. We see here clearly the functional and scalar division of education governance, with issues around economic competitiveness shifting 'upwards', and issues around education's role in the distribution of opportunities within national societies remaining at the national level, or moving 'downwards'. The key difference here concerns the nature and status of the generic characteristics. At national and sub-national level they continue to form the terrain on which the political disputes about the distribution of opportunities, etc., are carried out. At the supranational level, however, they become themselves what is at stake, as they are perceived to be 'unfit for purpose' in a global knowledge economy (Robertson, 2005). It is for this reason that we see not just the rise of supranational

organisations in education, but their rise with a particular agenda to reform, reconstruct or transform the grammar of education. And the way in which we might imagine this being carried out is through the effective construction of parallel, or mutually imbricated but distinct, education sectors, and it is this attempted reconstruction of the generic characteristics of education that underpins the functional and scalar division of educational governance, which, in its turn, we suggest, is the key to understanding what should now be compared in education. So, we see a double movement of the generic characteristics of education; at the national and sub-national level, they are largely politically mediated, framed and interpreted in various, but not fundamentally challenging ways; at supranational level, there is rather a project of appropriating them, transforming them, and attaching them to the wider political project.

Representation

What the current era of globalisation has cracked open is the hegemonic status of what is a particular, spatially and temporally located representation of 'national education system' that is fused to, and directed by state power. This is perhaps seen most clearly in the representation of education constructed by the world polity theorists (Meyer *et al.*, 1992), which essentially sees it as a set of common curricular categories in nation-state controlled education systems. In the current era of globalisation, we can see major challenges to this hegemonic status, with a range of social and political forces operating at a number of scales (global, regional, local and national) seeking to undermine the nation state's claims to a monopoly over the sector (even when it is possible to show that it does not, and in many cases never has had a monopoly on the sector). These challenges are coming from within the national state itself (e.g., Singapore – see Olds & Thrift, 2004), as well as from global and international organisations (OECD, World Bank), firms (e.g., Microsoft, Jarvis – see Ball, 2007) and institutions (e.g., universities – see Marginson, 2006).

The idea of 'representation' as a moment in wider social processes is particularly useful in helping us see that discourses about knowledge production in society are semi-otic processes which have ideational and representational moments (Cameron & Palan, 2004). Being able to 'fix' a particular meaning at the ideational and representational by embedding this imaginary in social institutions enables power to reproduce itself and thus give it force (Jessop, 2004). However, as Jessop points out, this spatio-temporal fix is always temporary, and always challenged by the contradictions of capitalism.

There are now a number of competing imaginaries as to what education should look like in the modern twenty-first century that we outline below by way of three (illustrative and not exhaustive) examples. The point of providing these examples is to also show that these imaginaries are also getting some traction at scales beyond the 'national' sector, and if we are to appreciate the political import of these alternative imaginaries as challenges, we must also begin to look at them more systematically.

One particular representation of education is through the use of statistics in the form of indicators (such as with PISA run by the OECD), benchmarks (MDGs etc.) and thresholds. Paradoxically, in this context, the purpose is to make education systems more comparable (though not necessarily more diverse). So, from comparing, or juxtaposing, culturally distinct and diverse educational practices and goals, comparative education is propelled in the direction of ranking education systems against a common set of indicators.

It is also important to note that these statistical proxies for ‘education’ are not intended to represent collectively a means of more closely and commonly defining the existing range of purposes, policies and practices found in national education systems, but to create an overarching and common set of alternative purposes, policies and practices. They are intended not only to make education systems more comparable and commensurable, but to change and direct them in particular ways.

A second powerful form is in the use of new metaphors – for instance, ‘clusters’, ‘networks’, ‘hubs’, ‘hotspots’ – to drive and generate change (Robertson & Olds, 2007). These new imaginaries not only open up the space for new players into the knowledge production business, but they also operate in the parallel and hybrid spaces that are being opened by national states (cf. Singapore, and the ‘Singapore Global Schoolhouse’ – Olds & Thrift, 2005). These new assemblages operate outside rather than inside existing regulatory spaces; they also create institutional forms that are radically different from the knowledge production sector that we knew as the national state education sector.

A third example is the emergence of a powerful discourse and set of institutions that make up the for-profit education sector. There is an increasingly complex and sophisticated set of policy and social practices in this sector, including firms that supply information for investors in the sector, an annual index of publicly listed firms all trading in education services (Robertson, 2006a). This sector articulates with visions for education, as a once decommodified service sector, to be brought into the tradeable services sector regulated under World Trade Organisation rules.

A final example is the challenge to national education systems by the international organisations, including the OECD and World Bank, to re-imagine and rescript their role in modern twenty-first-century society (Robertson, 2005). At the heart of this criticism is the view that national education systems are products of the industrial era and have, as a result, reached their so called ‘use by date’. New visions are currently being offered as alternatives – such as networked schools shaped by personalised learning. While there is considerable variation in the responses by national actors, the idea of personalisation has seeped into the policy discourse of a number of countries.

Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to make three, connected, points. The first is that the chronic tendency within social science as a whole to make the national the focus of all analytic attention is more than ever problematic in an era of globalisation, while the tendency to reify, or fetishise, the national level can be seen to extend to the form of rule – ‘statism’ – and, in the case of comparative education, to the object of study, education. The second is that this exercise demonstrates that the three terms were never actually accurate – the state never ‘did it all’, for instance. And the third and most important point in the chapter is that each of these is in danger of generating from the core categories of comparative education a set of methodological ‘isms’, which have to be recognised and overcome if we are to progress comparative education in an era of globalisation.

However, when the national is still the commonest location of educational governance, ‘the state’ is the commonest form of its governance, and ‘education’ is still the

most useful portmanteau term for the activities we focus on, 'What is now to be compared? The point is, as we have tried to show in this chapter, that the 'nation' and the 'state' of today are not the same nation and state that they were even 10 years ago, and nor are the relationships between them the same. Similarly, 'education' has always been tacitly recognised as 'being' and 'doing' different things, but it has now taken on some qualitatively novel elements. In our view, this makes it all the more important to recognise the nature and the danger of national, state, and education becoming methodological 'isms', frozen in the assumptions of earlier eras. The danger can be seen in Smith's comment in the epigraph to this chapter; the concepts of national, education systems 'derive their power from appearing to be just what they always were'. The implications of this are by no means confined to the methodological. As we have tried to indicate in this chapter, they have very clear theoretical implications. Further than that, when that power is rooted in the maintenance of the idea that nothing has changed when everything has changed, the implications are political. As we have tried to show, 'education' is no longer, if it ever was, the national, or the public, issue, or the set of curriculum categories, that has featured in most studies of comparative education, and as long as we fail to recognise and act on that understanding, we become complicit in concealing the changes and their consequences not only from ourselves but from those we seek to enlighten. We see this most clearly in the way that 'education' is now being represented, where we may see a clear choice for comparative education, of becoming the (unwitting, if we do not see beyond the 'isms') accomplice of a redefinition of 'education' as framed through the medium of statistical representations, which, because of the very fact that it is so 'accountably' embedded, is both more difficult to identify and, especially to budge.

Involvement in forms of statistical representation is particularly ironic for comparative education (Theret, 2005; Novóa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003). It involves the purposive elision of national differences in pursuit of comparability for the purpose of more efficient and effective government, effectively both making national institutional boundaries more porous and laying the basis for both reconstructed and reshaped national education sectors, and at the same time of a new transnational education sector. In so far as comparative education is complicit in this, it is ironic that that involvement definitively undermines the national basis on which it has rested and has taken for granted.

Notes

1. Though the term embedded statism can be found, it is usually as a synonym for methodological nationalism.
2. We take the idea of 'educational system' in this context as included in 'education sector'.

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EDUCATION, PHILOSOPHY AND THE COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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This article argues that a philosophical approach to education needs a comparative dimension and that a comparative approach to education needs a philosophical dimension. An analysis of the proper relationship between a philosophical and a comparative approach to education is developed with reference to needs, difficulties and opportunities.

Introduction

Although philosophy is, in one way or another, implicated in much of the work of comparative education, and comparative educationists themselves have not been inattentive to philosophical considerations, the role of philosophy in comparative education has not been brought into clear focus. One expression of this lack of focus is that relationships between the disciplines of ‘philosophy of education’ and ‘comparative education’ are relatively undeveloped: educational studies remain afflicted by ‘compartmentalization’. Regardless of the current state of relationship between formally structured educational disciplines, however, philosophical and comparative approaches to the study of education should be in an informed, sensitive and critical dialogue with each other. This article attempts to analyse the proper relationship between philosophy and a comparative approach to the study of education with reference to a range of needs, difficulties and opportunities. The article has three sections, dealing with ‘needs’, ‘difficulties’ and ‘opportunities’, respectively.

Education, Philosophy and the Comparative Perspective: Needs

In this section I shall articulate and defend two claims: (i) that philosophy needs a comparative dimension (in the context of education as elsewhere); (ii) that comparative education needs a philosophical dimension. Progress in relation to both claims requires attention to how ‘philosophy’ and ‘comparative’ in relation to education are to be properly understood.

Simon Blackburn describes philosophy as concerned with the exploration of the structure of our thought in its application to particular kinds of questions about ourselves (e.g., What am I? What is consciousness? Do I have free will?), the world

(e.g., Why is there something and not nothing? Does it make sense to think that the future might influence the past?) and about ourselves and the world (e.g., How can we be sure that the world is really like we take it to be? What is knowledge and how much of it do we have?) (Blackburn, 1999, pp. 2–3). The particularity (and peculiarity) of these kinds of questions consists in their non-empirical character and in their resisting simple procedures and criteria for pursuit and resolution. Questions of this kind arise from a form of fundamental critical self-reflection that extends to the ‘scaffolding of our thought’ (Blackburn, 1999, pp. 3–4).

One difficulty in offering a general account of the nature of philosophy is that any account is offered from, and is perhaps biased in favour of, *a particular tradition of philosophy*. Blackburn’s (1999) description of philosophy as ‘doing conceptual engineering’ (p. 2) and his dismissal of the proponents of certain schools of philosophical thought as ‘conceptual engineers who cannot draw a plan, let alone design a structure’ (Blackburn, 1999, p. 13) indicates his allegiance to a broadly analytic approach to philosophy. The analytical approach is averse to a conception of philosophy contained in the notion of ‘*a philosophy*’ where ‘*a philosophy*’ is seen as offering ‘an account on the grand scale of the nature of reality, the place of human beings within it, and the implications of all this for how people should comport themselves in the world and towards one another’ (Cooper, 2003a, p. 2). The traditional African beliefs referred to in the article by Bridges, Asgedom and Kenaw in this Special Issue is an example of *a philosophy* in this sense.

An aversion to a conception of philosophy of this kind is captured in Richard Peters’ early denial that philosophy (and philosophy of education) should be seen as offering ‘high level directives’ (Peters, 1966, p. 15; however, cf. Elliott, 1986). Any reference to ‘*philosophies* of education in comparative perspective’ involves the notion of ‘philosophy’ in the ‘*a philosophy*’ sense. As David Cooper (2003a) observes, “‘Philosophy’”, as the name of a very general intellectual activity, does not have a plural, no more than does “music”’ (p. 2).

The reality and significance of contrasting, and partly competing, traditions in philosophy is of clear importance for the concerns of this article, and this matter will be returned to in due course. For our present purposes, however, it is useful to illustrate what is involved in a philosophical approach to education by reference to a particular example of such an approach drawn from the broadly analytical tradition which has been prominent in Anglo-American philosophy of education since the 1960s and which has been interpreted in an increasingly broad way in recent years (on the question of increasing breadth of interpretation see, e.g., White & White, 2001). From the perspective of this tradition, a philosophical approach to education can be described as including interrelated and overlapping tasks of the following kinds (the categorization of tasks here draws in part upon White, 1987; Burbules & Warnick, 2004):

- (1) Analysing an educationally significant term or concept, showing its multiple uses and meanings, for the purpose of clarification. Terms and concepts apt for clarification in this way include (e.g.) ‘creativity’, ‘citizenship’, ‘active learning’ and ‘learning how to learn’. Clarity may not be a sufficient virtue in educational discourse, but (properly understood) it is a necessary one. ‘Analysis’ has been described as

the elucidation of the meaning of any concept, idea or unit of thought that we employ in seeking to understand ourselves and our world, by reducing it, breaking it down, into more basic concepts that constitute it and thereby showing its relationship to a network of other concepts or discovering what the concept denotes. (Hirst & White, 1998b, p. 2)

Analysis here should not be seen as uncovering an essential or ‘correct’ meaning of a term or concept in a putatively value-free way but can include persuasive definition for the purposes of particular arguments and lines of enquiry. The ‘connective’ nature of this kind of analysis, as involving an investigation of ‘how one concept is connected – often in complex and ragged-ended ways – in a web of other concepts with which it is logically related’ (White & White, 2001, p. 14) is particularly worthy of note.

- (2) Deploying the clarity achieved in (1) in a philosophical critical evaluation of an educationally significant term or concept, identifying hidden assumptions, internal contradictions or ambiguities in uses of the term and/or a disclosure of potential or actual partisan or controversial effects which the term has in professional and popular discourses. The notion of ‘critical evaluation’ here indicates that philosophers are interested not only in *clarity* but also in *justification*. For example, once ‘creativity’ has been clarified, the question of the senses, if any, in which ‘creativity’ should figure as an educational aim claims the attention of the philosopher. Analytic philosophers should not therefore be seen merely as ‘poor relations of dictionary compilers’ (White & White, 2001, p. 16).
- (3) Extending (2) into a philosophical critical evaluation of educational or educationally significant practices, policies, aims, purposes, functions, theories and theorists, doctrines, schools of thought and ‘visions’.
- (4) Developing positive arguments and proposals regarding the matters referred to in (3) including the philosophical articulation and justification of fundamental educational aims, values and processes. It is here that the move away from a preoccupation with ‘second order’ to substantive concerns, which has characterized analytical philosophy of education in the last 25 years or so, can be most clearly seen.

The analytical tradition in philosophy and philosophy of education has been described as unified not by shared doctrines but by a range of characteristic methods. It is, however, difficult to pin down the ‘methodology’ of the analytical tradition of philosophy of education as a whole with any precision, although a number of salient features can be safely identified. This tradition, with its characteristic emphases upon matters of meaning and justification, employs a recognizable style of argumentation, characterized by (amongst other things) the clarification and analysis of concepts, premises and assumptions, the consideration of counter-examples, the detection and elimination of defects of reasoning of various kinds, the drawing of important distinctions (e.g., between conceptual, normative and empirical questions), the use of ‘thought experiments’, a particular spirit of criticism and the structured development of argument. The analytical approach to philosophy of education is suspicious of unduly general statements and claims. It seeks a more fine-grained and detailed argument and debate in which attention to questions of meaning and justification act as an antidote to undue

generality. The approach therefore tends to begin its work not from general statements or theories but from specific questions and problems, seeking their illumination, where appropriate, from the resources of broader philosophical argument. (On the analytical tradition in philosophy of education see, e.g., Peters, 1966, Introduction, 1983; Wilson, 1979; Cooper, 1986; Elliott, 1986; Hirst, 1986, 1993, 1998; White, 1987, 1995, 2003; Soltis, 1988; Evers, 1993; Kohli, 1995, Part 1; Haydon, 1998; Hirst & White, 1998a, Part 1, 1998b; McLaughlin, 2000; Heyting *et al.*, 2001; White & White, 2001; Curren, 2003; Curren *et al.*, 2003.)

Although the respects in which education in general has philosophical needs cannot be pursued in detail here, it is clear that much educational thinking, policy and practice is not only apt for philosophical attention but requires it. There is, of course, no suggestion that philosophy alone can fully illuminate, let alone resolve, educational questions. Philosophical reflection in education must be conducted in a close relationship with other disciplines of enquiry and with the insights and imperatives of educational policy and practice (on these matters see, e.g., McLaughlin, 2000).

Although the notion of a 'comparative' perspective on education has yet to be brought fully into focus, it is possible to see at this stage how a philosophical perspective on education, properly understood, requires a comparative dimension. This can be illustrated by each of the features of the analytical approach that have been identified. In relation to (1), the analysis of an educationally significant term or concept, what counts as an educationally significant term or concept is (partly) related to matters of place and time: terms and concepts have a context and a history. Philosophizing about education cannot properly take place in a vacuum, including a societal, geopolitical and historical vacuum. If philosophical analysis of educationally significant terms and concepts is to be sufficiently informed and fruitful a comparative dimension is necessary, at least for any extended philosophical analysis. (On the need for a comparative perspective in philosophizing in general see, e.g., Smart, 2000; Cooper, 2003a. On a historical dimension to philosophical perspectives on education, see, e.g., Oksenberg Rorty, 1998b.) With regard to (2), a philosophical critical evaluation of an educationally significant term or concept, the kinds of criteria invoked for the justificatory judgements being made require assessment and endorsement in the light of appropriately fundamental scrutiny, and this properly involves consideration of the kinds of alternative criteria which a comparative perspective makes available for consideration. Similarly, in relation to (3), a philosophical critical evaluation of educational practices, principles and the like, a comparative dimension is an important resource in the enrichment of the range of possibilities and justificatory arguments open to view. This applies also to (4), the development of positive proposals in relation to the matters referred to in (3). The need for a comparative dimension to philosophy understood in analytical terms is inherent in the philosophical slogan 'Not all your questions answered, but all your answers questioned'. The proper pursuit of philosophy should lead to the problematization of the tradition within which it is conducted and in this, as in other matters, a comparative dimension to philosophizing is important and necessary.

Having attempted to illuminate the nature of a philosophical approach to the study of education by reference to one prominent approach, how can a comparative approach to the study of education best be understood? This is a matter that has

been the focus of a good deal of debate in the discipline in recent years (see, e.g., Crossley & Jarvis, 2000, 2001). An exploration of the notion of ‘comparison’ affords one way of illuminating matters here in a very general way for the purposes of the present discussion. ‘Comparison’ invites attention to: (a) *what is being compared with what* (e.g., teachers, schools, teaching methods and educational systems in differing cultural, national and regional contexts); (b) *the evaluative basis of comparison* (e.g., the norms and principles being invoked in making comparisons); (c) *the reasons and motives underlying the comparisons being made* (e.g., disinterested scholarly enquiry, a search for insights, etc., to be applied from one context to another); (d) *the methods used in making comparisons* (e.g., methods based on natural science, social science, and hermeneutic traditions). The comparative study of education stands in need of a philosophical dimension in relation to each of these four aspects.

In relation to (a), what is being compared with what, the need for a philosophical dimension emerges in relation to at least two matters. The first arises from the general point that many aspects of educational thinking, policy and practice are not only apt for philosophical attention, but require it. Since most of the subject matter for comparison in comparative education is educational in character, a philosophical dimension to the task of comparison is needed simply as a result of the general need of education for philosophical illumination. A philosophical dimension is clearly needed in relation to the ambition of comparative education to develop ‘an increasingly sophisticated theoretical framework in which to describe and analyse educational phenomena’ (Phillips, 2000, p. 298). The kinds of themes that comparative educationists often address in their theorization are rich in philosophical implication: globalization (see, e.g., Crossley & Jarvis, 2000), post-colonialism (see, e.g., Crossley & Tikly, 2004), indigenous education (see, e.g., May & Aikman, 2003), democracy (see, e.g., Davies *et al.*, 2002) and citizenship (see, e.g., Ichilov, 1988), as well as regionally based focuses of attention. The second matter in relation to which a philosophical dimension emerges is the illumination of the contexts in which the educational phenomena are located. These contexts include many aspects (cultural, anthropological, political, religious, etc.) that invite and require philosophical attention as part of the range of approaches and strategies needed to bring a given context into focus.

In relation to (b), the evaluative basis of comparison, the presence of the notion of ‘evaluation’ (with its implication of norms and principles) indicates a role for philosophy in matters of clarification and justification. Here, as elsewhere, the role of philosophy is a contributory one: appropriate forms of empirical enquiry have a place in the investigation of factual aspects of the identification of ‘like with like’. In relation to (c), the reasons and motives underlying the comparisons being made, philosophical considerations illuminate reasons and motives such as ‘a pragmatic science of educational borrowing’ and a ‘reading of the world’, discussed by Robert Cowen (2000). The latter, seen as involving wide-ranging cultural, historical and political interpretation, is ripe for philosophical illumination. With regard to (d), the methods used in comparison, Robin Alexander notes that comparativists write as much about the purposes and processes of comparing as they do about the outcomes, needing to be cautioned against ‘methodolatry’: a preoccupation with methods to the exclusion of actually doing research (Alexander, 2001, p. 513). According to Ninnes and Burnett (2003),

comparative education has been, despite ‘pleas for coherence of focus and method’, characterized by ‘eclecticism’ in that it incorporates ‘a range of theories and methods from the social sciences and intersects a range of sub-fields including sociology of education, educational planning, anthropology and education, economics of education and education and development’ (p. 279).

Be this as it may, philosophical considerations arise in relation to the articulation and defence of the research methodologies used in comparative education (see, e.g., Martin, 2003; Nannes & Burnett, 2003) and some comparative educationists have addressed these philosophical considerations directly (see, e.g., Nannes & Burnett, 2003). Patricia Broadfoot draws attention to the ‘deep methodological divide’ between qualitative methods and those of a more quantitative kind associated with a natural science paradigm, which has characterized comparative education (2000, p. 360). She calls for a more critical, theoretically informed, social science perspective in comparative education, involving a greater self-critical awareness, particularly in relation to the value-laden nature of problems, methods and conclusions (Broadfoot, 2000). She insists in particular that ‘[c]omparative educationists ... need themselves to be willing to engage in fundamental debates about values; about the nature “of the good life” and about the role of education and learning in relation to this’ (Broadfoot, 2000, p. 370). More precisely, she argues, comparative education has a responsibility to carry debate forward beyond ‘means’ alone to ‘ends’.

Education, Philosophy and the Comparative Perspective: Difficulties

If it is accepted that a philosophical approach to education and a comparative approach to education need each other in the ways that have been suggested, the difficulties involved in achieving the various forms of integrated understanding come into focus. Interdisciplinary research in general faces a wide range of well-recognized difficulties. A number of specific difficulties stand in the way of the achievement of the kind of collaborative understanding to which reference has been made. Four interrelated difficulties will be considered here.

The first difficulty arises from the important point that any attempt to philosophize about an educational context must be conducted in the light of a thorough understanding of the context itself in all its aspects, including non-philosophical aspects. This task involves the wide-ranging and complex general difficulties in achieving an adequately broad and deep understanding of educational realities and their ‘background conditions’ in given contexts (Grant, 2000) of which comparative educationists have long been aware. Detailed contextually illuminative work of many different kinds is indispensable as a background to philosophical work both inside and outside a particular context (for recent work of these kinds on some of the contexts discussed in this Special Issue see, e.g., Green, 2000; Tomiak, 2000; Cave, 2001; Harber, 2002; Jones, 2002; Yamashita & Williams, 2002). An adequate understanding of philosophizing about education in the context of Eastern Europe, for example, requires an understanding *inter alia* of the various non-philosophical factors which conditioned the

expression of ideas in the Soviet period and the various adjustments and compromises on the part of thinkers which this required (see the contribution by Godoń, Jucevičienė & Kodelja in this Special Issue).

A second difficulty relates to the aspiration to *relate* philosophical reflection to the educational (and other) realities of a given context. Some forms of philosophical reflection are extremely general (as in, e.g., reflection concerned with the determination of fundamental and general educational aims) and these kinds of reflection may not seek a direct relationship to educational practice and policy-making. Whilst this kind of reflection has its place, it needs to guard against the danger that it might descend into underdetermined and untethered rhetoric, which is both educationally irrelevant and philosophically suspect. Philosophical reflection which is related to, and grounded in, educational realities is often more adequate both educationally and philosophically. Little progress can be made in a philosophical discussion of citizenship education in contemporary China, for example, without attention to the reform of the history curriculum in the post-Mao period (on this matter see Jones, 2002). Oksenberg Rorty (1998a) reminds us that, even though European and Anglo-American countries share some general educational aims, ‘their distinctive political and religious histories, and their different socio-economic conditions, set them quite distinctive moral and educational problems’ (p. 10). Since solutions to (many) educational questions cannot be general, let alone philosophically general, philosophical reflection about these questions must be related to, grounded in and vary in the light of local considerations of various kinds. The task of exploring the relationship between philosophical reflection and educational realities in given contexts is, however, an extremely complex one. In part, this is because of the complexities involved in the general relationship between philosophy and educational policy-making and practice (on these complexities see, e.g., McLaughlin, 2000). For example, philosophical conceptions and principles can neither be simply read off from nor applied to educational realities. Philosophical influence on educational policy-making and practice is often exercised through the pedagogical *phronesis* (or practical judgement) of educational policy-makers, teachers and educational leaders. The general complexities to which reference has been made here are magnified in any attempt to explore the relationship between philosophy and educational policy-making and practice in comparative contexts.

The third difficulty relates to the task of achieving an adequate *understanding* of philosophizing about education across different contexts. One general aspect of difficulty here is practical in character, and this has been addressed in the first two difficulties outlined above. Attention will be focused here, however, on philosophical aspects of difficulty. A good starting point for the achievement of relevant forms of understanding is (perspicuous) *description* of various kinds. However, whilst a description of a philosophical tradition or of the development of philosophizing about education in a given context is necessary for understanding, it is not sufficient (for such descriptions see, in addition to contributions to this Special Issue, the account of philosophy of education in Spain offered by Jover, 2001). One prominent aspect of difficulty concerns the question of understanding *across philosophical traditions*. The analytical tradition of philosophy and philosophy of education, which was given as an example at the outset of this article, is manifestly not immune from criticism, most notably by

the continental traditions of philosophizing to which Paul Standish makes reference in his contribution to this Special Issue. Detailed educational visions derived from a philosophy in the sense indicated earlier (namely, overall and wide-ranging philosophical visions and systems) invite engagement with a particularly complex exegetical and interpretive task calling for considerable sensitivity and judgement. (For resources for this kind of task see, e.g., Deutsch & Bontekoe, 1997. Specifically in relation to the traditions of thought represented in this Special Issue, see, Albertini, 1997; Deutsch & Bontekoe, 1997, Chs. 7–15, 32–40, 43, 45; Masolo, 1997; Weiming, 1997; Cooper, 2003a, Ch. 3, 6, 9. On the relationship between indigenous peoples and Western philosophies see, e.g., Marshall, 2000.) The understanding of Confucian, Buddhist and Islamic philosophy, for example, presents a particular challenge to Western thinkers, not least because of the intricate relationship of these traditions with a whole way of life. One danger confronting Western thinkers is that of ‘orientalism’ inherent in the categorization of non-Western philosophies of education in the light of an assumption that all philosophical traditions that are not defined as Western constitute an identifiable ‘something’ simply by virtue of their being non-Western (Deutsch, 1997, p. xii). Deutsch also usefully draws attention to another danger in our imagining that the thought of another culture ‘has a clear unity and simplicity in contrast to the multifarious character of one’s own’ (1997, p. xiii). In fact, he insists, many of these ‘alternative traditions’ are characterized by depth, range, diversity and contention. There is no such thing, therefore, as a Chinese, Japanese or African philosophy (or philosophy of education) *per se*. A related danger is that of ‘primordialism’, where a particular group identity and its underlying philosophical articulation is seen as a timeless or eternal ‘given’. A related problem is the definition of what can count as ‘philosophy’ (see the paper by Bridges, Asgedom and Kenaw in this issue). A further danger in seeking to understand ‘philosophies’ is that of deducing educational implications from them in an over-simple way. This danger is illustrated by MacIntyre (1998) in his observation that whilst it is possible to ‘fabricate a collage’ out of relevant elements of the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas and describe it as his ‘philosophy of education’, this would be a travesty (p. 96). In these and other matters it is useful to approach the task of understanding ‘philosophies’ and their educational implications by starting from the educational realities that they mandate (for such an approach see, e.g., Halbertal & Halbertal, 1998; MacIntyre, 1998; Mottahedeh, 1998).

The fourth difficulty relates to the task of *engaging in dialogue* with philosophizing about education across different contexts and the related implied task of *making judgements* about the validity or adequacy of the perspectives and arguments encountered. It is important to note that differing philosophical perspectives and traditions do not necessarily stand in a relationship of mere juxtaposition to each other but in relationships of potential and actual disagreement and conflict. Deutsch (1997) insists that

one’s primary concern in the exploration of other traditions ought not to be that of simply finding more of oneself and what is familiar to one, but of learning about other possibilities of philosophical experience that can be opened up to one through cross-cultural encounter. (p. xiii)

Deutsch's claim leads to the thought that one may be a better philosopher and philosopher of education for having embraced a comparative perspective. The greatest difficulty that arises for educationalists from Western liberal culture in embracing a comparative perspective is that of being genuinely open to alternative conceptions, values and forms of argument that may conflict with Western liberal conceptions, forms of argument and values in significant ways (see particularly the contribution of Mark Halstead to this Special Issue). One difficulty here is the prevalence of notions such as 'postmodernism' that seem to call into question in different ways the evaluative project itself (on postmodernism see, e.g., Cooper, 2003b). The notion of 'Western liberal conceptions and values' is not, of course, transparent and unproblematic, although an unanalysed general sense of the notion can be invoked for the purposes of the present discussion (for further discussion see White, 2003). The practical and normative pervasiveness of these liberal 'conceptions, forms of argument and values' across the world is manifest, especially given the presence of democracy as one of its central elements (for the pervasiveness of liberal values in the case of Japan see, e.g., Feinberg, 1993). One general phenomenon worthy of note here is that of traditional forms of philosophizing being put under intense philosophical (as well as societal and political) pressure by liberal and democratic influences. Tu Weiming (1997) describes how the Western Enlightenment tradition gave rise to 'the most devastating disputation that the Chinese mind has ever encountered' (p. 22). Local forms of philosophizing, with their distinctive conceptions, values and forms of argument, face assessment from the putatively 'universal' standpoint of Western liberalism (see the contributions by Penny Enslin & Kai Horsthemke and by Bridges, Asgedom & Kenaw in this Special Issue) and many contexts seek adaptation to Western norms (see the contributions by Godoń, Jucevičienė & Kodelja and by Naiko Saito & Yasuo Imai). The major challenge for Western scholars here is not only that of reinterpreting local forms of thought and practice in the light of Western perspectives in an appropriate and defensible way (on liberal democratic educational aims and values in comparative perspective see Bridges, 1997), but also that of being sufficiently open to the genuine insights contained in local forms of thought. This is important not least because liberal conceptions, forms of thought and values are not unproblematic as they stand, but require enrichment and amendment from other sources. The inadequacies of Western liberalism with respect to securing a basis for contra-individualistic motivation and for communal needs and imperatives are, for example, widely felt. Openness to the genuine insights contained in local forms of thought requires considerable resources of sensitivity and imagination which extend beyond the philosophical. It should not, of course, be assumed that the challenges of dialogue and evaluation are confined to encounters with 'philosophies' such as Confucianism, Buddhism and Islam. There is plenty of scope for the exercise of sensitivity and imagination in the encounter between the analytical and the continental traditions in philosophy and philosophy of education (on this encounter see, e.g., Blake *et al.*, 1998).

The difficulties indicated here are substantial ones, not least the philosophical ones that have been identified. Any suggestion that the significant progress in relation to the difficulties is impossible, however, would seem to call into question the very possibility of a comparative study of education of any ambition and significance.

Education, Philosophy and the Comparative Perspective: Opportunities

What opportunities arise from an acceptance of the claim that a philosophical approach and a comparative approach to the study of education need each other? There is much scope here for a detailed discussion of possibilities. At the very least it would be a good thing if philosophizing about education became more sensitive to comparative insights and concerns and comparative education became more sensitive to insights and concerns of a philosophical kind. However, the need for sustained and sensitive interdisciplinary cooperation emerges clearly from the foregoing discussion. Here, flexibility is important: for example, philosophical aspects of research should not be seen as solely the province of 'philosophers' or 'philosophers of education'.

Dialogue with the unfamiliar is perhaps a key feature of the comparative approach to education. The suggestion here is that philosophers and comparativists in education are unjustifiably unfamiliar with each other's work and that dialogue between them should both enhance their work and indicate real opportunities for collaborative pursuit of their mutual and overlapping research interests.

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COMPARISON: *QUO VADIS?*

Gita Steiner-Khamsi

The history of comparative education in the United States is often told in terms of revolutionary paradigm changes that revamped disciplinary focus, methods, and geographical reach (e.g., Altbach, 1991). Until the 1960s, comparative education in the United States was firmly based in the discipline of history, enamoured with single-country studies, and fixated on educational systems in Europe. By the end of the decade, the field was transformed into comparative *and* international education, with a composition of researchers and practitioners who were multi-disciplinary, cross-national and international in perspective. The name of its professional association was changed accordingly, from Comparative Education Society (CES) to Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). According to standard accounts, disciplinary “orthodoxy” in history gave way to a “heterodoxy” (Paulston, 1993), inclusive of different social science disciplines. Once history was abandoned as the only legitimate disciplinary foundation for the comparative study of educational systems, methodological changes followed suit. For some, the units of comparison became smaller moving from national educational systems to culturally bounded educative sites or communities. For others, they became broader, as the narrow focus on cross-national comparison in North America and Europe was suspended and academic curiosity and professional interests were redirected towards the Third World. In this chapter, I explore the proliferation of single-case studies that occurred at the expense of multiple case studies and other types of studies that involve comparison. I discuss the development turn that occurred in the 1960s and reflect on the repercussions it has had on methodological issues.

The Development Turn

There is a strongly held belief that the development turn of the 1960s was all positive. This general assessment, held by culturally oriented comparative and international researchers in the United States deserves scrutiny. It is accurate that the exclusive focus on Europe was abandoned and replaced with an orientation towards developing countries. It is also true that universities in the United States embarked in great style upon language and area studies in order to understand, but also win the hearts and minds of people in the Third World. Thus, the development turn marked the beginning of area

studies in the social sciences, humanities and in educational research. As discussed in more detail in other publications, the emergence of development and area studies was inextricably linked to the Cold War (Steiner-Khamsi, 2006; Steiner-Khamsi & deJong-Lambert, 2006). The fact that US comparative education went global in the late 1950s and in the 1960s, leaving the exclusive focus on Europe behind, had to do more with the global dimension of US interventions rather than with greater sensitivities towards people in developing countries.

Naturally, the development turn has had consequences for the selection of target countries of research, redirecting attention from high-income countries to low-income countries. In addition, as this chapter will demonstrate, the development turn also had considerable methodological repercussions. The push for single-case studies was clearly visible in the late 1950s and early 1960s when the National Defense Education Act (1958) and the Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowships created funding opportunities and other financial incentives to focus one's research on one country only. The focus on one geographic area was hardly new for comparative researchers. Given their kinship with historians, most early comparative education researchers have always seen themselves as area specialists, focusing on the history of education in a particular region. However, despite their area or context specialty, they did compare. Their analyses were embedded in contextual comparison. The situation, however, changed with the development turn.

In retrospect, the period of greatest territorial gain in comparative education was also the era of greatest methodological loss: with US political interventions targeting developing countries in the 1950s and 1960s, comparative education gained terrain. The field was no longer restricted to North America and Europe, but now encompassed any country with which the US government either entertained friendly ties or intended to forge a bond. Typically these countries were low-income, developing countries. At closer scrutiny, however, in the wake of paying more attention to developing countries, the project of comparison got suspended; not for its methodological limitations (e.g., difficulty of conducting solid contextual comparison) but oftentimes for chauvinist reasons: What is there possibly to learn from countries that are at a lower development stage? What "bourgeois education" in the United States was to Marxist-Leninist comparative education, and vice versa, education in developing countries was to comparative education in the United States: deemed too inferior to be comparable (see Steiner-Khamsi, 2006). With the boom of development and area specialists in the 1960s, funded by NDEA Title VI or other international fellowships, comparative and international education in the United States shifted towards qualitative single-country studies and lost, to some extent, its comparative dimension.¹

I would like to draw on Harold H. Noah's astute methodological observations. His comments capture very well my own criticism of the narrow research paradigm that emerged during the Cold War in the 1960s, and endured into the present:

Obviously, the 35 years since 1970 has seen tremendous organizational growth [in US comparative and international education]. Now, I will not speak at all; my lips are sealed on whether there has been qualitative improvement. There

certainly are differences. ... It is just very different in one way, but very much the same in another way. There are still, as there were before, lots and lots of single-country studies. And the big question always is: is that comparative education? Couldn't these studies just as well have been published in a sociology of education journal in that country, a political science journal in that country, or in an educational journal in that country? Why is it comparative education? That question still worries me. (Noah, 2006, DVD excerpt 00:15:28 – 00:16:58)

Cold-War Legacies

The development turn surfaced in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. This period marked the formative years for comparative education societies in different parts of the world, including in the United States. The decade coincided with the period of greatest competition between the two superpowers. The race over arms, technology and science was the fiercest during that time. For comparative education researchers in the United States, Soviet education was first an object of admiration, and in the following two decades a counter-reference for all that US education was not supposed to be, or never wished to become. At the founding meeting of the Comparative Education Society at New York University in 1956, the comparison between education in the United States and education in the Soviet Union was placed at centre stage.² Soviet education became a primary point of reference after the launch of Sputnik in 1957, a position reinforced once Yuri Gagarin became the first man in space in 1961. The Soviet downfall coincided with reports in the 1970s and 1980s in which dissidents spoke up against political repression and wrote about the widespread “economy of shortage” in socialist countries.

The influence of the Cold War has endured into the present and is evident in several contemporary features of US comparative and international education: first, the dominance of development and area studies in US comparative and international education, and second, the preoccupation of US comparative education with contrastive analyses of educational systems, conceived as diametrically opposed to the US system. In the United States, Sovietology was soon replaced by Japanology, followed by, after more than a decade of relative inertia, Islamology. Research on educational practices in the Soviet Union, Japan, or the Arab world – all regions that were seen at one time or another as economic or political threats to the United States – attracted great public attention and government funding. Finally, it is noticeable that US comparative education researchers rarely compare US education with education in other parts of the world. The only country that seems to serve as a “reference society” (Schriewer *et al.*, 1998) for educational reform in the United States is Great Britain, and even this is limited to market-oriented educational reforms. It seems there is no cross-national “policy attraction” for US analysts unless the reforms happen to emanate from Great Britain. This is in stark contrast to comparative education research in other countries that typically is enamoured with observing, documenting and publishing on reforms in countries that are perceived as comparable in context.

Language and Area Studies

In the United States, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958 to improve the quality of education (especially in math, sciences and foreign language instruction), and increase access to postsecondary and higher education by means of student loans and scholarships. A total of 10 areas (“titles”) were listed as eligible for federal funding. In higher education these new areas were Title II (student loans), Title IV (national defense fellowships), and language and areas studies development (Title VI). These funding priorities were initiated in 1958 and are, at a much lower level of funding, available to this date.³

A review of the NDEA budget for 1963 illustrates the preoccupation with socialist countries. The top-ranking foreign languages in the early 1960s were Chinese and Russian. More precisely, 16% of the budget for Modern Foreign Language Graduate Fellowships was spent for Chinese and 13% for Russian, followed by Arabic (11%), Japanese (10%), Spanish (10%) and other languages (Office of Education, 1963, Figure 20). The US–Soviet cultural exchange agreement of 1958 made it possible to take a peek behind the Iron Curtain in the form of organized study visits or tours. The interest in Soviet and East European languages and studies dropped drastically in the 1970s when government funding for foreign language and area studies dwindled. The number of doctorates earned in Soviet and East European Studies at American universities, for example, was at a peak in the decade 1970–1979 (3,598 doctorates), but then dropped by 60% in the period 1980–1987 (Atkinson, 1988).

Although the rhetoric for establishing NDEA was clearly embedded in the language of the Cold War, a great number of foreign language and area studies – regardless of whether they were in socialist countries or not – benefited from the infusion of government funds. In 1958, the US Commissioner of Education designated 83 languages as critically needed, and identified six of them for first priority in development: Arabic, Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, Japanese, Portuguese, and Russian (Spanish was added in 1996, after the announcement of the US-Latin American Alliance for Progress). By the end of 1962, four years after the implementation of NDEA, 56 of the 83 “critical languages” received federal support and 53 centres for area and language studies in higher education were established (Office of Education, 1963).

A brief comparison of US educational reform strategies used during the Cold War and during the ongoing War on Terror is appropriate here. Since 2006, there has been talk of establishing a new NDEA as an educational offensive to win the War on Terror. Education was, like today, directly tied to national and global security, and federal expenditures for education more than doubled in the 4 years after the NDEA of 1958 was implemented (Senate of the United States, 2006, p. 2). Even though the funds were administered by the Department of Education, the language used to pass the Act in Congress was soaked in the language of the military provoking anxieties that the country would lose the race in science, technology and arms. The magnitude of NDEA becomes immediately apparent if we compare the educational measures of the late 1950s with those of today that the US government has initiated to combat the War on Terror. Such a comparison is not far-fetched, since many political commentators compare September

11 (2001) to the launch of the Sputnik (October 1957). Both events were hyped as a shock to the nation and triggered a host of government interventions. In education, the parallel is striking, and reflected in the 2005 National Security Language Initiative,⁴ established by President George W. Bush, and the plan of democratic senators, backed by the Association of American Universities (2006), to pass the so-called New NDEA of 2006. However, if the Federal Government were to allocate the same amount for education in the interest of “national security” as it did with NDEA in 1958, it would cost \$400–500 million, that is, roughly 10 times more than it is spending nowadays for Title VI and Homeland Security fellowships (Brainard, 2005). In both eras – the Cold War and War on Terror – public expenditures for winning the “war” were massive. During the Cold War, however, the allocation of funds to the education sector was considerably higher – in fact, 10 times higher – than today.

Returning to the decade of development in the 1960s, the boost in federal support for higher education generated very attractive incentives to establish area studies as well as development studies in education and the social sciences. In fact, most graduate programmes in international and comparative education, educational development studies, or international education policy studies at US universities were established during the decade of development. Even though the decade ended in the late 1960s, it entirely transformed the field of US comparative and international education in that it moved the field away from comparative historiography and directed attention to (de-contextualized) cross-national comparison on one hand, and highly contextualized but non-comparative single-country studies on the other.

Contrastive Analyses

Andreas Kazamias criticizes the “social scientific metamorphosis of comparative education” (2001, p. 440) of the 1960s for having transformed comparative education into an ahistorical, and to some extent atheoretical field of inquiry. I would like to add to Kazamias’s observation that the early period of social scientific comparison in the 1960s witnessed, in the form of Sovietology and then later Japanology, the most shallow and de-contextualized mode of comparison: contrastive analyses. Methodologically, contrastive analyses need to be regarded as a specific type of comparison. They emphasize differences over commonalities. The typology of comparative case study analyses helps situate contrastive analyses within comparative methodology.

Table 1 presents the distinction made in comparative case study analyses between systems and outcomes (Berg-Schlosser, 2002, p. 2430; see also Przeworski & Teune, 1970). I use “system” and “case” interchangeably, because methodologically a case is a bounded system with its own “causal web” (Tilly, 1997, p. 49) that connects the large

Table 1. Comparative case study analyses

	Most similar systems/cases	Most different systems/cases
Most similar outcomes	msS-msO	mdS-msO
Most different outcomes	msS-mdO	mdS-mdO

number of variables in the case/system. The following table is especially useful for sampling decisions as it helps to make the selection of cases transparent.

In contrastive analyses, the researchers select cases/systems that they perceive to be “most different” from each other with regard to political system, educational system, or other system criteria (mdS), and expects to find different outcomes (mdO). The fourth quadrant in Table 1 represents the contrastive research design (mdS-mdO), in which the most different systems are examined with the expectation to find most different outcomes.

During the Cold War, the field of Sovietology satisfied populist demands for understanding why the US nation fell behind in the space and arms race. As a corollary, it made it acceptable in educational research to engage in contrastive analyses, that is, in comparison that is primarily directed towards identifying difference. As a result the two systems were dichotomized, and each was situated at the end of a spectrum. Soviet education was depicted as a system that relied on political indoctrination, whereas the US system supposedly fostered critical thinking in students. The list of binary constructions is long. Suffice it only to mention one more false dichotomy: the Soviet educational system supposedly emphasized access to education at the expense of quality of education. The dismissal of all that is perceived as typically socialist, such as, for example, universal and free access to education, has had disastrous effects on current reforms in the post-socialist region (see Steiner-Khamisi & Stolpe, 2006). The field of Sovietology was dropped, as some commentators notice (e.g., Foster, 1998), virtually overnight and replaced with Japanology. The new methodology was later on adopted for the research field Japanology producing a multitude of contrastive studies on US and Japanese education.

As with its older cousin Sovietology (see Noah, 2006), Japanology was populist in that it spread, at breathtaking speed, many broad generalizations and exaggerated statements about education. Furthermore – as William Cummings (1989), with reference to an expression coined by Joseph Tobin, has pointed out – American researchers tended to use a “yes, but” approach. The approach acknowledges the successes in the other educational system but at the same time “argues that these successes come at too high a price, a price Americans are unwilling to pay” (Cummings, 1989, p. 296). The exaggerated statements or myths about Japanese education included: inverted socialization paradigm (indulgence in early childhood, discipline in adolescence and early adulthood), education for the nation and the state, *kyoiku mama* (education-oriented mother), rote learning in schools, competition and suicide, elitist higher education, and social inequality. The US attraction for the Japanese educational system evaporated as quickly as it emerged due to the economic crisis in Asia. Within a short period of time, the “cautiously acknowledged strengths of Japanese education” (Cummings, 1989, p. 298) disappeared from American accounts. The Japanese educational system fell from grace and American observers started to make extensive use of studies that documented cram schools, student suicide and teacher burnout in Japan. Critics also emerged within the Japanese contexts. In Japan, the crisis talk surfaced at the turn of the new millennium and was used to justify the need for fundamental reform, such as the far-reaching curriculum reform that was implemented in 2002 (Tsuneyoshi, 2004).

Cross-National Policy Apathy

William Cummings is not alone in observing US disinterest in educational reforms of other countries:

The American interest in foreign educational systems has never been great, and as America has prospered to a position of international pre-eminence it appears that this interest has steadily declined: after all, what could the world teach America? (Cummings, 1989, p. 294)

Cummings published his observation in 1989, at the dawn of a new era in which the other empire, the Soviet Union and its socialist allies, was dissolved. Even more than before, the global posture of US policy analysts is noticeable. The isolationist status of US comparative education research or “self-referentiality” (Luhmann, 1990; Schriewer, 1990; see also Steiner-Khamsi, 2004) as the primary mode with which policy decisions are made in US educational reform, is a relatively recent phenomenon. Historically, the period of greatest US interest in educational systems of other countries (in particular Europe), was the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Having this particular period of US comparative education in mind, Harold Noah and Max Eckstein (1969, p. 3) identified the period of educational borrowing, “when the desire to learn useful lessons from foreign practices was the major motivation” as the second stage in the development of comparative education.⁵ In a similar vein, Gail P. Kelly refers to the period in the history of comparative education, when “gentlemen traveled extensively and wrote about differences between nations” (Kelly, 1992, p. 14).

David Phillips coined the term “cross-national policy attraction” (Phillips, 2004; Ertl, 2006) to capture, from a historical perspective, the British interest in German educational provision over a considerable period of time. This interpretive framework is useful to understand the sustained interest of policy analysts of one educational system in the educational provisions, reform strategies, and other institutional features of another. In the case of US policy analysts, however, the inverse applies: an apathy towards experiences from elsewhere. It seems that there are no lessons to be learned from other educational systems and experiences elsewhere are not viewed as instructive for domestic policy development. Exceptions such as UK – United States cross-national policy attraction do exist, but there are, for sure, no contours of any pronounced policy pilgrimage by US policy analysts. In other contexts, cross-national policy attraction is the rule and not the exception. For example, the first few years after the release of the PISA results, numerous policy analysts from different corners of the world flocked to Finland to explore the reasons for the exceptional achievement of Finnish students in language literacy.

The Challenge of Contextualized Comparison

Contextualized comparison, or the move away from contrastive analyses, was only rediscovered in comparative education with the general cultural turn in the social sciences in the 1980s. Social anthropological and historical research, by the 1980s

grown closer together and paradigmatically regarded as siblings rather than cousins, positively influenced the methods discussion in the social sciences, educational research, and comparative education research. Not only did they render the exclusive focus on national education systems problematic by including other units of analyses (classrooms, schools, communities, regions, the world), but they also demanded a more hermeneutic approach to the study of educational systems that, by implication, pays greater attention to cultural and historical context. As a corollary, single-country studies or case studies offered themselves as a methodological tool in which all units of analyses, from the classroom to the globe, were interwoven and in which causal connections between the various units or layers of analyses could be made.

I would like to argue that the cultural turn in comparative education has dominated the field at the expense of other quantitative and mixed-methods comparative studies. Today, qualitative case studies or single-country studies are the most frequently used genre of methodological inquiry in US comparative and international education. To reiterate Harold Noah's point, mentioned earlier (Noah, 2006): "Why is this comparative education?" In principle, single-country studies could very well be comparative. At closer scrutiny, however, the majority of single-country studies published in comparative and international education journals are not comparative. This applies especially to those case studies that refrain from any of the three conceivable types of comparison: comparison over time (historical analysis), across space (cross-cultural or cross-dimensional analysis), or across socially agreed standards (e.g., OECD/IED-type of studies). Arguably, cross-national comparison is but one of several methods of comparison. A more frequently used method in comparative education was, until the 1960s, comparative historiography, when education in a "foreign country" was analyzed and compared over a long period of time. Demands for more cross-dimensional analyses have been made (Bray & Thomas, 1995), but rarely implemented in research. I regard case study research as a very powerful tool for policy analysis under two conditions: the researcher must clearly define the case (what does the case stand for?) and the researcher needs to convincingly construct causal stories within the case (Tilly, 1997, p. 5) by investigating how the various actors, agendas, policy levels, and educational practices relate to each other. As a corollary, a case study must be regarded as a thick description based on a small sample size (small N), but many variables (Ragin, 1997).

For example, in the case study on educational import in Mongolia (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006), we had to come to grips with the 'fuzziness' of case studies (Bassey, 2001, p. 6; see also Hammersly, 2001; Pratt, 2003). The uncertainty of predictions relates to the contextual information in which a case study must be nested. Even though we have, every now and then, included observations made in other contexts, the bulk of our findings were deeply rooted in the Mongolian context of educational reform. The fuzziness of case studies is both a methodological weakness and strength. What accounts for the fuzziness is the complexity of an issue (many variables) that unfolds when attention is paid to the different actors, agendas, units of analysis, and practices within a context. In the Mongolian case study, for example, we consistently used three units of analysis, corresponding to three distinct policy levels (policy talk, action, implementation); the lists of actors, agendas, and

practices varied for each chapter in the book (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006), and would be too long to reiterate here.

Solid comparative studies or “contextual comparison” typically draw from information, which are specific to the case(s), as well as from comparison with other cases. The problem I observe, however, is that many studies either do one or the other. That is, they either focus on one case – and are highly contextual within that case – but lack a broader frame of reference or perspective, oftentimes because the researcher (over-)emphasizes contextual differences and, thus, refuses to compare. Or, they are very exact with describing, for a number of cases, changes over time but miss out on important details for each case. These methodological differences are not merely nuances for they produce different theories, depending on which method of inquiry and perspective is utilized. For example, in the fascinating intellectual debate on whether there is an international convergence towards a single (international) model of schooling, methodological considerations are instrumental for determining whether the scholars believe or disbelieve in an international convergence of schooling that supposedly results from globalization.

Globalization is commonly viewed as an act of de-territorialization (Appadurai, 1990). By implication, globalization studies investigate the transnational flow of money, communication, beliefs, or, as is the case with comparative educational research, the travel of educational reforms from one cultural context to another. As students of globalization, we are able to draw on an established tradition in comparative education with investigating policy borrowing and lending (Noah & Eckstein, 1969; Holmes, 1981) from one context to another, and by implication, with examining transnational or global phenomena. In this key research area of comparative education, the cultural turn in the social sciences that, more specifically, corresponds to the development turn in comparative education, has had vast repercussions for the study of transnational policy borrowing/lending or globalization in education. What we are witnessing today is a bifurcation of comparative borrowing/lending research with one branch featuring cross-national comparison, and the other emphasizing culture or local contexts. Within this binary space, one group of scholars – associated with neo-institutionalist sociology – investigates long-term changes to identify a convergence of national educational systems, beliefs, and practices over time (Meyer & Ramirez, 2000; Ramirez, 2003; Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Kamens & Benavot, 2006). Diametrically opposed is a group of researchers, representing a specific orientation within cultural anthropology, that produces single-country studies to emphasize that global or “external” forces are heavily reinterpreted and adapted locally, and therefore only have a limited impact on local structures, beliefs, and practices (Anderson-Levitt, 2003).

Although the disagreements between the two camps – neo-institutionalist sociologists and anti-neo-institutionalist cultural anthropologists – have ignited a lively debate on strengths and shortcomings of each interpretive framework, we lack a discussion on methodological constraints and disciplinary blind spots. The single-case studies presented in Anderson-Levitt’s book criticize neo-institutionalism or world culture theory from an anthropological perspective. In her edited volume (Anderson-Levitt, 2003), each of the nine case studies reflects on how exogenous influences in education (global forces) have been interpreted in a particular community (local encounter).

As announced in the title of the book, the case study authors investigate “local meanings” to visions and pressures of “global schooling,” and find a multiplicity of (local) meanings. Their criticism builds on this finding, and serves them as an argument to denounce the homogenizing effects of globalization that world culture theory has asserted. The contributors illustrate that, although choice, student-centred learning, outcomes-based education, marketization of schools, etc., went global, they neither replaced already existing models nor do did they mean the same in various cultural contexts. For example, choice with regard to the language of instruction, propelled by US missionaries in Tanzania (Stambach, 2003) is, for a variety of reasons, a different “thing” altogether than the choice in math instructional methods that factions of the PTA association in California were combating (Rosen, 2003). Such variations matter a great deal to the contributors of the edited volume for these differences reveal that individuals in a particular community have a shared understanding of what global reform models mean in their own cultural context. They criticize their antagonists, the scholars of world culture theory or neo-institutionalist sociology, for taking global schooling models at face value without scratching at the surface, and examining how they play out differently at the community level. To phrase it more bluntly, world culture theorists seem to have mistaken “brand name piracy” such as choice, outcomes-based education, student-centred learning, etc., hijacked from one corner of the world and catapulted to another, as heralds of an international convergence of education.

In contrast, neo-institutionalism or world culture theory acknowledges local “variations” (Ramirez, 2003, p. 247) of the global model of schooling, but regards them either merely as manifestations of “loose coupling” between official and enacted policy, or views them as part of a world culture that promotes difference and diversity. It simply is not interesting to comparative sociologists to analyze how and why exactly the same school reform – let’s say “choice” – is interpreted and implemented differently in various cultural contexts. There is little to gain for them in the way of making better sense of trends at system level. The fact that policy-makers in different parts of the world justify choice, vouchers, privatization of education, and a host of other neo-liberal reforms in terms of “progress” and “justice” only reconfirms their theory on the international convergence in education.

Anthropological research has much to offer for understanding how globalization plays out in communities. They have the methodological tools to understand what “globalization” means to groups and communities: why “it” is appropriated or rejected, and how “it” is adapted and modified to their cultural contexts. By analyzing the local encounters with global forces, we learn more about cultural contexts than we do about “globalization” per se. In contrast, defining the global or “the-out-there” (Anderson-Levitt, 2003, p. 17), is not the strength of this kind of anthropological research. In fact, in a few case studies presented in Anderson-Levitt’s edited volume (2003), the external forces or globalization (“out-there”) was actually “in-here.” These are a few constructions that I noticed in the volume: The authors either assumed that the global is manifested in neo-liberal reforms (choice, economic efficiency programs), personified in specific groups viewed as outsiders (Russian immigrants in Israel, US missionaries in Tanzania), or, if all other methods of distilling the global from the local failed, simply used a quasi-subtractive method (the residual from what already

existed locally, was established as the global) and thus run the risk of having given attention to anything new. However, not everything that is “out there in the larger world” (Anderson-Levitt, 2003, p. 55) qualifies as global. Precisely because the global is frequently “in here,” several anthropologists have pointed out that concepts of spatial determinism or “the local,” are of limited value (e.g., Camaroff & Camaroff, 2001), and at the same time acknowledged the disjunctures of various transnational developments (Appadurai, 1990). This other group of anthropologists forces us to explicitly address the blurring lines between global and local, between external and internal, and to render the overlap of these two spaces to an object of study.

The endeavour to investigate the impact of globalization on education is more ambitious than it appears. The greatest challenge is to avoid falling into the trap of first establishing national boundaries, only to demonstrate afterwards, that these boundaries have indeed been transcended. Reforms do not have a home base, a territory, or a nationality, and therefore do not “belong” to a particular educational system. Individuals conceive reforms and, depending on where they are geographically and institutionally situated and how well they are globally networked, succeed in having their ideas disseminated worldwide. Important for comparative research is therefore the question as to why policy-makers and analysts *refer to* globalization, that is, generate reform pressure by pointing at educational reforms in other countries.

Comparativists Who Understand

By way of concluding my methodological observations, I highlight a few of the challenges of comparison that I mentioned earlier. The development turn of the late 1950s and early 1960s reinforced a tendency that already existed in comparative educational research: a great attention to context (culture, history, language) and a reluctance to compare unless a strong case could be made for comparability of contexts. As Noah mentions (Noah, 2006), the majority of articles in the journal of the US Comparative and International Education Society (*Comparative Education Review*) are single-country studies. Authors who do compare risk being criticized for being culture-insensitive or for engaging in de-contextualized comparison.

Given the caution towards comparison, the question of comparability has taken on monumental significance. Of course, nothing is comparable per se (Tilly, 1998; Ragin, 1997). Unless the researcher identifies a commonality, or more accurately constructs a specific dimension against which two or more cases/contexts can be compared, comparison is ruled out. Establishing a *tertium comparationis*, that is, generating, justifying and applying a construct against which two or more educational systems are compared, has become one of the major preoccupations of comparative researchers. The *tertium comparationis* changed over time. From a historical perspective, “civilization”, “modernization”, “development” and “democracy”, only to list the major constructs utilized in North American comparative education research, has each served as an interpretive framework or as *tertium comparationis* for justifying comparison across contexts or cases, or – in early comparative education research – across national educational systems. The early comparativists, such as Sadler and Kandel, used civilization theory to

construct comparability. Groups, people and nations that were perceived to be at the same stage of “civilization” were deemed comparable (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002; Welch, 2000). Since the newly formed nation states of the nineteenth century were supposedly at the same (high) stage of civilization, the transatlantic transfer of educational models was justifiable. Similarly, US and British researchers at the turn of the last century believed that African Americans, Native Americans, and Africans (and later all colonized people in the British colonial empire) were regarded to be at the same (low) stage of civilization. Since these groups were perceived to be comparable, transfer of educational models from one continent (North America) to another (Africa) was viewed, methodologically and morally, as permissible. A good case in point is the transfer of “adapted education” from Hampton and Tuskegee (schools in the segregated South of the United States) to Achimota (colonial Ghana) in the 1920s (Steiner-Khamsi & Quist, 2000).

There is a need to write a historiography of comparison that accounts for changing notions of comparability. With the proliferation of indicator research in the 1980s and 1990s, development was framed in quantitatively measurable terms (HDI, GDP, GNP, etc.). Arguably, the quantification of development makes the justification for comparison too easy for comfort. Coefficients tend to conceal, perhaps more than theoretical concepts, the assumptions of a stage model which ranges from 0 (“not developed”) to 1 (“developed”). At the same time, we need to acknowledge positively that the vast number of development indicators is evidence that definitions of development have become diversified. Even though each and every international organization advances its own stage model with regard to dimensions that matter to them (e.g., economic dimensions for development banks, children and women’s rights for UNICEF, absence of corruption for Transparency International, etc.), we lack a critical reflection of how data banks on development and other indicators, established at each and every international organization, actively contribute to the construction of “development” or “under-development”.

As mentioned earlier, we have behind us more than two decades of growing skepticism about the place and purpose of cross-national and cross-contextual comparison (Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta & Schwille, 2002). Attacks against large-scale country comparisons are not singular incidents. Furthermore, they are not carried out by cultural anthropologists only. Nor are these attacks exclusively directed to sociologists, as the debates around world culture theory seem to suggest. However, these attacks neglect the existence of researchers in comparative studies that simultaneously contextualize *and* compare. For example, Charles Tilly emphasizes, not only in his widely read historical analyses of nation states (or “national states” as he labels them) and citizenship, but also in his methodological contributions to comparative sociology and history, the need to simultaneously examine intra-national and transnational interactions. He reminds researchers in comparative studies to explore the “causal stories” that are embedded in each case or context and that rest on “different chains of cause-effect relations” (Tilly, 1997b, p. 50). To name one concrete example, his comparison of several European “revolutionary situations” in the early 1990s, and his discussion of the different political “outcomes” in these Central and Eastern European countries, is one of his methodological masterpieces integrating cross-national comparison and contextual analysis. For the research field of comparative policy studies in education,

Tilly's methodological approach helps us to understand why, in a given context, one policy solution is selected over another and how external factors influence and are woven into local politics.

In comparative education research, the group of scholars advancing contextual comparison has been quite productive. This group is very visible in one of the traditional research areas of comparative education: cross-national policy borrowing and lending. Embedded in a theoretical framework of system theory (Luhmann, 1990), Jürgen Schriewer and his colleagues propose to study the local context in order to understand the "socio-logic" (Schriewer & Martinez, 2004, p. 33) of externalization. According to this theory, references to other educational systems serve as leverage to carry out reforms that otherwise would be contested. Schriewer and Martinez also find it indicative of the "socio-logic" of a system that only specific educational systems are used as external sources of authorities. Which systems are used as "reference societies" and which are not tells us something about the interrelations of actors within various world-systems. I found the concept of externalization useful for comparative policy studies as it enables us to understand how "global forces" are sometimes locally induced with the purpose of generating reform on domestic developments (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). I found that it is precisely at a moment of heightened policy contestation that references to other educational systems, to "international standards in education" broadly defined, or to globalization are made. I concluded that cross-national policy borrowing, discursive or factual, has a certification effect on domestic policy talk. Teasing out the interrelation between the local and global requires a bifocal focus that enables us to investigate – in meticulous detail and across various policy levels – the local context, and to simultaneously compare the particular case with other cases that had either a similar or a different policy outcome. Comparativist after comparativist, from Michael Sadler to Brian Holmes to Robert Cowen, warned against analyzing education out of context and using comparison in ways that blindly advances cross-national policy borrowing. Robert Cowen (2000) revisits Sadler's hundred-year-old question: "What can we learn from the study of foreign systems?" Cowen illustrates that, in practice, the comparative study of educational systems has fuelled a "cargo-cult", that is, a wholesale export and import of educational models across national boundaries. Cowen is among a growing group of researchers in comparative studies that insist on the need for more contextualized comparison. This group of researchers attempts to seriously challenge the contention that those who compare do not understand, and those who understand do not compare.

Notes

1. It is important to keep in mind that the shift of comparative education towards single-country studies did not necessarily occur in other countries and continents. In fact, the comparative education section of the European Educational Research Association (EERA) excluded all abstracts and presentations that lacked an explicit comparative dimension and delegated them to other sections of EERA. There was a lively debate at the European Conference for Educational Research in Geneva (September 2006) whether presentations dealing with one case only qualify for the comparative education section.
2. Study of Soviet education was the only area specific topic at the 1956 meeting. All other topics dealt with theories, methods, or concepts of comparative education (see Campisano, 1988, p. 35; Brickman, 1966). George Z. Bereday was asked to compare education in the United States with Soviet education

- (Bereday, 1957). The other three topics, scheduled by the co-organizers William Brickman and Gerald Read, were: (1) the theoretical foundations of comparative education; (2) the current importance of the subject as an area of study and research; and (3) an examination of definitions, aims, and values of comparative education and the concept and general principles of comparison. The participants discussed the practical applications of comparative education in the second half of the programme.
3. In 2005, 60 universities were eligible to administer Foreign Language and Area Studies (Title VI) fellowships. The budget for 2005 fiscal year was \$28.2 million and 926 year-long fellowships and 635 summer fellowships were funded. The Title VI international education programs remained the largest source of federal funding in which education is explicitly tied with national and global security. It is followed by the Homeland Security fellowship (created in 2003) which disbursed \$15 million and the National Security Education Program with a budget of \$8 million in 2005 (Glenn, 2005).
 4. In 2002, the US army reported the “serious shortfalls of translators and interpreters in 5 of its 6 critical languages” (Senate of the United States, 2006, p. 3): Arabic, Korean, Mandarin Chinese, Persian-Farsi and Russian. The National Security Language Initiative is supposed to remedy the situation by producing 2,000 “advanced speakers of critical languages” by 2009 that could be employed by the US army, intelligence and government offices (Liebowitz, 2006, p. B29).
 5. Noah and Eckstein (1969) identify the following five stages in the development of comparative education: (1) travellers’ tales, (2) educational borrowing, (3) international educational cooperation, (4) studies on society and schooling, including national character studies, and (5) social science foundation of comparative education. Noah and Eckstein have been criticized for their assertion that the early philosophical and historical emphases of comparative education have been replaced with one devoted to the social sciences, and especially for their enthusiastic endorsement of quantitative research methods in comparative education. Their historical account of the five stages is in line with what other scholars have noted. Perhaps, their enthusiasm about the great potential of quantitative research could have been more guarded, but – despite assertions to the contrary (Masemann, 2006; see also Steiner-Khamsi 2006, note 12) certainly there is no doubt that history and philosophy were the foundation of early comparative education research, and any other educational research for that matter, in the United States and in Europe.

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DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION: CONTEXT, PEDAGOGY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Andrew Brown

Introduction

Digital technology, and particularly information and communications technology, is frequently, but rather obliquely, referred to in contemporary academic comparative education. Most commonly the capacity to enable rapid international communication and networking is invoked as a facilitating factor in the process of globalization, or more generally as a key component in the formation of contemporary societies, be they identified as postmodern, late-modern, post-industrial, knowledge-centred or some variant of these. Very rarely, however, is sustained attention given to the characteristics and uses of these technologies themselves. This is a pity, since lack of critical scrutiny can lead us to accept some questionable assumptions about what digital technologies do and can do in relation to education and society.

It is all too easy to get drawn towards utopian visions which, for instance, view virtual worlds as new frontiers in which material constraints and physical oppression can be cast aside in the creation of new digital democracies, throwing open access and opportunity to disenfranchised and marginalized groups. Likewise, the virtual dystopian complement of this, the potentially unbounded and unregulated moral and cultural corruption of society, is equally easy to envision and elaborate. A comparative perspective, which by definition grounds and contextualizes activity, on the uses of digital technology would caution and protect against the collapse into any single unitary perspective. Comparison as an activity demands difference, diversity and, at its best, dialogue, and as an academic activity requires explanation, understanding and theoretical development. With respect to digital technologies, however, such academic comparative scrutiny is largely absent.

This lack of specific attention to digital technology constitutes a further lost opportunity in the development of comparative education. Cowen (2006) argues that:

the academic field of study called comparative education must always deal with the intellectual problems produced by the concept of context (the local, social embeddedness of educational phenomena) and transfer (the movement of educational ideas, policies and practices from one place to another, normally across a national boundary); and their relation. (Cowen, p. 561)

The academic study of digital technology and education presents copious opportunities to explore the pedagogic, social and cultural dynamics of embedded educational and cultural practices, and offers an ever-expanding constellation of examples of the transfer of technologies and practices from one context to another. Above all else, it offers rich opportunities for the exploration of the effects of re-contextualization, both as these technologies and associated practices move from one context to another and as the technologies themselves act as a conduit for the transfer of knowledge and the bringing together of individuals and groups, and their pedagogic, cultural and social practices. In the light of this, rather than address the local and global impact of digital technology in general terms, in this chapter I will address a number of dimensions, and specific instances, of the educational use of digital technologies in a range of contexts.

In planning and compiling the *World Yearbook of Education 2004* (Brown & Davis, 2004), which addressed the theme of digital technology, communities and education, Niki Davis and I focused on the uses of digital technologies by individuals and groups in a variety of contexts, both in their own learning and in the creation of learning communities and networks. As in this chapter, we worked with a broad conception of digital technology, taking this to include both technologies for the production and manipulation of digital artifacts, such as digital video and audio, and digital communication technologies and media, such as the internet and mobile telephony, signifying a convergence of digital production and distribution. We also set out to explore the use of digital technologies in a wide range of contexts, for instance in individual and collective activities, formal and informal educational settings, and economically rich and poor communities. The resulting collection was correspondingly diverse in the perspectives adopted and the substantive focus of the papers, ranging from consideration of the impact of digital technology on pedagogic modes and school curricula through the technological augmentation of everyday cultural practices and economic activities of children and adults to the extension of the locality, networks and community from geographic into virtual space.

In this chapter I will take up some of the key themes explored and consider these in the light of recent developments in practice. In particular, I want to explore the relationship between the practice and its context in relation to the production and reproduction of social relations in and through education, a distinctly sociological concern but not incompatible with Cowen's framing of academic comparative education. Engaging with digital technologies and their uses challenges our conceptions of what constitutes a context (by, for instance, the facilitation of virtual communities) and, though their capacity to act as a conduit within and between contexts, foregrounds the need to understand the processes and effects of transfer.

Learning Technologies

Alexander's (2001) international comparison of primary education in five countries illustrates the complexity of the relationship between the practices of formal education and the historical and contemporary political, social, cultural and economic conditions of the societies in question. The organization of pedagogic spaces, modes of regulation,

the content of the curriculum, student expectations, the construction of identities, the recognition of achievement and so forth are interrelated, are shaped by a complex of factors from the systemic to the individual level and vary across contexts. Digital technologies present a number of challenges to these practices, but clearly, given the manner in which practice is shaped in different contexts, these challenges take different forms and have diverse consequences.

As Kress (2004) has argued, the manner in which information is presented on the screens of computers and portable digital devices, for instance, challenges existing notions of literacy. As multi-modal forms of presentation and representation become increasingly common, a demand grows for the facility to produce and interpret not only linear written text, but also audio, digital still images, animation, video and so on. The bringing together of these forms of representation into complex non-linear hyper-texts further extends what we might consider to be basic communicative competence in the digital age:

The media of the new screens provide, simultaneously, means for the production of text and for its dissemination. Given the facts of social diversity, the disappearance, or attenuation, or absence of central power, and above all the displacement of the state by the market as the telling source of power, there is now no longer a canonical mode of representation. Rather, the characteristics of the audience (now in any case no longer seen as citizens but as consumers), their needs, wishes and their real or attributed desires move into the foreground. Representational mode becomes a matter of design: does this group prefer image or writing? Moving image or still? What ensemble of modes will serve best my rhetorical needs vis-a-vis this audience? (Kress, 2004, p. 38)

The potential impact of digital technologies on schooling is itself multi-dimensional. The incorporation of competences relating to the use of digital technology into the curriculum of the school clearly transforms the content of the curriculum, but more than this, argues Kress, the productive potential of the creation of multi-modal texts demands the radical revision of underlying models of learning from the reproduction of meaning to the individual and collective production of meaning, from a curriculum based on transmission to a curriculum based on design. Furthermore, as Jewitt (2003) has observed, the move away from the acquisition of 'competences' to the fostering of creativity and innovation, with the consequent reshaping of the curriculum and of pedagogy, creates a need for transformation of the practices of assessment within the school:

The multimodal reshaping of the construction of curriculum entities and the practices of reading brought forth by the multimodal context of learning, in particular computer mediated learning, have important consequences for literacy and assessment. There is a need to move beyond language in order to understand the complexity of learning and literacy in the multimodal environment of the classroom. Further, in order to assess what it is that is learnt assessment needs to re-focus in order to attend to the full range of modes involved in learning. (Jewitt, 2003, p. 100)

In this way the use of digital technology both within and beyond the school has the potential to provoke transformation in the curriculum, in pedagogy and in assessment by virtue of the increasing importance given to multi-modal communication, and in particular production, in contemporary schooling. Digital technologies can also be incorporated into the school as pedagogic resources, and used in teaching and learning across the curriculum (for instance, in the development of virtual and managed learning environments, the use of digital visual and audio production, the use of the internet to access information and facilitate collaboration). Whilst much of the literature on digital technology and education presents these transformations as necessities (a thinly veiled form of technological determinism), there is marked variation at the level of practice. This is unsurprising because, from studies such as Alexander's, we already understand that the practices of schooling are diverse and are the product of a complex of influences. Digital technology and its associated practices and potentials, inside and outside formal education, are made sense of, and incorporated into and transformed by, systems of schooling in the context of this diversity and complexity.

Studies of the use of digital technology in specific contexts present a predictably varied picture of the realization of this potential in practice. As part of Module 1 of the Second Information Technology in Education Study (SITES M1), a survey of the use of ICT in primary and secondary schools in 26 countries was carried out (Pelgrum & Anderson, 1999). This revealed substantial variation in the extent to which new technology was used in schools, and highlighted differences in access to new technology and variation in teacher knowledge as key factors in this. Module 2 of the study (SITES M2) followed this up by collecting reports on innovative pedagogical practices (locally defined and identified by national expert panels) from each of the participating countries (Kozma, 2003). In her analysis of the resulting 130 case studies, Law states that there is some evidence of a shift towards "more collaborative, student-directed, enquiry-based and productive modes of learning" (Law, 2004, p. 151). This statement is made, however, on the basis of examples of what could be considered by the expert panels to be best practice and thus not necessarily representative of practice more generally. Grouping these cases into six activity types (ranging from innovative scientific investigation and project work, through media production and online courses, to more conventional task-based learning and expository teaching), Law then explores the role played by the teacher and the pedagogic strategies they use.

The picture that emerges is that whilst there is evidence of substantial innovative practice using new technology, in terms of the kinds of activities set, the role of the teacher and the kinds of pedagogic strategies they use are somewhat more conventional. Law observes that whilst innovative practice is almost equally represented in the case studies from the five regions covered by the study (the Americas, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Southern Africa and Asia), the distribution of innovative pedagogy varies markedly. From this she suggests that whilst the dissemination and transfer of activity types between regions is relatively well established, the transformation of pedagogic practices or teacher roles is somewhat less common and more difficult in practice. These, it could be suggested, are less prone to change as they are tied to both the professional identities of teachers and local pedagogic cultures. The range of what is pedagogically possible in one region, or country, or school, for

instance, in making the transition from predominantly didactic forms of pedagogy to more facilitative approaches, can be very different from another. The next phase of the SITES study (Plomp, Pelgrum & Law, 2007) includes exploration of the factors within and beyond school that might act to shape pedagogical practice and the use of digital technology in the classroom, and the contextual factors amongst these that might dispose teachers and schools to innovative practice.

In wide-ranging and large-scale multinational studies such as SITES, it is difficult to explore the relationship between digital technology, pedagogic practice and the impact on student attainment in any meaningful way (given the diversity of forms of schooling). Some sense of this relationship can be gathered from more detailed and nuanced studies in specific, more limited contexts. Take, for instance, the evaluation of the use of interactive whiteboards in London schools, carried out by Moss and colleagues (2007). Substantial investment has been made in the provision of interactive whiteboards in schools in economically wealthy countries. These enable teachers to develop teaching materials that incorporate multi-modal resources (including image, sound and movement) and to use these interactively with classes of students. Moss and colleagues set out to ascertain the impact of large-scale investment in this particular pedagogic technology across London, focusing particularly on the process of learning and teaching, student and teacher motivation, student behaviour and attendance, and standards of student attainment in core curriculum subjects. In this study, once again, the manner in which the technology is used in teaching is highly variable, with the most innovative practice being most evident in the practice of those leading in the introduction of the technology.

In assessing the potential of this technology to transform pedagogy, the researchers observe that this depends on what the teachers think it is for. They find that teacher thinking about interactive whiteboards revolves around the potential for greater pace of delivery, increased multi-modality of teaching resources and a more interactive form of class teaching. However, the extent to which pedagogic change can be fostered depends on how deeply the technology is integrated into the pedagogic approach adopted and how the facilities offered by the technology relate to established forms of pedagogy in the classroom and the character of the particular subject area being taught. Put simply, speed of delivery, or the use of a variety of forms of representation, may or may not be beneficial in the learning and teaching of particular aspects of particular subjects. The potential of the technology thus relates to the existing pedagogic practices and to the pedagogic cultures and curricular content of the area being learnt and taught. Whatever the perceived potential and observed practice, the research was unable to find evidence of any relationship between student attainment in the core curriculum subjects and increased use of interactive whiteboards in the year of the study.

The point here is that, again, the form of realization of this digital technology in practice relates to the context in which it is embedded. As the technology moves from place to place, its meaning changes. The technology itself is both re-contextualized and re-contextualizing. Kress and colleagues see digital technology as transforming modes of representation and communication and, through this, demanding a transformation in our models of learning and practices of education. In the practice of formal, and informal, education these technologies and their usage are radically contextualized,

and, as international studies such as the SITES studies and more localized studies, such as Moss and colleagues, demonstrate, factors such as the pedagogic culture of a context (at any level from a system to a specific classroom), the skills and understandings of teachers and the expectations of the students act to shape what is possible and lead to a diversity of practices, which conform and diverge in varying degrees from any imagined ideal. There is more to be understood, though, than the dynamics of the contingency of practice. These practices have social consequences and potentials, and to explore these I want to shift attention from one side of the pedagogic relation to the other and to look at the engagement of learners (though a neat distinction between teachers and learners can sometimes be difficult to sustain over time), with a particular interest in the strategies by which differentiation is achieved. I will also shift attention from the physically defined settings of schools and classrooms to virtual pedagogic, and other, settings.

Pedagogic Spaces

Changing modes of communication and representation do not necessarily attenuate the tendency of education to produce and reproduce social and cultural differences in the distribution of attainment and life chances. Gino's (2006) study of visual communication in an economically deprived urban neighbourhood in Israel, for instance, has explored the manner in which children from three culturally diverse groups living in close proximity draw on their distinct cultural histories in making and interpreting images. These children inhabit the same physical neighbourhood, but in their everyday lives have limited opportunities for interaction with children from the other communities. Visual communication, and in particular the making of images to represent aspects of their experience of living in the neighbourhood, can be seen as offering an opportunity to share experiences and perspectives and the creation of a common space and mode of communication that bypasses linguistic differences. However, the cultural differences between the groups give rise, despite working together to construct and share their work, to very different kinds of image, not only at the level of visual conventions, but also in terms of what can be represented.

The move to the visual here could be seen as reinforcing rather than attenuating cultural difference. This raises interesting questions with respect to the potential of computer-mediated multi-modal representation, both in relation to learning to make sense of a diversity of forms of text (where and how might this take place?) and the potential of intercultural communication (to what extent do online communities, with ready-at-hand shared communicative practices and understandings, reinforce divisions constructed and played out in neighbourhoods such as these). Here we have three communities in a tightly bounded physical space with shared common resources and experiences, but whose networks of identification are defined elsewhere and stretch beyond this setting. Online communication offers different possibilities, by virtue, for instance, of its dominant visual conventions, to each group, and both provides the potential to evade, for better or for worse, interaction with other groups prominent in their physical neighbourhood, and to reinforce existing social, cultural and, ultimately, economic differences.

A study of three secondary schools serving distinctly different communities in post-apartheid South Africa by Dowling and Brown (in press) explores the relationship between the characteristics of a community (including the culture and practices of students and parents, and the positioning of schooling and teachers in relation to this community and its aspirations) and pedagogic practices and relations within the schools (including the layout of classrooms, the use of texts, the modes of interaction between students and teachers, and the teaching and learning strategies of teachers and students). How school students position themselves in relation to their immediate locality and community, and how they envisage their future trajectories in relation to these communities clearly has an impact on their orientations to virtual communities and networks.

The school students at a predominantly white school located in a wealthy suburb, for instance, saw themselves as part of a global network and held aspirations that extended across this network (which was consistent with the aspirations and identifications of the school). In contrast students at a predominantly black African township school identified more strongly with their immediate community, but those that sought to leave this community (including teachers who aspired to pursue other careers) saw individual effort, within a supportive community, in formal education as the means to achieve this (Dowling & Brown, in press). Whilst this study does not concern digital technology directly, it does demonstrate the complex relationship between community and pedagogic practice in a way that might lead us to think carefully about assuming that virtual spaces are socially and culturally neutral, and to consider how they might act as contexts for the production and reproduction of social inequalities as do physical pedagogic spaces and practices.

Doherty (2006) provides an illustration and analysis of the complexity of projecting pedagogic practices and attendant assumptions, from one culture to one or more others, by way of an online distance education programme. This study focuses on an MBA unit offered internationally by an Australian university. In designing this online course, care was taken to respect the cultural identities of the participants, and to treat the diversity of experiences and perspectives of the participants as a pedagogic resource, for instance, in setting up small group discussions around the workplace narratives of the members of these, deliberately formed, culturally diverse groups. This in itself presents a paradox that is difficult to manage. Individual members of the groups become privileged informants on, and thus heavily identified with, sets of culturally marked localized practices. This representation of self through the abstraction and re-description (for an international audience) of workplace experience clearly bears the danger of defining individuals and groups in relation to the dominant culture or cultures of the programme. It can also lie in tension with the aspirations of participants who have made a positive commitment to enrol on an 'international' programme as a means of extending or supplementing their cultural identities and gaining access to what they might see as being a potentially valuable international or global discourse.

Other 'troubles' identified by Doherty more predictably revolve around sometimes systemic assumptions of cultural homogeneity, like the ethnocentric default naming conventions in the virtual learning environment, the presumption of knowledge of textual conventions in assessed coursework and the effects of time/space displacement on

provision of feedback to participants. Though Doherty's analysis – and related work on international programmes, such as Singh and Doherty (2004) – goes further than this, the main point to be made here is that online courses in virtual settings are as much party to the play of pedagogic, social and cultural identities as any localized, located and demarcated face-to-face educational programme. Indeed, they may provide particularly fruitful contexts for the further development of the 'sociology of pedagogy' (Singh & Luke in Bernstein, 1996, p. xiii).

Collis (2006), in a collection of papers exploring "the patterns and dynamics of the network society in its policy dimension" (Castells & Cardoso, 2006, p. xix), considers the transformation of education in corporate, professional and higher education settings in the light of the shift to a knowledge economy. She focuses particularly on the potential of e-learning to support productivity in a situation where, citing a New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development statement on the skills needed to sustain contemporary knowledge economies, 'know-why and know-who matters more than know-what' (Collis, 2006, p. 216). Though this clearly echoes a long-standing aspiration of broadly progressive forms of education, Collis observes that much of the practice in e-learning, in which digital technology is used in the management and delivery of education and training, particularly in corporate settings, works in a contrary direction by delivering de-contextualized fragments of knowledge through depersonalized managed learning environments. Collis presents a number of counter-examples in which digital technology, in particular the use of Internet-based resources, online interaction and digital repositories, has and could be used to foster corporate cross-disciplinary knowledge building and sharing, the development of physically remote but mutually supportive professional communities of practice and modes of assessment in higher education that foster reflection, sharing and cumulative knowledge building.

It is notable, however, that once again whilst digital technologies are presented as key drivers of the development of the knowledge economy, the conditions for the appropriate and productive use of digital technology in education are far from in place. The productive use of electronic portfolios in higher education, for instance, is seen as requiring greater institutional investment, flexibility of accreditation bodies, reform of the practices of lecturers and transformation of the expectations of students. As Selwyn (2007) has observed, the gap between the aspirations of advocates of educational technology, like Collis, and the current limited, rigid and constrained usage of digital technology evident in higher education is not easily breeched. The use of digital technology in higher education is, Selwyn argues, shaped by a range of forces at various levels within the system, from governmental concern with global economic competitiveness, through the 'new managerial' concerns of university administration and the commercial interests of the software, hardware and system providers to the experience, interests and concerns of university students. The development of productive engagement with digital technology in formal higher education from this perspective thus requires macro and micro political engagement if the aspirations of educational technologists are to be realized.

Whilst schools and higher education institutions struggle to incorporate creative and flexible uses of digital technology and establish programmes in which the collaborative co-production of knowledge is ostensibly prioritized over transmission, there are

communities of physically dispersed agents, collectively and productively engaged in the co-construction of knowledge, collaborative activity and the sharing of information and strategies thriving, to varying degrees, on the Internet. Most notable are the flourishing informal communities based around shared interests, such as fans of a particular television programme or computer game, or those with an interest in particular technological, cultural or political activities, or shared identities and practices. These communities do not, however, escape the play of cultural and social capital that marks similar endeavours in the 'space of places'.

In a study of Internet fan sites, Whiteman (2006) explores the manner in which authority is established and maintained in online interaction. Far from being open to the free play of positions, perspectives, voices and identities, these sites, though highly productive in the exchange of ideas and information and in the production of commentary on their specialized, and related, areas of interest are highly regulated in and through the contributions made by participants. The strategies deployed by participants act to establish a range of possible legitimate identities and positions mark out who can say what in which settings. The strategies can be viewed as pedagogic in that they act to induct participants into particular modes of engagement and interaction in addition to producing and reproducing knowledge about their chosen area of interest. In conducting the research, Whiteman deploys a broadly comparative strategy in that she looks at two distinctly different sites (though how they might be distinguished beyond surface description is as much a product of the analysis as a starting point). One site, *City of Angels* (COA), is dedicated to the US television series *Angel* and the other site, *Silent Hill Heaven* (SHH), concerns the *Silent Hill* series of videogames.

By analysing postings in a sample of the discussion lists, Whiteman explores how authority and status are established in these fan communities, and the manner in which affinity to particular objects is achieved and regulated. She identifies continuities and discontinuities between the two sites, and is able to explore the different strategies that are deployed by participants in the establishment of an online identity, in claiming authority, in building and regulating a community, and so on. In each case a balance between openness and regulation is achieved in what are ostensibly completely open contexts. Each, however, has its own distinct culture and exhibits the deployment of range of pedagogic strategies through which participants are inducted into appropriate behaviour, and are included, positioned and excluded (Whiteman, 2006). Though not formally constructed as such, these are pedagogic spaces and within these spaces social difference, relations and structures are produced and reproduced.

Digital Divisions

Access to digital technology is clearly not uniform within or between contexts. For those who see digital technologies as a key contemporary educational resource, the differential access to these technologies is a central concern in addressing what is commonly seen as the 'digital divide', with relative wealth or poverty of access clearly discernible between rich and poor communities, regions and countries. Whilst access to these technologies is clearly an important issue, this chapter has attempted

to establish that it is not the only issue in understanding, and addressing, social and cultural inequity in, and beyond, education. The struggle to ensure more equitable access to digital technology has to be accompanied by endeavouring to understand how, through different modes of engagement with and through these technologies, inequalities are (re)produced. Not to do so invokes the danger of the fetishizing of technology, and the pursuit of access as a social project in and of itself.

This is evident in the One Laptop per Child (OLPC) project, initiated by Nicholas Negroponte and other faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Media Lab. The aim here is to develop a low-cost laptop computer that can be widely distributed to children in both the ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ worlds (see <http://laptop.org>). The laptop and its software have been developed, it is claimed, to exemplify a ‘constructionist’ approach to learning and thus facilitate ‘learning learning’. Though it is claimed that this is an education not a technology project, the development of the laptop, rather than the principles of its use, have been to the fore. This project has not been universally well received. The Government of India, for instance, turned down the offer to participate on the basis that it would divert funds away from more established needs (The Hindu, Tuesday 25th July, 2006). Others have argued that, with even small amounts of money able to make a distinct difference to life chances in desperately poor parts of the world, through, for instance the provision of fresh water and vital medication, this effort is misplaced. Aside from this, the project itself has run into a number of problems relating to the production of the technology to specification and budget and relating to assumptions made about the conditions in which people live, difficulties in meeting the costs of running the machines and the provision and maintenance of basic infrastructure.

The very assumption that the provision of a laptop (or, in this case, a simplified device that bears only limited similarity to a commercial laptop) and selected software (though not, in this case, established business and educational software) will make a substantial contribution to the educational and life prospects of the school students in this vast array of social, economic and cultural circumstances, is itself open to serious question. Even in classrooms in the USA, doubt has been cast by researchers of the value added by giving one-to-one access to laptops. For example, Dunleavy, Dexter and Heinecke (2007), in a study of two middle schools, found that a one-to-one ratio of laptops to students in the classrooms studied did not automatically add value, and suggested that the high cost and the management challenges presented to teachers by the provision of laptops creates a demand for thorough professional development to ensure that teachers are able to create and manage appropriate learning environments.

This does not necessarily mean giving up on digital technology in all but the most economically privileged circumstances (and thus opening the divide further). An alternative strategy is to select and deploy digital technologies in a way that is more carefully attuned to the specific context and circumstances of their use. In the light of the studies cited so far in this chapter, a focus on teacher development would seem to be particularly valuable. Leach and Moon (2002) explore the ways in which digital technologies can be deployed in the education of teachers in wider attempts to reform schooling and to meet national and international objectives, such as universal primary education. They present a number of examples from contexts ranging from poor rural communities in sub-Saharan Africa attempting to rebuild education in the

face of war and disease to urban schools in rich Western countries attempting to provide for increasingly linguistically, culturally and economically diverse populations. In all cases, the creation and maintenance of a sufficiently large teaching force with appropriate knowledge and professional skills are seen as key challenges, which digital technologies and new approaches to teacher education can help to meet.

The strength of the approach proposed and of the examples given is the contextual sensitivity and appropriateness of the interventions. In many cases conventional forms of teacher education are themselves not feasible, given the scale of the enterprise and the levels of resources available. In these settings, the use of communications technologies to facilitate teacher learning and networking can enlarge the possibilities for teacher development far beyond the conventional investment in buildings and other physical facilities that concentrate resources in one area thus creating distance between professional development activities and the context of their eventual realization.

The Digital Education Enhancement Project (DEEP) is one such research and development project which focuses on the use of digital technologies in fostering the development of the pedagogic knowledge and practice of teachers, and exploring the impact of technology enhanced strategies on the motivation and achievement of school students, in 12 schools in the city of Cairo in Egypt and 12 schools in towns and rural areas of the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa. As part of this, Leach and Moon (2004) explored the use of handheld computers by teachers in this project, finding that these small, portable, flexible and easy to use devices became easily integrated into teachers' daily workflow and had a substantial impact on teacher professionalism, organization and planning, collaboration and shared learning, the development of new classroom practices and the self-esteem of teachers. Studies such as this give some indication of the potential of new technologies in teacher education and development. It should be clear, though, that the outcomes are not a function of the technology but of its interaction with contextual factors in the setting within which the technologies and their related practices are embedded. This means not only that care has to be taken in assuming that these technologies/practice can be transferred elsewhere to similar effect, but that the perceived effectiveness of the intervention itself is likely to be transitory as, for instance, the technology takes on new social and cultural meanings over time, and as other conditions change.

Conclusion

Digital technologies are viewed as enabling rapid communication across distances. They enable the production and distribution of information and digital artifacts, in the form of text, graphics, sound and video. As these artifacts move from one place to another, whilst their form might remain stable (or might not), their meaning, potentially, transforms as they shift from one system of signification to another, and as they are read and reread by different agents bringing different meanings and understandings to their interpretation. This is nothing new, and indeed is the stuff of that strand of academic comparative education which attempts to understand the relationship between systems and practices through addressing, for instance, the borrowings, transfers and translations between one system and another. So practices associated with child-centred

education in England, such as the public display of individual children's work as a way of celebrating individual achievement and encouraging collective endeavour, come to mean something very different when transferred to the classrooms of rural Indonesia. This re-contextualization constitutes a transformation as practices are plucked from one network of meaning, or culture, and replaced in another.

Viewed in this way, these practices cannot be understood as having a given essential meaning, but rather can only be understood in relation to the context of their realization. The movement of digital artifacts from one context to another can also be understood in the same way. The spaces through and in which they travel are, however, virtual as well as geographical (and the 'and' here is of central importance). It is not just the digital texts and artefacts, though, which meet this fate; it is also the digital technologies themselves.

The emphasis in this chapter has been on understanding digital technologies and their educational usage, both formal and informal, in relation to the contexts in which they are embedded. These contexts can themselves be embedded in other contexts. Individual schools, for instance, are embedded in particular groupings (defined, for example, by the ages of the school students, modes of funding, geo-political location and so on) within particular systems of education (defined, for example, in terms of nation or region or trans-national network of interlinked or associated institutions and so on). Each higher level of organization acts to provide a reservoir of meaning potential for its constituent parts, which in turn, through the realization of this higher level as a repertoire of instances, enables us to describe, understand and explain its characteristics. Classrooms thus have to be understood in relation to the systems in which they operate, and in turn act to constitute the system as instances of it. This relationship operates at any level from individual action to trans-global systems.

The formal and informal pedagogic spaces that have been considered in this chapter are clearly not socially neutral. Just like any material setting or community, virtual settings and communities are marked by the play of social and cultural capital, and through this patterns of social relations are produced and reproduced. Whilst the shift from reproduction of knowledge and artifacts to production and dissemination that is facilitated by digital technology can be seen as potentially subverting formal educational institutions, in practice existing patterns of social and cultural relations and their associated practices act against this. The perceived need, for instance, to train teachers and students to use specialized technologies in particular ways is one example. This inverts the notion of transformation of education by new technologies by reading these technologies as requiring new competences, of teachers and students, which must be acquired before they can be used effectively in pedagogic settings. This creates potential deficits and patterns of distribution of competence, and thus inclusion and exclusion and success and failure in the use of technology in particular sanctioned ways.

Increasingly, the technologies themselves are already part of the everyday experiences of students and teachers. These technologies are not, however, equally part of the everyday lives of all students (and so the degree of resonance between the culture, practices and common competences of, for instance, the home and the school will vary), nor are the material and symbolic resources (such as teacher knowledge and expertise) to be able to incorporate them into the curriculum equally available to all

schools. Even if they were, the relationship between the cultures of the children and the cultures of the school would be different. The framing of the 'digital divide' as being predominantly about access to appropriate hardware and software fails to address this. The OECD study carried out in 23 countries by Venezky and Davis (2002) noted that schools were clearly aware of the potential inequalities that the use of digital technologies in schooling might cause, but the strategies to overcome this that they cite relate only to helping low-income families to gain access to these technologies. The report notes that few schools had data to enable them to monitor differences relating to gender, income or achievement.

None of these are determining relationships, but involve potential and meaning, and thus, of course, entail facilitation and constraint. Much of the discussion of the relationship between education and digital technology within and between contexts confuses potential with practice and possibility with necessity. Consideration of digital technology from a comparative perspective, which acknowledges the social embeddedness of the phenomena with which it engages and seeks to understand what happens as entities move or are manifest in different contexts, can help us to avoid, or at least mitigate, these confusions and connotations. The disembedding, or rather re-contextualizing, potential of digital technologies also presents a challenge to comparative education in questioning the utility of the boundaries constructed around contexts (for instance, around national systems) and, indeed, constitutes a challenge to the very notion of a boundary as elements from one context are projected into (and read and reread) in others. Methodologically and conceptually, engagement with the uses of digital technology in formal and informal educational settings provides an opportunity for the enlargement and further development of the productivity of a comparative approach, both academic and applied.

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RETHINKING CONTEXT IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Michael Crossley

Concern with context penetrates to the heart of comparative education. It is reflected in much of the early writing within the field, and it remains central to many contemporary intellectual positionings, discourses and developments. Contextual issues are also central to many of the most passionate theoretical and methodological debates that are to be found in the research literature – past and present. Thus questions of context reveal much about the history of comparative education, at the same time as they inspire and shape some of the most challenging research and scholarship at the cutting edge of the field today.

This chapter explores the nature and implications of such debates, and of the contextual themes that play a strategic role in shaping the future of some of the most innovative approaches to comparative and international education worldwide. This is done with reference to developments that have made a significant contribution to the evolution of research in comparative education, and to my own related work within this multi-disciplinary field.

Historical Reflections and Paradigmatic Tensions

Tensions between positivistic forms of comparative research in education seeking generalisable laws and predictions, and more hermeneutic/interpretive perspectives developed to generate insights and improved understanding, can be traced back to the intellectual foundations of comparative education as a specialist field of enquiry. While details of this history can be readily found elsewhere (Brickman, 1960, 1966; Wilson, 1994; Crossley & Watson, 2003), the implications of related paradigmatic debates for contemporary innovation and creativity in both theory and methodology repay careful reconsideration.

The seminal influence of Marc-Antoine Jullien's "plan" for comparative education in the Parisien intellectual climate of 1817, for example, established the positivistic foundations of the field with efforts "to deduce true principles and determined routes so that education would be transformed into an almost positivist science" (cited in Fraser, 1964, p. 20). For many Western writers Jullien is seen as the founding "father" of systematic research in what was, then, a new field. Jullien's influence is alive and well today where it is reflected in the efforts of international agencies, such as UNESCO and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

(OECD), to produce annual collections of international education statistics to facilitate global comparisons. It is also visible in the work of bodies such as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) that has pioneered cross-national achievement tests and the construction of international league tables (Postlethwaite, 1999) – and in the OECDs own influential Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) surveys (OECD, 2004).

While there is much that can be learned from the current enthusiasm for cross-cultural achievement studies, attention also needs to be given to their limitations and to the dangers of their misuse – be it unintended or not. Finland, for example, has consistently done well in cross-national league tables, while South Africa has experienced disappointing results. The visibility of such rankings can inform and inspire qualitative improvements, but it can also prove to be damaging and unhelpful, as argued by Reddy (2005) in the South African context – and, perhaps more surprisingly, as Simola (2005) points out for Finland. What unites these two very different cases is attention to the limitations of large-scale comparative surveys in taking adequate account of the influence of contextual and cultural differences. Reddy (2005, p. 76) for example, argues that the potential benefits of cross-national achievement studies will only be realised in South Africa if:

participating countries contribute more towards the shaping of such studies to meet their own needs. The power relations inherent in cross-national research also deserve greater recognition, and mechanisms need to be set in place to help diminish these differentials. Information derived from multi-country studies needs more careful analyses if it is to be relevant to specific local contexts ... and it is also important for the culture of the international organisations that promote and coordinate such work to change so that they can better accommodate the implications of different experiences and contexts.

Secondly, as Simola (2005) demonstrates, distinctive pedagogic assumptions and values are embedded deep within cross-national achievement tests, and, somewhat ironically, these often prioritise formalistic forms of teaching and learning that many educational decision-makers and stakeholders claim to be challenging for being inappropriate for the demands of the twenty-first century. Issues of context thus loom large if we are to better understand the dilemmas that are associated with cross-national achievement testing, the use of league tables and the dangers of their “backwash” effect (see also Dore, 1976 and Little, 1997) upon pedagogic and professional cultures in education worldwide.

Returning to the historical and epistemological foundations of such debates, it can be seen how concern for context also underpins one of the central questions faced by comparativists in many fields and disciplines – that is, how can we best learn from experience elsewhere? It was such questions that inspired challenges to Jullien’s positivistic foundations for the field, and to nineteenth-century preoccupations with the international transfer or “borrowing” of educational policy and practice (Phillips & Ochs, 2004; Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2006). Michael Sadler’s widely acknowledged influence upon the emerging field of comparative education at the outset of the twentieth century clearly reflected a challenge to such positivistic assumptions, and represented a socio-political re-positioning that both recognised the dangers of the

uncritical international transfer of policies and practices, and highlighted the significance of context and culture in the development of education systems (Sadler, 1900; Higginson, 1979; Sislian, 2003). In subsequent years leading comparativists such as Isaac Kandel (1933), Nicholas Hans (1964), Vernon Mallison (1975) and Edmund King (1979a) developed and applied their own distinctive approaches to comparative research, consistent with the spirit of Sadler's influence and the interpretive-hermeneutic paradigm. By the 1960s, however, a resurgence of "scientific" approaches to research in the social sciences was evident in the Western literature. This favoured quantifiable data that offered the prospect of law-like generalisations and the possibility of more robust educational planning and social engineering. Positivistic aspirations were thus refashioned in the form of post-war contributions seeking to advance the "science" of comparative education. Noah and Eckstein (1969) are well known for pursuing such work in the United States, while in the United Kingdom, Holmes (1965, 1981) sought to advance the scientific model by promoting what he called the "problem approach" to social science and comparative education.

Interpretive and hermeneutic traditions, nevertheless, remained influential with many comparativists, championed by writers such as Grant (1977), King (1989) and Kazamias (2001). By the 1970s renewed rigour and enthusiasm were also stimulated by advances in the "new sociology of education", critical theory and qualitative approaches to research in the social sciences. Stenhouse's (1979) Presidential Address for the then UK Branch of the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) characteristically advocated greater attention to case study informed by detailed qualitative fieldwork (see also Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984/2006). At the time, this was seen to challenge current practice and pre-occupations with policy, by opening up new units for analysis at the micro level, and focusing the attention of researchers more firmly upon observed practice and the lived experience of research subjects. For many observers this was seen to exemplify:

the change which has taken place since the 1960s in all aspects of social study (including the study of education). "Phenomenological" or "locally significant" dimensions of the educational scene are now given more attention in terms which the prime participants would use. (King, 1979b, p. 1)

My own work contributed to such developments by arguing for greater attention to be paid to local professional contexts in developing countries, as a way of challenging the uncritical international transfer of curriculum reform strategies (Crossley, 1984). New "voices" were thus increasingly being heard and, in combination with the influence of critical theory, the politics of different discourses was increasingly recognised at all levels of the research process. Masemann's work on critical ethnography (1982) illustrates this well, and her CIES Presidential Address on "Ways of Knowing" (Masemann, 1990) drew direct attention to the significance of contextual issues in epistemological debates concerned with the nature, characteristics and quality of comparative education. More could be said, but while it is not the intention to rehearse the details of this history here, it is useful to observe how what came to be called the "paradigm wars" inspired further methodological advances that both reflected and contributed to major theoretical developments across the social sciences. A related overview of

such historical trends and their influence on comparative education is also provided elsewhere (see Crossley *et al.*, 2007). More pertinently for the present analysis, these are all developments that in large part wrestled (and still do) with the place of context in both theoretically and empirically orientated research and scholarship. It is to the nature and significance of more recent intellectual developments, to the centrality of context in such processes, and to their implications for the future of comparative and international research in education that we now turn.

Reflections and Reworkings: Rethinking the Place of Context in Comparative Research in Education

While tensions between positivistic and interpretive forms of comparative education continue to influence the research landscape to the present day, the impact of critical theory, postmodern perspectives and other related epistemological and theoretical positionings has been profound. Recent decades have experienced dramatic paradigmatic challenges and innovative “re-imaginings” for comparative education, as growth in the research profile of the field has been spurred on by the intensification and impact of globalisation worldwide (Crossley & Watson, 2003; Dale & Robertson, 2005).

This history may seem to be familiar territory for some readers, but by taking a different view of events, the main thrust of this chapter is to argue that it is contextual factors and increased awareness of their significance in both educational research and educational change, that underpin many of the most significant developments of current times. This, in turn, points to the very real potential of comparative research in education to contribute to increased understanding of such issues, by drawing upon the field’s wealth of directly relevant experience. This can now be illustrated by revisiting and reflecting upon selected paradigmatic shifts, and future possibilities, in greater detail from this explicitly contextual perspective.

Perhaps, most obviously, it can be seen how qualitative researchers such as Stenhouse and Masemann played a significant role in shifting the focus of comparativist’s attention away from a concentration upon both the nation-state context and the analysis of policy at the macro level. Contributions to Crossley and Vulliamy’s (1997) volume illustrate this well with reference to studies of education and international development that employ ethnographic, case study and other research strategies that access the micro-level contexts of schools and communities throughout the South. While such studies, and influential European research by Broodfoot, Osborn and colleagues (1993, 2000, 2003), often combined local level context sensitivity with broader social and political analyses, Bray and Thomas (1995) made a further contribution by highlighting the importance of multi-level analysis through the construction of a helpful three dimensional theoretical model. In this model:

The authors observed that much research remained at a single level, thereby neglecting recognition of the ways in which patterns at the lower levels in education systems are shaped by patterns at higher levels and vice versa. (Bray, Adamson, & Mason, 2007, p. 8)

Again, however, Bray and Thomas were advocating the juxtaposition and comparison of different levels of context.

In a related series of developments, efforts to better understand local perspectives and the voices and needs of practitioners helped to inspire the application of action research and practitioner researcher strategies in comparative investigations – so reducing the extent of the gap between the researcher and the researched. Stuart, Morojele and Lefoka's (1997) study of classroom practice in Lesotho demonstrates the potential of such forms of action research, and Choksi and Dyer's (1997) reflections on their collaborative research in India draw attention to the benefits to be gained from context-sensitivity generated through North–South collaboration. Influenced by writers such as Freire (1971, 1982), Chambers (1994) and Kemmis (1997) the potential contribution of participatory and practitioner approaches to comparative and international research has become increasingly recognised by the academy as well as by governments, development agencies and funding bodies. This has further stimulated the generation of a variety of innovative models that include Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Chambers, 1994; 1995) and participatory action research (Selner, 1997). Participatory approaches to research have thus become increasingly acknowledged for what they can contribute to educational development and community empowerment in context.

Similarly, much of the rationale for the application of postcolonial perspectives (Hickling-Hudson, 1998; Hickling-Hudson, Mathews & Woods, 2003) draws upon:

an interpretive approach blending history and epistemology in specified locations [that] is useful in showing how interwoven is the postcolonial present with the colonial past. (Hickling-Hudson, 1998, p. 328)

Here concern is given to understanding the world from the perspective of the South, the formerly colonised, the marginalised, from their own distinctive vantage points – and informed by their own political and contextual sensitivities. Not surprisingly, critical theory often informs such comparative research (Burns & Welch, 1992; Apple, 1993; Rizvi, 2004), inspired by a commitment to ensure that research plays a part in challenging unequal power relations and in influencing the nature and direction of change (Foucault, 1972; Habermas, 1978; Apple, 2001). A special issue of the journal *Comparative Education* (Crossley & Tikly, 2004) explores such postcolonial possibilities for comparative and international research in education, reflecting upon this in the light of a related critique of postmodern influences upon educational research.

Where both postcolonialism and postmodernism have much in common is in their critique of globally orientated meta-theory and the assumptions of enlightenment science, along with their celebration of diversity, difference and context. To cite Gadamer “all knowledge reflects the socio-historical contexts of its production” (cited in Hammersley, 1995, p. 14). By drawing attention to the political and intellectual contexts of knowledge production and legitimation, researchers thus began to focus upon the deconstruction of dominant world views and to explore the relationship between politics, knowledge and power. According to Cowen (1996a, b) such advances came late to the field of comparative education though there is now much work within the contemporary literature to suggest that these influences are increasingly significant – if

somewhat indirect and marginalised from policy-making arenas. This need not be so, however, as demonstrated by the edited collection by Ninnes and Mehta (2004) titled *Re-Imagining Comparative Education: Post foundational Ideas and Applications for Critical Times*; and work in progress, by Larsen and Mehta (forthcoming), exploring the impact on education of the insecurities that have been generated in North America by the events of September 2001. For present purposes, however, it is the contextual sensitivities that engage with the philosophical foundations of post-modernist, post-colonial and post-structuralist thinking that are seen to have much to offer comparativists, and it is selected research initiatives that capture elements of such potential that are the focus of the next sections.

Changing Research Contexts, Emergent Trends and New Possibilities

Despite the many and varied paradigmatic advances of recent decades the global research context is currently one in which positivistic conceptions of the social sciences are once again prioritised in many quarters. In the UK and United States, for example, neo-liberal ideologies, combined with the interests of the state and managerialist principles have had a powerful impact upon the nature and focus of research environments and processes (St.Clair & Belzer, 2007). Sustained critiques of social and educational research have argued that too much work lacks a coherent body of theory, is neither authoritative nor cumulative enough, and is often unhelpful for policy and practice (Hargreaves, 1996; Kennedy, 1997; Hillage, 1998; Tooley & Darby, 1998). In responding to this, policy-makers, research funders and other powerful stakeholders have engaged with what Furlong (2004) refers to as the “big science” approach to research-based evidence. This many see as silencing other approaches, most notably those qualitative strategies that have contributed most to the study of practice in context. Vulliamy (2004) challenges the global impact of such trends with direct reference to their implications for comparative education in his 2003 Presidential Address for the British Association for International and Comparative Education (BAICE). In doing so he points out how comparative researchers must now contend with:

growing international interest in systematic review methodology and its associated privileging of quantitative research strategies, such as randomised controlled trials, in evidence-based policy. (Vulliamy, 2004, p. 261)

This is the intellectual and professional context in which many in the educational research community – including comparativists – must now work. It is in the light of this that possible ways forward are now considered, arguing along with Furlong (2004, p. 343), that:

we need to defend a rich and diverse range of approaches to research, promoting debate about quality within different sub-communities and encouraging open discussion across epistemological and methodological boundaries.

Indeed, it is also argued that this is even more important in the arenas of cross-cultural, international and comparative research – where differences in world views add significantly to the complexities, and ethical, political and contextual implications (Hayhoe & Pan, 2001). In exploring possible ways forward the chapter now draws upon examples of innovative comparative research, along with aspects of my own work, that it is suggested hold potential for future trajectories in context-sensitive comparative and international research in education.

In looking to the future, reference is initially made to two related arguments that help to draw a number of contextual themes together. Firstly, this revisits my own concerns to “reconceptualise” comparative and international research in education in ways that more effectively acknowledge the potential and limitations of different approaches to, and modes of, comparative education (Crossley, 1999). Secondly, this argument is developed along with efforts to encourage an increased “bridging of cultures and traditions” (Crossley, 2000; Crossley & Watson, 2003) within the field and between, for example, paradigmatic and disciplinary positions, theoretical and applied studies, policy and practice, micro, macro and other levels of analysis, the humanities and the social sciences, studies of the past and the present and research in the North and the South. It is argued that such efforts could do much to help to address many of the challenges raised about the impact, authority and accessibility of educational and social research that are noted above – and that this is possible even in contexts experiencing the difficulties and dilemmas generated by problematic changes in the broader research environment.

Moreover, while this bridging process may encourage a blurring of boundaries between constituencies, paradigms and personnel, this should not be seen as equating in any way to an intellectual or professional compromise or bland search for consensus. Rather, as argued elsewhere (Crossley & Watson, 2003), it prioritises and values the ongoing creativity and originality that the juxtaposition of different world views may generate – and, most pertinently here, improved awareness of the implications of cultural and contextual differences. This “bridging” thesis therefore celebrates and values difference – and the potential of different comparative educations – and applies comparative perspectives and processes to generate new creativity. Bakhtin’s understanding of such processes is helpful in this respect when he suggests that:

A meaning only reveals its depths once it has encountered and come into contact with another, foreign meaning. ... We raise new questions for a foreign culture, ones that it did not raise itself; we see answers to our questions in it; and the foreign culture responds to us by revealing to us its new aspects and new semantic depths ... such a dialogic encounter of two cultures does not result in merging or mixing. Each retains its own unity and open totality, but they are mutually enriched. (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 7)

In the light of this conceptual and theoretical positioning, much can be gained from examples of ways in which recent comparative studies have been developed around international collaborations between Northern and Southern research teams, while

linking theoretical scholarship with studies designed to inform policy and practice in context. Three such research projects stemming from my own work over the last decade were carried out in collaboration with colleagues at the Universities of Bristol and Bath, and personnel working within universities, colleges and ministries of education in Belize, Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania.

The first study (1994–1999) was designed to document the nature and quality of teaching and learning in Belizean primary schools – and to help evaluate the impact, in practice, of the DFID funded Belize Primary Education Development Project (BPEDP) (Crossley & Bennett, 1997). The second two-phase study consisted of the formative and summative evaluation of the implementation of the Primary School Management Project (PRISM), designed to train head teachers in leadership skills in Kenya (1996–2000). This was combined with a reflective and historically situated analysis (2001–2005) of the theoretical foundations of the project and its associated research and evaluation strategies (Crossley *et al.*, 2005). The third study (2000–2002) examined the implications of globalisation for education and training policies in Rwanda and Tanzania (Tikly *et al.*, 2003).

For present purposes these initiatives can be seen to build cumulatively upon each other. While each had a different substantive focus, all were funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and all prioritised improved stakeholder partnerships and process goals designed to contribute to the strengthening of research and evaluation capacity within the South. From the outset, this was seen to include ways of improving the context-sensitivity, and cross-cultural research skills and experience of all involved – including the Northern partners.

The substantive findings of each specific study can be read elsewhere, but it can be seen how they collectively demonstrate different dimensions of the bridging thesis in practice. It is therefore the process goals and associated research strategies that are most illuminating for present purposes. In all three cases the research was carried out by international teams of researchers – emphasising long-term collaboration between organisations and personnel in both the North and the South. This had the advantage of combining insiders familiar with the cultural contexts involved, with outsiders who can bring fresh and challenging perspectives – a strategy much commended in the international literature (Spindler & Spindler, 1982). In the Belizean and Kenyan studies emphasis was also placed on involving practitioners in forms of participatory or action research and evaluation. This is consistent with Delanty's (1997) proposal for social research to be conceptualised as 'discursive practice', whereby problems are democratically identified, defined and examined. In a related vein, Chambers, an advocate of participatory research in development work, calls for the researcher's role to be transformed in similar ways so that:

[f]rom planning, issuing orders, transferring technology and supervising, they shift to convening, facilitating, searching for what people need and supporting. From being teachers they become facilitators of learning. (Chambers, 1994, p. 34)

In these three studies bridges were thus built between the North and the South, between researchers, policy-makers and practitioners, and between insiders and outsiders. In

addition, all three studies were multidisciplinary in nature, provided research training that bridged paradigmatic boundaries, incorporated macro and micro levels of analysis and located contemporary policy critique within a thoroughly researched historical framework. Finally, each of these studies usefully illustrates the possibilities and dilemmas that are encountered when efforts are made to investigate development issues with increased sensitivity to what Arnove and Torres (2003) call the “dialectic of the global and the local”. In this respect we can see how these initiatives, designed partly to help strengthen local research and evaluation capacity, are firmly grounded in perspectives that are at the heart of disciplined and context sensitive comparative and international research.

Today the influence and potential of such collaborative approaches to research are being explored further in the form of a new DFID funded Research Programme Consortium (RPC) led by Leon Tikly, Angeline Barrett and colleagues (www.edqual.org/). This focuses upon studies designed to help improve the quality of education in low income countries, and the mode of operation continues to foreground long-term, international partnerships and research capacity strengthening (Crossley, 2006).

A second area where an increased focus upon context holds considerable potential for future comparative research relates to the work of a parallel DIFD-funded RPC focused upon access to education (www.create-rpc.org), and to the earlier discussion of cross-national achievement studies and associated league tables. In a recent BAICE Presidential Address, Lewin (forthcoming) draws upon the initial work of the Sussex-led RPC on “Access to Education for All” and demonstrates how improved understanding of such issues can be gained from innovative uses of statistical data sets in ways that draw attention to, rather than mask, local variations and contextual differences. To quote Lewin’s (forthcoming) concluding remarks:

[A]s the EFA processes have unfolded, at least in the poorest countries and those most dependent on external assistance, convergence in diagnosis and prescription has overshadowed more and more divergence in context and patterns of exclusion. If this persists it is at least arguable that progress will be hampered by homogenised goals and targets applied without much contextual grounding or dynamic relationship to changing circumstances.

Indeed, by paying close attention to context, this statistically oriented research helps to indicate how quantitative and qualitative research can make complementary contributions that have important potential for policy critique and development, and for the advancement of theory – in this case relating to school access and retention, and to the pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals.

Similarly, the critique of cross-national achievement tests, the use of league tables (of all types and in all sectors of society), and target setting, deserves increased attention from the comparative social sciences – ideally incorporating mixed method (Osborn, 2004) collaborations between quantitative researchers and qualitative personnel attuned to contextual implications. Goldstein (2004, p. 13), for example, draws upon a distinguished career in statistical methods but engages with comparative critique and context sensitivities in a most challenging way when he argues that organisations such as UNESCO should challenge their:

current orientation ... which appears to derive from official philosophies of target setting and centrally determined “benchmarks” which have prevailed within certain parts of the Anglophone world since at least the mid 1980s. Nevertheless, from the perspective of those countries identified as likely to fail to meet current targets, a locally contextualised perspective would seem to offer more potential for improvement. It is, after all, just those countries that are in most need of help.

In reflecting upon the significance and impact of the IEA studies, Goldstein (1996, p. 126) holds similar sentiments, calling for more careful and insightful studies of test procedures, conclusions and implications and noting that:

when educational systems have different aims and curricula, interpretations of student performance need to be related to such different contexts.

A third and final group of examples of innovative context-sensitive research can be drawn from recent advances in the application of narrative research to comparative studies. Trahar’s (2006) edited volume is one of the first books to explicitly address such combinations, and the individual chapters make a valuable contribution to the methodological debate, at the same time as they point to future possibilities. As Hayhoe (2006, p. 9) argues in her Foreword to this volume ... through narrative research:

people in different contexts share their thoughts and experiences about educational changes brought about through globalisation, and contribute to the reconceptualisation of comparative research and notions of internationalisation in ways that reflect their distinctive geopolitical locations.

Narrative approaches can thus build most effectively upon other qualitative traditions that have already played a part in advancing interpretive and hermetic research, but it can also help to bridge such work with theoretical perspectives such as postcolonialism (Fox, 2006), and arts-based investigations in which story, poetry and other forms of representation are used to understand context (see Holmes & Crossley, 2004). Bainton (2007), for example, has recently completed doctoral research that developed a “critical narrative” approach to explore the impact of Western education on indigenous knowledge in the Indian Himalayan region of Ladakh. In this highly innovative study the researcher prioritised post-structural and narrative approaches, combined with Buddhist philosophy, in order to interrogate the livelihood practices and educational experiences of rural communities in Ladakh. Here, his own experience living and interacting with local farmers, sculptors, poets, priests and families, was the well-spring for policy critique and theoretical insights where:

[t]he productive tensions between the different aspects of the critical narrative approach allows for a tentative comparative analysis of possible counter hegemonic knowledge production. In this regard, Buddhist philosophy, as a form of “indigenous theory” is seen to offer new forms of critique while at the same time giving a hopeful reading of the possibility of human agency. (Bainton, 2007, p. i)

In such research, the analysis of uncritical international transfer is central, and context is both the focus and the methodology – context is the heart of the study itself.

Conclusions

Rethinking the place of context in comparative education, it is suggested, has much to offer all engaged in both educational research and educational development. Indeed, as Schriewer (2006a) has shown a “culturalist” approach can be identified within comparative studies across the social sciences and has long “been geared towards examining phenomena not in disjointed isolation but in terms of their historical affiliation *to*, and dependence *on*, more encompassing societal and cultural contextual conditions” (Schriewer, 2006b, p. 1). Implications of the present analysis, in turn, hold potential for future research trajectories in many fields and disciplines across the social sciences. The year 2002, for example, saw the American Sociological Association launch a new journal simply titled *Contexts*, designed to take “sociological research out of its ivory tower and into a real world perspective” (ASA, *Contexts* Brochure). In the realm of psychology, innovative and challenging advances by Rogoff (1990), Wertsch (1995) and Elliott and Grigorenko (2007) reflect many comparative principles, by demonstrating how sociocultural theory understands individual, personal growth as shaped by the cultural and social contexts in which it occurs. Similarly, in exploring future directions for global economic development, the BBC Reith Lectures delivered by Jeffrey Sachs in 2007, also locate increased contextual sensitivity at the heart of future international policy deliberations designed to reduce poverty, tackle climate change and prevent war (Sachs, 2007). Returning to the field of comparative education, Stromquist prioritises similar concerns for international equality and equity with implications for improved linkages between stakeholders and constituencies. She argues that the influence of comparative and international education:

is determined not only by its intellectual value but also by the proximity of its practitioners to the circles of power. Those wielding influence are not academics but rather the staff members of international organisations and their transnational counterparts who subscribe to dominant, market-oriented development models that are not substantiated by empirical research. (Stromquist, 2005, p. 107)

The future for comparative and international research across the social sciences will therefore be exciting, challenging and increasingly engaged with the nature, role and impact of context.

In this chapter new ways of exploring the significance and implications of context have been explored, in the light of its long acknowledged place in research and scholarship in this multi-disciplinary field. It is argued that further revisiting and rethinking of such implications could make a significant contribution to the future of comparative and international research in education. Vulliamy (2004), nevertheless, returns to the paradigmatic issues discussed at the outset of this chapter and warns that:

A concern for sensitivity to cultural context has been a key part of the field of comparative education in England – all the way from its pioneers ... to current exponents ... Such a concern for cultural context also pervades sociological traditions underpinning the development of qualitative research ... The challenge for future comparative and international researchers in education is to harness the symbiosis of these two traditions to resist the increasing hegemony of a positivist global discourse of educational research and policy-making. This global discourse threatens to undermine the findings and analyses of comparative education research by either completely disregarding cultural context or relegating culture merely to existing as an extraneous variable to be statistically analysed.

It is hoped that the critical reflections presented here help others to challenge the uncritical international transfer of educational and social research paradigms and policies, that they contribute in some way to future directions for comparative education, and that they help to demonstrate the extent to which “context matters” more than is often realised, not only by policy-makers, but also by many researchers working in education and across the social sciences.

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BIG STORIES, SMALL STORIES: BEYOND DISPUTATIOUS THEORY TOWARDS 'MULTILOGUE'

Sonia Mehta

Dedicated to Rolland G. Paulston

That there was a time when a war could be waged between 'relativists', who claim that language refers only to itself, and 'realists', who claim that language may occasionally correspond to a true state of affairs, will appear to our descendants as strange as the idea of a fight over sacred relics.

Latour, B. (1999)

By Way of Introduction: A Small Story

As an 'international' student of comparative education, I entered the field of comparative international education, bringing with me a very different academic tradition and cultural history. I saw the field as a *darbar* (or 'King's court', in Hindi) of theories, presided over by an organizational structure that positioned it within a certain range of disciplinary academic frameworks. This disciplinary lexicon was further disciplined by professorial choice of syllabi. This was a powerful court, and its arguments were familiar, if distant. I made haste to learn its language. I paid attention to the glittering promises of the largest stories: the upliftment of all humankind, and the promise of progress. I wore these as mantels in my own grand design of scholarship. Inevitably, I was disenchanted: there appeared no way to articulate the different and separate (and to me, precious) sets of stories I carried around with me like a secret. There was a reason I had come into the field with my own small stories, thinking they meant something in a larger canvas, and I was not alone: other students came with other small stories. I found my stories becoming more obscure, as language failed them and socio-educational practice left them on a distant margin. There was no advocacy for them in the *darbar* of comparative education studies, more out of neglect and insularity rather than specific malignancy. My stories, and those of some of my fellow students, were simply unimportant, less immediate or translated and changed as they slowly became grafted onto more powerful research options in more powerful and pervasive educational discourses. Mine was only one small story, and this problem was only a nebulous one in the larger scheme of educational problems, but it led me to consider this curious placing of stories in an educational and social, and intimately human context. I have

two dear friends to thank for their wisdom in helping me escape this effacement of self, and the compression of teeming human variety into stifling binary logic. Peter Ninnes and Rolland Paulston, with their separate approaches to scholarship and their immense humanity, compassion and vision showed me a fluid and malleable landscape of understanding and another possible reality for myself and for what I do through education.

Disputatious Times in a Disputatious Field

This essay-in-understanding is situated in the context of comparative education studies in Anglo-America. I begin by tracing some of the scholarship done in the field that begins to open the way for new and different ways of doing comparative education research, while at the same time marking the upheaval this has caused within its scholarship. Comparative education has been struggling with its own stories. The field of comparative education has been seen as diverse and eclectic (Laska, 1973; Paulston, 1994), the selected expression of knowledge in a field of immense possibilities (Schriewer, 2000). Modernism has been long seen to dominate the field, but the field is also seen to be moving towards ideologies that are other than modern (Paulston, 1999; Rust, 1991; Kelly, 1992; Welch & Masemann, 1997; Cowen, 1996, 2000). There have been various interrogations of what is excluded from the histories of comparative education and its origin stories, and concern for excluded narratives (Cowen, 1996, 2000; Ninnes, 2002). Cowen, revisiting a comparative education preoccupation with identity and ‘early ideologies’, suggests a reflexive and critical look at the literature, and in so doing, points out an implied critical value of all “small stories”:

(If) a good comparative education would combine an understanding of the intersection of the forces of history, social structures and individual biography, then it is crucial to absorb the theme of personal identities into our literature. ...[A]ny reading of the contemporary world in terms of the scale of diasporas and migration suggests that comparative education is now too separated from a literature about ‘the other’ which it helped to pioneer. (Cowen, 2000, p. 336)

Masemann, in 1990, wrote “It is quite likely that the spread of linear fragmentary forms of education as we now know them will be slowed or halted”, “in a world that can value diversity” (Masemann, 1990, p. 473). She also advocated “looking beyond what might be an adaptive form of response ... where the ‘sacred knowledge’ is being generated by academics and researchers” (1990, p. 469). Masemann, Cowen and others, in my reading, are among those advocating alternative ways of thinking about education in a diverse world, and are implying that there is a need for non-linear, connective forms of education which can address the world of diversity we now engage with. The influx, however small, of postcolonial and postmodern ideas, largely due to the search for more relevant and inclusive ways of thinking about comparative education studies, signalled a shift or turn in orthodox comparative education origin stories. I suggest that this was a shift/break in the sense that it disrupted the prevailing story of what comparative education is or could be, but also a turn, or a move, away from the

largely modernistic premises of the field in Anglo-American Comparative Education. This ‘turn’, (Paulston, 2004)), has been met with vigorous condemnation by those in the field who would prefer the familiarity and predictability of a vision of the world as seen by the founding fathers of comparative education and education in general. The latest in this heated debate is the essay by Epstein and Carroll, “Abusing Ancestors: Historical Functionalism and the Postmodern Deviation in Comparative Education” *Comparative Education Review No. 49* (2005). Three years before that (2002), Nannes delivered his paper, “Origin Stories and the Discursive Constitution of Comparative Education” at Stanford University, USA. In 2005, Paulston drew his final maps, specifically referring to this collision of scholarship and knowledge cultures. These maps will be explained later in this essay.

Nannes, through his work, interrogated the origin stories of comparative education and traced (and also displaced) the dominant discourse of comparative education by using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by looking at texts and publications that are being used to tell the story of comparative education (Nannes, 2002). In 1994, Paulston brought to the attention of the comparative education community, and to education theory at large, a map of the diverse perspectives present in the field. In doing so, he also introduced a particular way of looking at theory and research, one which was inclusive rather than exclusive of the various knowledge communities in comparative education. Rolland thus succeeded in marking important engagements the field has with multiplicity and difference. Representations of knowledge continue to change and grow in comparative education studies, as Paulston’s mappings of the field show (2004).

These remain disputatious times. Old orthodoxies are being contested just as local skirmishes accelerate into disciplinary wars; even if the old battles between the ‘scientific’ and the ‘non-scientific’ did not continue to divide scholarship. Beyond that, critiques of the ‘birth’ of the social sciences pointed out that the Enlighteners, for all their elegance and beauty of reason and humanitarian ideology, shaped a society hostile to social differences, and non-western cultures (as also non-scientific knowledge cultures), and had the unfortunate social effect of promoting harsh intolerance towards human diversity, and of carving social differences into individuals and groups (Seidman, 2004) This is not to say that social differences have not been asserted into individuals and groups far before the Enlightenment had anything to do with it, for reasons of religious or social categories, separating sect, caste, male, female and so on. In education discourse, however, as perhaps in other sites of identity building, we are still fighting over sacred relics, our small or big stories. There will always be the shrillness of acrimonious debating over the validity and ethics of one theory against the other as long as some ways of knowing are seen to be more valid or more valuable than others.

In this field, we have long been engaged in various non-harmonious ways of telling educational and sociological stories – a debate which has become recently tense and embattled, with the inclusion of the ‘post’ enlightenment theories, (postmodern, post-structural, postcolonial among others) the advocacy or condemnation of which have led those in the field to align their positions along both sides of an dichotomous theoretical divide. I suggest that this is an artificial divide: being opposed to the ‘universal stories’ of modern sociology does not imply an opposition to empirical science or to the idea that human studies may make a better world. It does imply however, that the

privileging of scientific truth over all others is seen to limit epistemological choice and a full understanding of human diversity. Discarding dichotomous divisions also suggests that an understanding of the human condition in society would be more enhanced by *not* discarding the promise of explanatory accounts of social realities, but replacing their rationales of ‘truth’ and social ‘progress’ with rationales of social justice and critical moral reflexivity, replacing their comparisons of models and functions with genealogy and narrative. Academic communities continue, however, to be invested in opposing theoretical stances linked with power, prestige, institutional sanction, personal ego or other reasons, maintaining the divisiveness of differing knowledge cultures. The theoretical divide is particularly harmful to students and studentship in the field of comparative education studies, but it could also have the larger effect of circumscribing research which has direct implications on individuals and institutions that plan and implement policy decisions based on education research, and specifically comparative education research. Binary logic and territorialism in academia also serves to decimate our own simple (and complex) humanity.

This essay-in-understanding seeks to take a view broader than the contentious one, to find the landscape that empowers and privileges learning, rather than territory, so that those engaged in the business of shaping ontological choice may first be engaged in the practice of unlearning, (a term coined by Heredero, 1989, in the context of social awareness) learning and relearning, in other words, ‘reflexivity’, a term used to refer to the practice of understanding a text through its own constructedness, or the understanding of the researcher through the constructedness of her own stories. To do this, I use Rolland Paulston’s last research and maps to identify and navigate “Big” and “Small” stories towards a comparative methodology that is inclusive of the process of how these stories are constructed and how they become big or small, and as Paulston shows through his maps, how narratives “see” and place each other in an interrelated web of connection. Using mapping methods and interpretations of CDA, my essay continues the discussion of how to *do* the ‘multiple’ (to map multiple knowledge perspectives) as both meta- and mini-narratives, specifically combining a modality of CDA and postmodern social cartography into pedagogy for comparative education studies. For those suffering post-enlightenment language fatigue, let me say that this is (simply) an exercise in enabling more *choice* in language and register, through which to describe our various worlds and views. Our interconnected and contentious, globalised milieu of academics, academic activity and institutions makes it possible to look upon the various wars of ideas and disenchantments, and ask, what is it that serves the purpose of a learning and teaching community at the end of contestation and disagreement?

Big and Small Stories

McCarthy and Dimitriadis problematise the organisation of knowledge in schooling itself following the industrial age: “Against the tide of ... currents of change, however, mainstream educational thinkers ... have tended to draw a bright line of distinction between the established school curriculum and the teeming world of multiplicity that flourishes in the everyday lives of youth beyond the school” (2001, p. 2), pointing out

one of the problems of excluding some stories from bodies of knowledge intending to teach and instruct. If seen through a genealogical lens, when binaries are adhered to, two separate bodies of knowledge are conceptualised, one in which there are dissenting opinions and theories, which may be excluded or rejected from other bodies of knowledge, and another which includes local beliefs and heterogeneous ontologies, which are unfixed and transgressive. At this impasse comes into play the deployment of authority and investiture, constructing the discourse of legitimate/academic/official knowledge, deemed 'knowledge' and excluding as 'not knowledge' the alternative body of knowledge, in its genealogical sense, choosing one knowledge culture above the many.

Mini-narratives (small stories, local, experiential, subjective and disruptive/transgressive/interrogative of meta-narratives) and meta-narratives (big stories, global, theoretical, objective and exclusive of small stories) then become discourses exclusive of each other. This bifurcation has particular effects on the wider process of research and understanding. Firstly, there is the erasure of voices as stories struggle to become part of a dominating discourse and the loss, or translated versions of those stories as they become part of the visible discourse (of research, of 'thick' or metaphoric sociological description, of policy and so on). Secondly, there is what I call the invisible problem (invisible since erasures have occurred), of denying the most plural view to the student of educational issues, a significant problem for a field that bases its identity in the cross-cultural and multi-disciplinary. The problem of erasures occurs between languages and identities, between experience and struggle. We are then faced with the problem of making problems; how questions are framed and logic laid out when knowledge orientations are effectively kept out. We are also faced with problems of inclusion, and what to include what not to; what is counted as knowledge, what then becomes 'legitimate' in the discourse.

Big and Small Narratives

Big stories, or meta-narratives, are overarching theoretical ideologies, or universal stories. Mini-narratives, or small stories, are specificities, subjective anti-theories that are ubiquitous (everyone has their own small story). Any narrative when 'grafted' (Sommers, 1999) on to a binary code which sets up a system of rules of exclusion and engagement (e.g., of social naturalism or religious values) may become a meta-narrative. The binary code then transmogrifies the narrative into a more potent force of authority and power, giving it 'naturalised' or 'god-like' sustainability in the face of evidence to the contrary. Which also means that there is an opposition built into this binary division, making its alternative an undesirable thing, contrary to the 'natural' or 'truthful' set of rules the meta-narrative is grafted upon. For example, the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment is so 'naturalised' as a state of social being that it is monolithic enough to spawn any number of theories addressing the 'natural' need for society to better itself, supporting the truth claim that this is a universal aspiration. My point here is not to demonise the desire behind meta-narratives, or to demonise any narrative for that matter. What I mean to do here is to highlight that part of the process in the formation of meta-narratives that becomes internalised, entrenched and

taken for ‘truth’ myths about the state of society, or individuals in it. Sommers, in her essay tracing the building of a meta-narrative suggests that narratives, when they become meta-narratives, cannot be easily destabilised. Based as they are on a binary logic, they have two important effects: they create and maintain boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, becoming epistemological “gatekeepers” (1999, p. 145), where the more ‘valid’ knowledge cultures become those based on this foundational knowledge schema or binary logic, and the less ‘valid’ are deemed those based on contingent logic. Thus, knowledge cultures are set up to be opposing and mutually exclusive.

I suggest that small stories more often than not interrogate meta-narratives, are plural and local, sometimes referred to as subversive discourse when they appear in opposition to the meta-narrative. Mini (small) narratives question the authority of a meta-narrative and are usually the site of uncovering the limitations of theory. Andreas Musolff (2006) calls small stories “source concepts” and has analysed the organisation of source concepts into mini-narratives in the construction of social debates. Mini-narratives are those useful vehicles used in sociological studies for the benefit of a researcher who goes on to construct the pattern of these ‘incipient stories’, or ‘experiential narratives’ according to Conle (1992, pp. 165–190) against a conceptual framework, or, in other words, a big story of choice. However, small stories are what their proponents say they are, and are to be unknown until they are brought into a public domain. In this durbar, turning to Paulston’s map of knowledge cultures within big and small stories provides a welcome disruption: All stories are mapped as texts, ‘telling’ a particular kind of story which then has certain effects and implications. More importantly, the map provides a way for texts to talk to each other, and for stories to find connection. As a student faced with competing claims of truth and power, it is invaluable to be able to see this landscape as *one* system of interaction, which may then be remapped to alter the dynamic presented there. In the end it is about the need for a choice of an alternative language, access to the alternative and the ability to craft one’s own register within the languages of both meta- and mini-narratives.

Paulston did his final map for the 2004 CIES Annual conference. It was a conference at which he could not be present because of his failing health, but it provided a rich, generative signpost for possible futures for the people in comparative education studies. The next section is devoted to the map he drew by hand (reproduced here electronically), followed by my reading of the map and its possibilities for crafting a different pedagogy for comparative education studies.

Rolland asked, “How are we to practice our comparative art in this time of heterogeneity and tumultuous change?” To date, several options have been presented. One is to hold fast to the eternal truths of our founding fathers. Another is to embrace and privilege the cultural differences of Others. And there are also those who would avoid the issue altogether, using a strong dose of scientific rigour – and, perhaps, cultural blinders. In contrast, I would like to argue for the re-inscription of all “big stories” into a space, or field, of little stories. This ontological and epistemological turn from a binary logic of exclusion offers the possibility of a more diverse and interactive cartographic representation of our field. Thus, the perspectives constructing knowledge debates may be mapped into webs of difference that are open to other actors and other possible stories. This is not to argue for a neutral position or a neutral language

in which to compare difference. All theoretical choices offer a view of the world in their own terms, and all can be critiqued from the position of another theory. We can, of course, insist on the absolute validity and orthodoxy of our view and attempt to exclude other accounts as deviant. Or we can embrace Clifford Geertz's great 'refusal' to impose a single reductive story on the wonderful varieties of human understanding. At the end of a long scholarly road, I opt to join those who willingly attempt what may seem to be an impossible task, 'to acknowledge the partiality of one's story (indeed, of all stories) and still tell it with authority and conviction' (J. W. Scott, 1991, pp. 42–43). while mapping it into the debate field of comparative education. In this way, we begin to visualise how our field may be seen – constructed as a representation, a picture of our complex multidimensional reality" (Paulston, 2004).

Paulston's map (reproduced in the following pages) shows the ontological divide that separates spaces where it is possible for small stories to emerge while also illustrating the conditions for such possibilities.

Paulston's map describes and maps five discourse genres through their core values, ontology, epistemology and disciplinary focus. The discourse genres chosen here are idiographic, nomothetic, ethnographic, agnostic and cartographic: explained fully in the table of genre attributes following the map (Table 1). It might be useful for readers to imagine 'text' as narrative – written or spoken, with its specific beginning, its present events (a middle) and its ends, denouements or conclusions that fix the narrative or its world view with a particular knowledge culture.

Although the map shows opposite knowledge constructs, these need not necessarily be opposing unless the value systems of narrators (mappers) are constructed to be opposing. I would suggest that the circular nature of the map of knowledge cultures shows also what is left out of one's own narrative when it appears alongside another's. Thus the map begins a dialogue or a 'multilogue' (engaging communication on multiple levels), towards an unlearning and relearning as one re-maps and interrogates the map itself, and one engages with other narratives, because the 'other' is now in relational discourse with 'me'. It is hoped that the map and its coordinates will provoke its own debate. For the purposes of this essay, it has led me to reconfigure my own theoretical positions and to rethink my own knowledge culture. A commentary on possible pedagogical modalities for the field of comparative education ends this essay-in-understanding.

An original of the map reproduced here is to be found with the University of Pittsburgh's Occasional Papers series (USA) (Figure 1).

Doing the Multiple: How Postmodern Social Cartography and Critical Discourse Analysis Work Together

The question remains of how to operationalise multiplicity and subjectivity. I suggest a modality called multilogue, which constitutes a number of pedagogical themes. At the level of *text*, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on social, historical and political contexts of discourses. This school of thought looks at the relationships between discourses, the effects of discourse on human subjectivity, and how power and

Table 1. How the five inquiry perspectives and discourse genres mapped in Figure 1 may be seen to construct a diverse comparative education

	Core values (axiology)			Preferred reality, way of being (ontology)	Favoured way of knowing (epistemology)	Disciplinary locus	Compares	Illustrative texts comprising genre "mimicrons"
DISCOURSE GENRES								
1	Conceptual descriptions (Ideographic genre):	Materialist Documentation Representation Consensus Analogy Order Linearity	Realist Computational Objective Positive Foundational reality	Numeration Case study Typology Calculating Categorical	Social and historical studies Educational planning and evaluation	Data, categories Cases, types Plans, time Nomenclature Facts		Julien (1817) Comté (1876) Kandel (1961) Bereday (1964) World Bank (1995) Bray (2000)
2	Causal explanations (Nomothetic genre):	Lawful relations Analytical Foundational truth Universality Verification Certainty Empathy Authenticity Mediation Holism Insight Actor identity Human agency	Metaphysical Propositional Logic Exclusive Detached Lawful reality Situated Subjective Hermeneutical Relative Reflexive Experiential Reality	Systemic modeling Analyses Quantitative Correlational	Social sciences Sociology and economics Statistics Policy sciences	Theories Models Functions Systems "Social facts"		Durkheim (1895) Anderson (1961) Archer (1982) Khoo (1986) Meyer (2003) Schriewer (2003) Cassirer (1957) Geertz (1993) Rockwell (1996) Hoffman (1999) Masemann (1999) Epstein, I. (2003)
3	Cultural interpretations (Ethnographic genre):			Ethnographic Thick description Interpreting Symbolism Qualitative Decoding Constructing meaning	Cultural anthropology Ethnology Art history Folklore Humanities	Narratives Myths Icons, artefacts Codes Images Rituals		

<p>4 Contested Readings (Agomistic genre):</p>	<p>Difference Contradiction Struggle Alterity Textuality Irony Uncertainty</p>	<p>Paradoxical Becoming Subjective Aletheistic Critical Hybrid Contested Reality</p>	<p>Revealing contradictions Aporias Unmasking and deconstructing Rhetoric Agonistics Paralogics Patterning spatial links and webbing Cartographies Juxtaposition Cognitive mapping</p>	<p>Semiotics Poetics Cultural studies Feminist studies Postcolonial studies Philosophy Rhetoric Comparative studies Cultural geography Cybernetics Intellectual history</p>	<p>The invisible & the visible Omissions Tropes, genres Discourse Narratives Multivocality World views Ways of seeing Patterns Epistemes Performances Networks, spatial relations</p>	<p>Gore (1993) Bain (1995) Cowen (2000) Ninnes & Mehta (2000) Hickling-Hudson (2003) Seidman (2004) Foucault (1986) O'Dowd (1999) Rust (2000) Shroff-Mehta (2002) Ahmed (2003) Gorostiaga & Paulston (2004)</p>
<p>5</p>	<p>Perspectivist mappings (Cartographic genre):</p>	<p>Multiplicity Pluralism Heterotopia Space Visual Nomadic Surface</p>	<p>Relational reality</p>	<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>

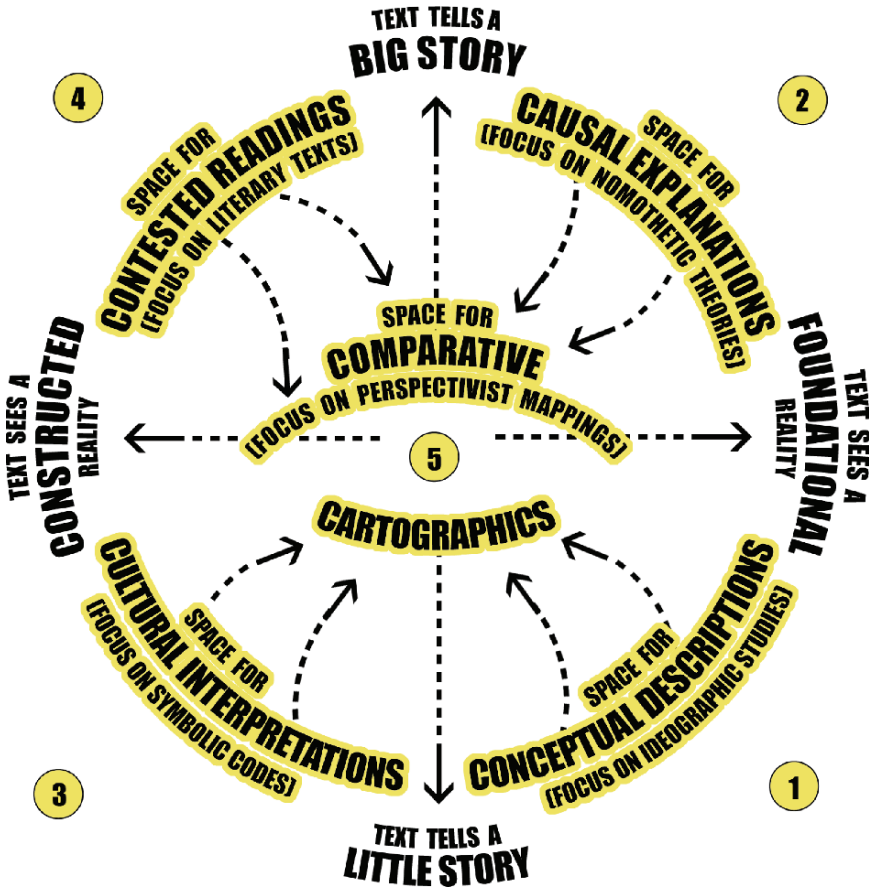


Figure 1. An Alexandrian-style map comparing knowledge spaces and inquiry genres in comparative education discourse
 Source: Paulston (2004)
 See Appendix A for Mini-Canons constructing each genre

knowledge circulate through these effects (Foucault, 1980). In Luke’s writing (1999), according to Foucault and Derrida, language and discourse are “not transparent or neutral means for describing or analyzing the social world. ... (Foucault) refers more generally to reiterated key words and statements that recur in local texts of all kinds. Such statements appear intertextually across texts and comprise familiar patterns of disciplinary and paradigmatic knowledge and practice” (Luke, 1999, p. 163). Derrida questions whether authoritative interpretations are at all possible, being that all texts are polysemous (the dynamic play of difference where multiple, unpredictable and idiosyncratic meanings can be made by multiple readers in multiple social contexts).

Thus 'text', in social cartography becomes 'narrative'. Multiple users of the map can re-map, re-tell their texts in relationship to the other narratives on the map.

CDA therefore begins from certain assumptions of "systematic asymmetries of power and resources between speakers and listeners, readers and writers (that) can be linked to their unequal access to linguistic and social resources" (Luke, 1999, p. 167). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) further elaborate on the task of CDA as being both deconstructive and constructive. According to Fairclough and Wodak, the deconstructive moment of CDA disrupts the power dynamic of textual and verbal events and problematises the themes of these events. In its constructive task, CDA allows for a vast resource for students to critically analyse social relations by distributing the resources of discourse in an equitable process.

According to a review of CDA literature done by Peter Nannes (Nannes, 2002), Critical Discourse Analysis assumes discourses, through language, to be forms of social practice and that they are dialectically constituted within social situations that are also constituted by them in a mutual process. Nannes shows us how discourses have material effects that can shape, reproduce, disrupt and reshape relations of inequality and is therefore a form of social action. In the treatment of textual material (written word), CDA makes use of some degree of systemic functional linguistic methods. Employing lexical and grammatical features of texts, as argued by Halliday and Hasan (1989), have three functions:

At the level of 'field': texts represent and portray the social and natural world

At the level of 'tenor': texts construct and effect social relations

At the level of 'mode': texts develop identifiable conventions in particular media

'Field' also represents texts as the written and spoken word as particular selective views of the world, or 'subject positions. 'Tenor' may be seen as 'reading positions' that the text set out as social relations. Texts, by their 'mode' of establishing reading positions can position readers, situating them in identifiable relationships of power and agency vis-à-vis the text.

In CDA, typically, subject positions (of texts) have analysed cultural assumptions in the textual macro-structure, focusing on selective traditions of values, ideologies, 'voices' and representations. Such techniques allow the text to be analysed to demonstrate how they structure and stipulate social relations between human subjects and "how they build differential relations of power and agency between readers and writers, between students and textbooks" (Luke, 1999, p. 170). Through this perspective, discourses may also be seen as discursively reconstituted by the very discourses that may have been deployed to limit and divide them. Thus, because of the repeated action made by students and teachers upon the texts of the discourse, these discourses are ultimately in the hands of those who are acting upon them. The topic of analysis, such as value and beliefs systems about education, or poverty alleviation, is what people say or think it (the topic) is (Game & Metcalf, 1996).

CDA studies the interpretive grid, as it were, of what *is* said, in text and speech, what is *not* said and what *cannot* be said. This method focuses on the specific condition under which 'reality', 'truth' and 'knowledge' claims are made and sustained, and the conditions under which particular discourses and imbedded discourses are seen as

more dominant than others. In a sense, CDA becomes a key process in the creation of a map made by multiple users, as the critical step towards working out the coordinates of the map.

Foucault described how some discourses and not others become prominent in particular contexts, the conditions of this prominence and the maintenance of it and the relationships of power between their mutual functioning, and their transformation whether independent, reciprocally or co-relatively (Foucault, 1972). CDA allows one to interrogate discourses by questioning how various spoken, written and symbolic texts constitute and define knowledge, learner, educator, academic and institutional identities within the relationships of power and social-historical conditions through which these discourses are manifest. CDA are not only concerned with the contents of documents, but also with the process of their development and outcomes.

The challenge of mapping multiplicity would be engaged when there is more than one mapper working on creating a map of knowledge constructs. As Paulston (1996, p. xvii) points out, mapping recognises and patterns *difference*: “[A] spatial turn in comparative studies would focus less on formal theory and competing truth claims and more on how contingent knowledge may be seen as embodied, locally constructed, and re-presented as oppositional yet complementary positionings in shifting fields.” Paulston gives us a general outline of the process of mapping in six stages:

1. Choosing “the issues and debates” to be mapped
2. Choosing the “range of texts that construct these debates”
3. Conducting a “close reading and macro-analysis” of these texts (or narratives)
4. Identifying the “range of positions in the intertextual mix”
5. “Sharing”: Paulston recommends identifying textual communities that share ways of seeing and communicating reality and their locations in the mapping. One might also find differences.
6. “Re-mapping”: The last, and I feel, most significant point in the mapping process, regarding pedagogy, is Paulston’s recommendation to test the map with individuals or knowledge communities involved, and then to re-map as desired and or share conflicting interpretations of the map.

The mapping process requires a choice of coordinates along which to map the various stories told by the text. This can be negotiated through differences or similarities, which also have divergences within them, leading to re-mapping. CDA may come into the mapping process at anytime and with any narrative, the analysis of which would alter its place on the map.

Multilogue

The concept of multilogue (my coinage) questions the idea that pedagogy of difference can be crafted exclusively from the classroom. In the end, the space of most fluidity may be found in spaces other than the traditional (such as classrooms), perhaps in

cyber-space versions of a combination of CDA, which uses language to deconstruct discourse, and postmodern mapping methods, which mobilises the positioning and situatedness of the actors who choose to be within the discourse, and other processes-oriented tools of critique and representation. The concept of multilogue extends the pedagogical sites of meaning construction from the classroom, to any environment through which common and/or different space is represented. It takes the concepts of dialogue and multiplies them so that there may be the creation of an internal and external map, as well as the ability to share and discuss the differences that these maps manifest. The communal space that represents mapping discourse as a group, presents, I argue, the means by which to change ontological and epistemological coordinates, introduce new ones. Thus, the actors of the discourse are to be engaged in the construction of a deeply meaningful way of creating 'knowledge', or perhaps even 'problem-solving', in a fashion that allows for personal expression as well as collective interaction with others in the discourse.

Rolland Paulston had made it his life's work to construct and reconstruct knowledge perspectives in order to be and become more and more reflexive and inclusive. Going beyond the contentious debates of modern against postmodern, orthodoxies against heterodoxies, he looked upon the future of international scholarship in terms of its heterogeneity: networks and synergetics. This is the manifestation of a belief in multiple realities, with space for both big and small stories, multidimensional, complex, mutable and embodied, where intertextual relationships take over what meta-narratives left out. Thus we move from shared and isolationist histories, the big stories of national systems and social movements, and the interruptions of small dissensions and other stories, or mini-narratives to a process of synergy and continually changing discourse.

Multilogue works under the following conceptual framework:

- Concern for Otherness and Othering, as constructive and destructive concepts
- Recognition of the simultaneous existence of multiple voices
- Acute and self-conscious bias towards enabling tentative and silenced voices
- Recognition of the existence of liminality, hybridity, transitions/transitologies and of motion in all narratives and knowledge cultures
- Recognition that deconstruction and reconstruction, situatedness and fluidity are empowering and desired in a learning process
- Recognition of the existence and effects of power
- Recognising the limits of each story: that all knowledge is partial and is built through the interaction between reader and texts as well between multiple communications
- Recognising that everything is dangerous, and that being able to engage reflexively at all levels keeps us generating connective forces rather than static, silencing forces

Combining CDA and postmodern social cartography gives us a way of operationalising a sort of 'multilogue'. According to the 1920s literary theory of Mikhail Bakhtin, all utterance is dialogic in that it anticipates the response of the addressee and is accented towards another. That is to say, we are defined by our own perceived relationship to others through speech. Bakhtin wrote about the intrinsic connectedness of temporal

and spatial relationships in cognitive and meaning-making situations. However, it was Foucault and Lefebvre (1974) who privileged space over time, signalling the end of ‘despatialised’ history. Rebecca Martusewicz’s *Seeking Passage: Post Structuralism, Pedagogy, Ethics* describes Serras’ idea of ‘noise’ (often dismissed as so many small stories): “Serras writes about the ‘beautiful noise’ or the ‘excess empirical’ of every text and every claim to knowledge, in the spaces of meaning that escape the capture of representation” (2001, p. 13). If inquiry were to be so pedagogically configured as to *include* that noisy third through a process of multilogue, such as is possible with the mapping process, then there is a space and perhaps many spaces open to the knowledge within the ‘excess empirical’. In effect, it may open the discourse of other potential meanings and forms, the creative process of applying all the plural parts of the individual learner, eclipsed or suppressed desire and understanding of the human condition, into the public and private sites of knowledge creation.

Beyond the Postmodern: In Conclusion

Postmodern themes in pedagogy are useful because they change the entire paradigm by which to approach knowledges, while they also destroy the system of paradigmatic boundary-making. Stronach and McLure (1997) show quite effectively how a re-reading of educational research, or perhaps an undoing of it, break not only the practise of boundary-making and maintaining, but also unearth ‘new’ insights into old research. In that sense, postmodern pedagogies, are both micro and macro: micro in that they are concerned with the minute details of research relationships and macro because they are concerned with effects and actions and influences outside and beyond these details.

Perhaps the strength of comparative education studies lies in the ability (or possibility) to allow diversity in the field to actually inform the field. It is after all, one thing to present differences in theories and concepts, quite another to operationalise them in the research of the field. Presenting theories may mean that they are presented as far-away, static spaces to use or not depending on the context defined. My argument has been for a way of presenting a multiplicity of views that allows for a process as well as for the ‘interference’ of personal agency (whether teacher, learner or Other), and that also allows for the possibility of movement, of relationship, of perhaps, connective tissue. Multilogue, as CDA and postmodern social cartography addresses the unexamined effects of power within an experiential knowledge paradigm (when mapping takes place as an investigation into desire), allowing all actors to place themselves self-consciously within a discourse. Multilogue, ultimately, breaks the barrier and the power relationship between instructor and instructed, engaging both in the learning process. Only a collective can produce a working model of multilogue, and this suggests a next phase in traditional ways of doing research. In a sense, it begins with a readjustment of values, as an invisible pedagogy, a process begun before the manifestation (mapping) of stories and the shared learning (re-mapping) is done.

Through Rolland Paulston's work, and the extensive interpretations of CDA done by Peter Ninnes and others, it has become possible to look through and then beyond both the harsh exclusions of meta-narratives and the sharp subjectivities of mini-narratives towards processes that illustrate possible connectedness (rather than the static divide) of these knowledge cultures or choices, as well as their dependence on each other. For a student trying to tell a story or a set of stories through a space competing for validity of various kinds, working through text and through visual, spatial media could provide an escape and a personal affirmation in the face of the monolithic censure of academic legitimation. The backlash from those who felt we have to contain and discipline the field into a more secure, predictable community surely understand that there is really no going back, because the past was never static and because the content, people and places of comparative education are variegated. The studentship of comparative education is globally engaged, whether contentiously or seamlessly. Indeed the identities of most are plural, culturally, ethnically and even perhaps ethically.

It is a fearsome thing, to think of the unimaginable stories that await representation; mapping the unimaginable is an uncomfortable, unpredictable thing. I want to echo Rolland Paulston and Peter Ninnes, and offer the challenge of allowing the self-conscious and biased process of mutilogue to become the choice of method, rather than choice of theoretical consolidation to become a method. Theory thus becomes vehicle, towards the unpredictable outcomes of research. Simply put, we need to start at some point, which will necessarily and admittedly be limited and myopic, but intensely subjective and intimate, hence invaluable. Then we continue, in Paulston's conceptualisation, to think in terms of a circular and netted map, rendering the 'starting point' of research only vestigial in its linearity, focusing, not on endings (although there will be conclusions) but on continuation and learning through debate and discourse. In the end, it will be the students of comparative studies that push boundaries in any meaningful ways, but only if there is the freedom to embrace the impossible, the subversive and the unthought-of, and the alternative, whatever that may be. At a pedestrian level, it would mean the incorporation of reflexivity into every teaching event, asking of all research, "What is the alternative? Where, and who is the Invisible", as Susan Star does (1991) in her essay on the 'Sociology of the Invisible', being able to name known alternatives and then to allow other alternatives to name themselves. This is not to imply, in any way that 'post' anything is the new and glittering direction in which we should all aspire to go. That reinforces only that we should *not* remain in the grip of one or the other orthodoxy. However, it would take real courage of academic spirit to have the landscape of context (the multiple present), of history (the multiple past) and of abstraction (multiple possible futures) in the service of learning above service to agenda or ego. It is a messy direction, but I feel, infinitely generative. Advocates of obedience to sacred texts may do so because of the predictability of method and inquiry. If predictability means 'being safe', then by all means let us be safe. Should we then not also be safe to be different and differing, and should we not also have a safe space in which to engage these differences? Comparative education, as any field of cross-cultural investigation deserves at least that.

Appendix A: How Diverse Knowledge Perspectives May Be Seen to Shape a Postfoundational Comparative Education (© Rolland G. Paulston)

A Proposed Mini-Canon for Knowledge Perspective No. 1 Conceptual Description

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A Proposed Mini-Canon for Knowledge Perspective No. 2 Causal Explanation

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A Proposed Mini-Canon for Knowledge Perspective No. 3

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A Proposed Mini-Canon for Knowledge Perspective No. 5 Perspectivist Mappings

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COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN TWO ASIAN CONTEXTS: A JUXTAPOSITION AND SOME QUESTIONS

Wang C., Dong, J. and Shibata, M

Introduction

The history of ‘comparative education in China and in Japan is fascinatingly different. Both countries, of course, share many aspects of cultural history, major belief systems, and some aspects of governmental tradition (including the tradition of Confucian assumptions about social and political harmony). Yet the individual (but overlapping) histories of the two countries are powerfully different and have taken them in dramatically different directions at various points in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It is possible to provide a juxtaposed account of these developments, but writing the histories is, paradoxically, a job for the future: it will require a great deal of subsequent work to define and to dispute these ‘histories’ in a serious and comparative way.

A great deal of work has already been done on the various ‘comparative educations’ of Europe, or Europe and North America. Certainly with individual accounts of comparative education being assembled for a range of countries, and for professional Societies the basic sorts of information that permit thought are beginning to be assembled.

But we are nowhere near yet in terms of grasping the comparative sociologies and geographies of ‘comparative education’: How do the shape and style of comparative education change over time, affected by the politics and sociology of specific contexts?

We Are Not Sure

Therefore, it is suggested that these ‘histories’ of comparative education in China and Japan – which are here merely juxtaposed – are an indication of some of the work which needs doing in the future. The ‘histories’ of comparative education in East Asia need defining and rescuing. These brief sketches are a first step, a hint about unresolved issues, a sketch of the ways in which knowledge – comparative education – is related to social context. As authors, therefore, we have chosen to keep our sketches separate.

China: The Evolution of Chinese Comparative Education [Wang C., Dong, J.]

Most accounts of comparative education stress the English-speaking tradition, but there is also a major tradition of comparative education in East Asia.

A number of Chinese scholars in comparative education say that the Chinese comparative education has experienced similar development stages as in the Western countries (Li, 1983; Cheng, 1985; Wu & Yang, 1999). Since 1949, Chinese comparative education has been heavily influenced by political, social and cultural changes in the country and has gone along a bumpy road.

The Stage of Prehistory

In ancient China, there was discussion about education from a comparative perspective, and at a later stage, articles or reports on foreign education by travellers spread. It is hard to say that at this stage there was any comparative study in education. During the period of the Spring and Autumn (770–476 BC), the historical records show that both Confucius and Mencius once made comparisons about politics, cultures as well as education of the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties (Wang, 1999). By the seventh century of Tang Dynasty, Huang Zunxiang's 'Records on Japan' and Xuan Zang's (602–664) 'Records on West Regions' presented broad pictures on education in both Japan and India (Li, 1983; Wu & Yang, 1999; Wang, 1999). The exchanges of cultures and education with neighbouring countries such as Korea, Japan and India can be traced back to the Han Dynasty (202 BC).

The detailed introduction of foreign education to China started in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mainly by Western missionaries in written form (Li, 1983; Wu & Yang, 1999). The education systems, teaching methods, together with history of Western education, became increasingly popular in China, which resulted in a great and long debate nationwide in the nineteenth century.

The Stage of Description and Borrowing

China has a long tradition of culture and civilization of five thousand years. In the past dynasties, the cultural superiority complex in the Chinese academic field resulted in neglecting the study of foreign cultures including education. Only during the Opium War of 1840, when foreign industrial and military forces opened the door of China to the outside world, there began the self-questioning of Chinese intellectuals on outward looking ways for China in all fields. In this regard, education played an important role.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, nationwide debate on how and what to learn and borrow from foreign experiences including education began among intellectual circles, as well as all walks of life, and practices copied from foreign education systems were experimented in education. The debate on 'Chinese Essence, Western function (Zhong Ti Xi Yong)' which built the notion that '[t]he Oriental worships Dao (the spiritual civilization) and the Western worships

techniques (the material civilization)' reached its peak during the May 4 Movement, a new cultural movement. The Movement to some extent was anti-tradition, namely, anti-Confucianism. The refusal of anything foreign was taken as one of the major obstacles impeding China's progress towards modernization. In response to this, the strategy of Western Democracy and Science was put forward. During this period, comparative education gradually earned its reputation within the more general field of educational studies (Cheng, 1985; Wu & Yang, 1999).

A number of articles, translated books and even teaching materials on foreign education with a descriptive and introductory nature were published and adopted. The first publication on comparative education in a real sense was found as early as 1901 (late Qin Dynasty) in a journal entitled 'World Education'. In the same year, a four-volume teaching compendium introducing education in Germany, France, United States, Britain and Japan developed by the Hubei Provincial Education Department was adopted. One additional publication was the 'Status-quo of World Education' edited by Lu Feikui in 1911 (Li, 1983; Cheng, 1985). The three publications sparked a start in comparative studies in the field. In the following years, more than 40 books on comparative education either edited or translated by Chinese scholars were published. Luo and Wei translated the work of Kandel on Comparative Education (Cheng, 1985; Wu & Yang, 1999). The publication introduced the methodology of comparative education to China, which was widely adopted by Chinese scholars in the field of comparative education.

All the publications on comparative education at this stage were mainly focused on the introduction of Western education together with the research findings of Western comparative education.

The Stage of Professional Study

The term 'comparative' was first found in a book entitled 'Education in Germany, France, Britain and US from a Comparative Perspective' edited by Yu Ji in 1917 (Li, 1983). It was written mainly on the basis of similar work by a Japanese Scholar and hardly had any extra work by the author himself. The real start of comparative education research was after the May 4 Movement in 1919 with the introduction of Russian education and lectures of a number of American educators such as Dewey, Monroe, Michael, etc., who were rather influential in the field of education as well (Wang, Zhu & Gu, 1985).

This period of comparative study can be represented by four books which are the most important and influential works in the field of comparative education written by Zuang (1929), Zhong (1935), Chang (1936–1937) and Luo (1939) (Cheng, 1985; Wu & Yang, 1999). They were based on the comparative analysis of education or school systems in a wide range of countries with a detailed analysis on education at different types and levels in Germany, France, Britain and the United States.

Zuang's publication of "Comparative Analysis of Education in a Variety of Countries" resulted in a required course in comparative education being established in China Normal University and departments of education of universities (Li, 1983).

The works written by Chinese scholars at this stage can be streamlined into three categories: first, a thematic introduction of different types of education in a number of

countries in a juxtaposed manner; second, a full picture of education depicted country by country; and third, an integrated description of the first and the second above (Wu & Yang, 1999). The methodologies, that is, the historical approach, adopted in the studies were mainly copied from colleagues in Western countries.

Changes and Development in Comparative Education After 1949

Unlike the Western tradition of comparative education (to my understanding, the development stages of comparative education in Western countries are more or less linked to the works published by the eminent scholars in the field), after 1949, the founding of new China, the development of the Chinese comparative education are closely linked to the political, social and cultural changes in the country. This can be roughly categorized into four stages represented by zips and turns.

The first stage was from 1949 to 1957, which was a period of nationalization and reorganization. This stage witnessed a process of taking over the system of education and the ‘old regime’ institutions of the republic – and formulating a highly centralized control over education. The education system and aspects such as organization and structure, education theories and practices, and even teaching curricula and textbooks were solely patterned on the Soviet model. Chinese comparative education was no exception. Since there was no ‘comparative education’ in the Soviet Union, comparative education in China was abolished both as an independent discipline and teaching subject (Li, 1983; Cheng, 1985). The education researchers and studies focused only on the Soviet system. In the 1950s, a large number of Soviet works on education, that is, history of education, pedagogies, educational psychology, etc., were translated and published in China (Wu & Yang, 1999).

The late 1950s till the first half of the 1960s showed a stage of a ‘great leap forward’ in Chinese comparative education. In line with the ‘great leap forward’ movement in the economic field and the adoption of a positive foreign policy, the exchanges with other countries in the world were increased rapidly in all areas including education. In the meantime, the friendly relationship with the Soviet Union was abruptly broken in the early 1960s. As a result, radical changes occurred in all spheres of society including education. At this critical moment, China had to turn its eyes on other parts of the world. Comparative education in China followed along the same line. Five research institutes on foreign education study were established in universities, that is, Peking University, Qinhua University and Beijing Normal University, from 1961 to 1964, focusing on education in Western Europe and North America, Soviet Union, Japan and Korea (Wu & Yang, 1999; Wang, 1999). The main assignments of these research institutes in the mid-1960s were first to learn and study, and second to collect information and materials. The only in-house publication was a journal named “*Trends of Foreign Education*” edited by the research institute of Beijing Normal University (Li, 1983; Wu & Yang, 1999).

In line with the state ideology, Marxism, Leninism and Maoism were taken as the guiding principles of comparative education. The theories and methodologies adopted

in the comparative field were historical materialism and dialectics advocated by Marx, Lenin and Mao. Other schools of theories and methods in comparative education of Western origin were largely rejected and even criticized.

The 'Great Cultural Revolution' (1966–1976) saw another stage of stagnation in the field of comparative education. Anything foreign was abandoned and criticized as rubbish and anti-revolutionary. Chinese comparative education was again the victim. All research establishments on foreign education study were dismissed and a number of eminent scholars in the field persecuted (Li, 1983). Though there were piecemeal studies on foreign education in the early 1970s, they were solely for the purpose of political needs (Li, 1983; Cheng, 1985; Wu & Yang, 1999).

1977–1985 experienced a phase of rehabilitation and recovery of political, economic and social order along the lines of the pre-Cultural Revolution period, in which education was also in the process of recovery. Hence, China switched its national focus on the nation's economy with the adoption of the open-door policy in political and socio-economic affairs. From 1979 onwards, the issue of change and reform of educational structure was put on the national agenda; a decision on the reform of the educational structure (May 1985) was adopted. This change was represented by a nationwide system reform of education, which covers almost all spheres of education. Chinese comparative education also experienced a period of recovery and impressive development.

The Ministry of Education organized a seminar on the recovery of Chinese comparative education in 1977, with participation by the scholars from the previous four comparative research institutes (Li, 1983). The four research institutes were not only re-established but also expanded in both institution and research area terms. In addition, new research institutes or units were built, such as the comparative education research unit in the National Institute of Educational Research (1979) and a foreign education research section in the department of education headed by Professor Wang Chengxu of Hangzhou University (1979).

The last two decades have witnessed an unprecedented stage of development in Chinese comparative education, which is represented by the establishment of the guiding principles of comparative studies in the field. The shift of national focus on economic construction resulted in adjusting the national objectives in education and its research orientations. In terms of comparative education, Deng Xiaoping's 'education should be oriented to the modernization, world and the future' is taken as directive ideology for building the discipline together with the theories, view points and approaches of Marxism and Leninism. In addition, comparative researches and studies were on the laws and successful practices of global education to serve for the construction of socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics (Zhang & Wang, 1979). Along with this line, the different theories and methods from abroad have been introduced to the field and widely adopted by the scholars of comparative education in consideration of the national context.

The foci and topics of concern are changing with the political, socio-economic and cultural contexts in the country. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, keeping in mind that the dual objectives of comparative education were to 'centre on the excellence of education' and to 'promote educational development and reform' in China in

conformity with the national development plans, the starting focus of comparative study was mainly on education systems of six developed countries, namely, United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan, ranging from pre-school education to higher education including secondary technical and vocational education, teacher education and education administration (Li, 1983; Wang, Zhu, & Gu, 1985; Gu, 2005). In the meantime, the research focus was also on second-hand materials about foreign education so that information and data which might be helpful to the reform and adjustment of the education structure of the country were processed and analysed to serve practical needs.

Following the increasing advocacy of national open-door policy, the international exchanges in terms of personnel and documentation were greatly encouraged and accelerated. The professionals in the field of comparative education had wide opportunities to study and research in countries of their interests with the first-hand materials and their own experiences. Diversification was the main feature at the 1990s stage. The foci and topics of comparative education were widely expanded and getting more specific. In addition to studying on theories and practices of education structure reforms of other countries, there were themes like cultural tradition and education modernization, education and market economy, education and social progress, etc. The diversification was also in terms of theories and approaches adopted in the field of comparative research. A large number of books on comparative education mainly from Western countries were translated and published in China. In the meantime, the adoption of our own philosophies and methods in the comparative study was encouraged. The study became analytical rather than descriptive. Chinese comparative education 'entered a stage of thematic studies'. In other words, comparative education research has shifted "from macro research such as system studies to a micro one, that is, curricula, teaching modes and methods, etc. They are all closely related to the education reform and development in China" (Gu, 2005).

The diversification is evident in the publications of comparative education as well. A number of research findings and publications came into being with a wide range of topics. Since the 1980s, the publications in the field can be sorted into four categories: (1) teaching materials for higher education institutions, the most important of which were 'comparative education' edited by Professors Wang, Zhu and Gu, which was the first teaching material after 1949, with the first edition published in 1982 and the second 1985, and the other entitled 'comparative pedagogics' developed and edited by Wu and Yang in 1989 and revised in 1999; (2) comprehensive and thematic research works, that is, a three-volume short history of comparative studies of Chinese and foreign education edited by Zhang and Wang published in 1979, a pioneering work in Chinese comparative education which intends to place the comparative analysis of the history of both Chinese and foreign education in a broad frame of historical and cultural context of the world and is expected to provide both theoretical and practical bases for the education reform in China; (3) selections and translated articles; and (4) series, the most influential two sets were 'series of foreign education' with more than 30 volumes in the late 1970s and 1980s and 'comparative education series' with 9 volumes with a wide extent of topics like Gu and Xue's 'introduction of comparative education: education and national development', Wang's 'history of comparative education', Wu's 'comparative teaching theories', Hao and Li's "comparative study on education legislations in differ-

ent countries', etc., in the 1990s (Li, 1983; Wu & Yang, 1999). Since the early 1990s, China has entered its second round of reform and opening and speeded up its process of integrating into the international community led by the United States. An increased number of scholars were involved in collaborative projects with international agencies and education institutions of other countries. The areas of comparative education studies have been greatly broadened and kept abreast with the international field, that is, the cultural perspective of study, international and indigenous education, etc. The current comparative education in China is developed along two lines, one is on academic or professional studies with in-depth analysis, and the other is based on practical needs. The former is more focused on the theoretical and scientific researches and has a limited impact on policy-making and practices and the latter is centred on evidence-based studies and has a stronger impact on the current practices in education.

'Policy-makers in an increasing number of countries are becoming aware of developments in education and training necessary to meet the challenges posed by globalization. Comparative and international education studies are able to provide the information needed by these policy-makers to assist them in their quest for educational practices and innovations necessary to meet the challenges' (Wilson, 2003). It is evident in China. The comparative practice is becoming an indispensable part of decision-making processes in education in China. The National Centre for Education Development Research and other departments for international exchange and cooperation in the Ministry of Education are the main components to undertake the mission of comparative studies and information provision. There are a number of special issues, bulletins or references on comparative analysis and descriptive introduction of strategies, policies and practices in all areas of education of both developed and developing countries circulated mainly in the ministry.

During the period of recovery, the academic societies in the field of comparative education emerged. The Research Society of Foreign Education (later changed to the China Comparative Education Society (CCES)) was founded in 1979 and admitted into the World Council in 1984. The Journal of the Society, '*Foreign Education*'¹ was created in 1980. The first National Conference of the Society was held in 1978 with 50 participants and the latest 13th National Conference in 2005 with 260 participants (including scholars from Hongkong, Taiwan and postgraduate students in comparative education). The membership has been raised from 130 in 1981 to more than 500 in 1989 (Beijing Normal University, www.compe.cn).

In the 1980s, comparative education as either compulsory or elected course was introduced to the bachelor programmes at normal universities or the departments of education of comprehensive universities. Started from 1979, comparative education as an independent discipline was introduced to both Master and Ph.D. programmes (Wu & Yang, 1999). For instance, Hangzhou University introduced comparative education for graduate students by Professor Wang Chengxu in 1980. At a later stage, a Masters' course was offered in 1982 and Ph.D. in 1984 in the same university (now named Zhejiang University). Nowadays, Ph.D. degree in comparative education is awarded in 7 universities and Masters' degree courses are offered in 30 universities (Wang, 2006; Gu, 2006).

The main bimonthly academic journals and periodicals are: *Comparative Education Research* of Beijing Normal University (also known as *The Journal of the Society*),

Prospect for Global Education of East China Normal University, *Foreign Education Review* of North East China Normal University and *Primary and Secondary Education Abroad* of Shanghai Normal University. In addition, the translation and publication of Chinese version of *Prospects* of UNESCO International Bureau of Education (IBE) started in 1980. More and more reports and documents prepared by the international organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP and World Bank have been translated into the Chinese language and added to the publications of comparative education in China.

JAPAN: Introduction

[Masako Shibata]

This part of the chapter tries to trace the history of comparative education in Japan. Comparative study emerged and began operating not necessarily in the university in the case of Japan and elsewhere. The ideas and operation of comparative study have been outlined essentially within the processes of the construction, destruction and reconstruction of the modern state and society. On this analytical ground, I understand that comparative education as a field of study is a modern project. This article on Japan, therefore, starts with my understanding of the development of Japan as a modern state before looking at how the study has been shaped as an academic field in the university. The processes of Japan's steep learning curve in inspecting and absorbing foreign models demonstrated a slow genesis of the history of comparative education in the country. That is to say, this field of study has been shaped within the generative and regenerative processes of a modern Japan, its society and its education.

To attest this, a number of *modern* aspects of comparative education will be discussed with special reference to Japan. They are: firstly, the concept of the *state* and its power as the major theme of the study; secondly, the unchallenged, linear notions of *progress*; and thirdly, the aspirations of *science*.

The Onset of Japan's Steep Learning Curve in Learning from the Others

In nineteenth-century Europe and America, education was regarded as an important social institution for the development of the country. The French, the English and the Americans, for example, recognized that finding 'better' education and absorbing it were a key and a most effective strategy for improving their own education. During this period, their educational bureaucrats spared time and labour to inspect foreign education. So did the Japanese. They had sought better education in more advanced societies outside the country to make it rich, powerful and enlightened.

Japan's steep learning curve in studying foreign countries had started before the country became a State in the Meiji era (1868–1912). Feudal fiefs in the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1867), despite the Shogunal tradition of isolation policy, invested in, or turned a blind eye to, the travelling of their young *samurais* abroad. Some of the fiefs, like Satsuma and Choshu (Satcho, in short) whose *samurais* later played the

central role in the Meiji Restoration, had appealed to the shogunate to recognize the need of absorbing knowledge in Europe and the United States. In this respect, those fiefs were foresighted in arguing that this would ultimately meet the ‘national’ interest. As a result, 60 *samurais*, of which 37 were from Satcho, went to Western countries, mainly to England (34), the United States (30), France (5) and Holland (2) (Ishizuki, 1972, p. 104). In the process of the construction of the modern Japanese State, those who opened their eyes to foreign countries – exclusively Europe and America, but not Asia – assumed leadership of State affairs in the coming era. The passenger list shows the names of chief personnel in the Meiji regime, such as the Ministers of Education and professors of Tokyo Imperial University. Eventually the Shogun himself dispatched 80 men to France (27), Holland (18), England (15), Russia (6), the United States (3) and other countries (Ishizuki, 1972, p. 104).

In deconstructing the semi-feudal Tokugawa ancient regime and constructing a modern Japan, advanced technology was not only what Meiji leaders felt was wanting in the country. What drew their attention was the ‘progressiveness’ of Western societies, which, for them, implied civil societies where a sense of individualism and social equality are based. Often in the West, the term modern is associated with the advancement of technology and the construction of democratic and equal society (Bendix, 1967). In this regard, Meiji leaders were clear-sighted that becoming modern and being recognized as such by the Westerners was imperative for the Japanese State to claim its legitimacy and to enforce its political independence against them. Arinori Mori, a former *samurai* student in England and America, and arguably the most influential Minister of Education (1885–1889) in Meiji Japan, was a great admirer of those civil societies and their social values. Like some other national leaders in Japan, he was profoundly inspired by Christian faith as well. What those *samurai* students saw in Western societies greatly influenced the blueprint of Meiji educational policy. In the government’s inspection voyage to the West, the top envoy noted in 1871 that:

Nothing is more important than schools for improving social conditions and uprooting social evils. [A sound national foundation] depends on education, on education alone. ... Our people are no different from the Americans or Europeans of today; it is all a matter of education or lack of education. (Kume, 2002, p. xiii)

Meiji leaders were also far-sighted in maintaining that ‘things outside the schools would matter and govern things inside the schools’. Since this stage, the government and educators in Japan, to different extents and from different approaches, had tried to reflect the social values of Western societies upon the educational ideas and system of the country. Especially from the late nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century, drastic changes took place in education through the absorption of ideas and systems which were, strictly speaking, foreign to the country. For the Japanese government and educators, a major purpose of studying foreign countries was to build a country of an acceptable approximation to the modern State, industrial technology and civil society in American or European terms. The kernel of the State legitimacy and the national pride was winning the recognition of Western countries as a country with those qualities.

In line with this idea, Tokyo Imperial University started as a remarkably international institution in the country with 24 Western professors (43% of the total). The government directed that higher education had to be given through foreign tongues, and a good command of Western languages was an elite factor in Japanese higher education (DoE, 1876, p. 26; DoE, 1893, p. 112). Studying in the West became central to career development in the Japanese academe. Professors and students in other Imperial Universities too received governmental funding for their study abroad. Through these institutional windows to the West, the national academic elite were equipped with ‘advanced knowledge’.

Since then, the theme of counter-balancing attraction to the West and exclusive pride in ‘self’ has been recurrent in the politics and education of the country. In the Meiji period, Japan’s learning curve had made drastic strides along with the growth of the economy, the military and a sense of national pride. Eventually, those foreign professors were replaced by Japanese returnees from the West, and the Japanese language became exclusively dominant in instruction in the university. Since then, for the most part the Japanese academe has remained practically monolingual. In the so-called ‘catch-up’ processes, there could be seen a sense of superiority to Asian countries. Prominent educators advocated that a modern Japan should detach itself from its ‘old Asian ill-fated friends’ such as China and Korea (Fujita, 1995, p. 33). To the Western audience, the government proudly introduced Japan’s achievement in the Philadelphia International Exhibition in 1876: ‘Learning is ... to be equally the inheritance of nobles and gentry, farmers and artisans’, and ‘Males and females are admitted without distinction’ (DoE, 1876, pp. 20–22, 125). It was important for the Japanese to show a credible face of modern Japan in the mirror of Western civilization.

On the whole, education had operated mainly as political, social and cultural benchmark of the national development until it became ‘science’. Therefore, within the context of the construction of a modern Japan, her steep learning curve continued for the ultimate sake of the national defence. The dominant theme of ‘progress’ continued to be sought within education outside the country. Europe and America had long been the teachers of Japan until its economy superseded theirs in the 1980s. Even after, or because of, Japan’s defeat by the United States in the Second World War, this political and academic inclination remained powerful.

The Linearity of Social Development and the Notion of Science

The demise of the nationalist Emperor State reinforced the Westward direction of the Japanese academe. There was also a growing aspiration for the reconstruction of democratic societies in the post-Second World War world. Both Japanese and American educators undertook the drastic reform for the democratization of Japanese education by recognizing a democratic Japan as crucial not only for Japan itself but also for the Asia-Pacific region.

Apart from the education reform as such, the US occupation has left influence on the development and direction of the post-war Japanese academe. During the occupation,

prominent Japanese educators supported the US authority in rewriting the educational ideas of pre-war Japan. This cooperation offered by the Japanese was enormously useful for the US authority and, to the surprise of the United States itself, far-reaching (Shibata, 2005). Tokiomi Kaigo, for example, worked with the Americans for screening and rewriting school textbooks. Mantarou Kido too played a leading role in the Japanese Education Reform Committee, which, according to a US official's memory, 'more than any other agency, including the Occupation itself, had brought about the achievements in Japanese education' (Trainor, 1983, p. 119). Many of those Japanese who created the basis of Japan's new education had exerted professional authority in the post-war Japanese academe.

Masunori Hiratsuka was a student who had cultivated his intellectual capacity with young Professor Kaigo in Tokyo Imperial University from the pre-war period. Hiratsuka eventually became the leading founder of the Japan Comparative Education Society (JCES, initially called the Comparative Education Society in Japan). Born in a clergyman's family, he was inspired by Pestalozzian pedagogy. He often claimed strong Christian influence on his commitment to education. Hiratsuka's devotion to comparative education was also largely based on his earlier missionary schooling (Hiratsuka, 1975). His undergraduate work at Tokyo became a book, *Kyuyaku-seisho no kyoiku-shiso* (The Educational Philosophy of the Old Testament). And another one of his works, *Nihon Kirisuto-shugi-kyoiku bunka-shi* (The Cultural History of Christian Education in Japan), drew the attention of the US occupation authorities, and was translated by them into English. As a professor of Kyushu University and later the director of the National Institute for Educational Research, Hiratsuka operated these two institutions as the pioneer and centre of comparative education in Japan. His achievements have been commemorated by the JCES in the Hiratsuka Award from 1990.

Coinciding with the foundation of the Comparative Education Society in North America in 1956, more studies of foreign education began to take place than before in Japan as well. The chair of Comparative Education was first established at Kyushu in 1952. Hiroshima, Kyoto and Tokyo followed suit. The JCES started with 94 members in 1965 (827 in 2005). In 1975, the Society first published its own journal, *Nihon Hikaku-kyoiku-gakkai Kiyou* (renamed *Hikaku-kyoiku-gaku Kenkyu* in 1990), under the editorial board headed by Tetsuya Kobayashi at Kyoto.

Despite the steady growth of the Society, this field of study did not win a proper academic recognition in the Japanese academe. Comparative educationists put up with a marginal reputation as 'experts' on other countries. In general, the study of comparative education was thought to offer a merely descriptive summary of foreign educational affairs or to be used as an excuse for scholars' travelling abroad (Ikeda, 1975). Indeed, a lengthy work of a 10-volume series written by those who shared interest in foreign education, *Sekai no kyoiku* (Education in the World) showed largely the description, and not analysis, of educational policies and systems abroad (Kido *et al.*, 1958). Scholars in comparative education were aware of the reputation, the practices of this kind, and the problems they had to deal with. The JCES put as its prime aim at the first conference in Hiroshima: "How to introduce comparative education into university education". Since then, the Society has striven to make the field of study as an academically authorized

subject of university study. The Society thought that it would not be possible to deal with the 'low level' of work in comparative education, without having established its own 'methodology' (Ikeda, 1975). In this period, it was accepted in Japan and elsewhere that educational research joined 'science'. Kido stated that the purpose of the research is to 'know the facts' (Kido, 1958). However, such popular debates on science and methodology themselves did not make an innovative development in Japan. There, the studies concentrated on the introduction of the theories and methodologies of Hans, Kandel, Bereday, King, Holmes and others (Ando, 1965; Ikeda, 1969). By doing this, despite the growing attention to this study field in the post-war world, comparative education as an academic field in Japan had not surpassed the infantile stage (Suzuki, 1958).

Nonetheless, within comparative education circles around the world, the JCES as an organization had grown solidly and became a founding member of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) in 1970. In 1980, the Society by itself managed to organize the 4th WCCES Congress in Tokyo. The main theme of the Congress was 'Tradition and Innovation in Education'. In reference to this main theme, 'Moral Education' was also put up as a sub-theme. In post-war Japan, educators have hardly been able to discuss these issues, such as 'tradition' and 'moral education', without failing to recall pre-war 'wrong' education and its denial by the United States after 1945. As Japan's new education started by denouncing pre-war education which had long been controlled by the Emperor State, the power of the State remained as the dominant theme in practically all fields of educational study in the post-war period. For the Japanese in general, these issues are reminiscent of pre-war ethnocentric nationalism, and, for some people, are a potential for its resurgence. The themes of the Tokyo Congress reflected the Japanese preoccupation with this discussion. It was especially strong before the end of the Cold War, but has never been forgotten.

There was also a legacy of the war and the occupation in the development of comparative education in Japan. By the 1980s, Japanese industries have grown in capitalist ways, well enough to alarm the United States itself who had pushed Japan in this line after the war. While the American leaders were feeling their 'Nation at Risk', Japan had achieved a major position in the economy in the world, in particular in the Pacific Rim. It was broadly assumed that the pattern of education and human resource application in Japan was a strong basis for its 'miraculous' success in developing the industries and the national economy (Asian Development Bank, 1991). Structural-functionalists also suggested that economic growth would be contingent on the stock of human capital, and the quality of human capital would depend on that of education. In the 1980s, Japanese education had attracted a great deal of attention from around the world (King, 1986). Along with other 'centres' of comparative education, Tokyo earned the privilege of being a World Congress organizer after London (JCES, 2004).

At the same time, the 1980s was also a period when Japan was expected to make larger contributions to the international community than before. The Ad-hoc Education Reform Council (1984–1987), summoned by the Nakasone Cabinet (1983–1987), called for the internationalization of the school and the university in Japan. Based on the governmental plan of '100,000 Foreign Students' in the Japanese campuses, they accepted an increasing number of overseas students. Accordingly, 'international education' became popular, and courses with name of this kind or alike were rapidly

installed in the university curricula. As of 1993, 168 courses on comparative international education were offered in 62 universities and 3 research institutions throughout the country (Umakoshi, 1996).

Given the Japanese position in politics, economy and education in the world, the Japanese eyes were beginning to shift, not literally but culturally, from the West to the East. With the growth of Japan's monetary contribution to international institutions, a larger number of positions than before became available for the Japanese to take up. In this context, along with the government, educators also regarded offering Japanese experience as a model as important and useful, in particular, to developing countries. Although themes and panels on Western education were still dominant in the JCES conferences, there could be seen a burgeoning of those on Asia from the late 1970s (JCES, 2004). From this period, this eastward tendency has remained in comparative education in Japan. It is characteristic that all the books which deserved the Hiratsuka Award (the 1st in 1990 until the 15th in 2004) were on Asia, except for one volume on Germany and the other one on Australia.

Overall, then this interpretation of Japanese education owes many insights to the intellectual tradition of comparative education developed in Europe. Firstly, the Japanese learnt that it was important for the State to take the lead in educating the people to establish its own model. This way would lead the country to its political and social stability, its economic prosperity and its security. They also learnt that it was important and very useful to inspect other models. This way would enable the government and educators to know what would be 'better' or what would be more 'advanced' education. And data and their systematic presentation would help the proving of this view.

Indeed, comparative education is a modern project (Cowen, 1996). The Japanese have pursued the aspiration of the ideas of 'liberalism', 'democracy', 'civil society', 'science' and 'development'. Although the belief of the Japanese in these values has elevated their steep learning curve, the chasing of these ideas and the belief as an academic act appeared to be linear and not complex enough. A strong focus on data collection, concentration on descriptions and the simple aspirations of positivism, what can be called the practices of 'an error in *episteme*' (Cowen, 1999; Cowen, 2002), have long been addressed as problems in Japan too. Nonetheless, they seem to have not been seriously grappled with. In dealing with demands for new 'knowledge', this field of study in Japan is seen as incapable of overcoming its anachronism (JCES, 2004). It is still a modern project. Perhaps it has missed an old theme, education as cultural practices. For sure, adherence to the linear notions of social development and knowledge will not be helpful to come to grips with the changing pattern of formal education in a globalising world.

Conclusion

What is interesting (among other things in these juxtaposed accounts) is the way in which there is a mix of comparative education as action and comparative education as a way of thinking. Of course these motifs can be found almost anywhere (as for example in the United States or in France) but the dramatic histories of modernization and re-modernization in China and Japan make the motif there very complex.

What is also quite fascinating is the way in which the politics of war and revolution affect what is seen as ‘comparative education’. These potential histories are different from the changes marked by shifts in schools of thought, of disputes about method, and struggles over the decline and fall of departments or journals which are so much part of the literature about ‘comparative education’ in northern Europe and northern America.

Thirdly, on the basis of these accounts (juxtaposed above), a fascinating motif for future research is the question: what happens when the link between comparative education and the State is visible and strong? How does the State as a comparative actor begin to affect comparative education as a way of thinking (and vice versa)? Maybe there is *no vice versa*.

Thus, there is a final and permanently relevant question to be raised also, which in one way, subordinates all of the themes above. For future work, one of the most important single questions to ask is: Through which lenses or (in a different vocabulary) through which categories of description, may an interpretation of comparative education in East Asia be built?

Notes

1. 1990, the journal ‘Foreign Education Trends’ of Beijing Normal University was replaced as the journal of the Society and later changed its title to ‘Comparative Education Research’ in 1992.

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NATIONAL CULTURAL IDENTITIES, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Eleftherios Klerides

Introduction

The notions of nationhood and cultural identity have long been fundamental motifs in Comparative Education (CE) (Mason, 2006; Ninnes & Burnett, 2004; Tikly, 1999). In the literature that the field has produced since at least the turn of the twentieth century, they appear either as underlying assumptions or as objects of study. They are an important part of the working professional and intellectual capital of comparative educators, to the point that they are said to be amongst the “unit ideas” of the field (Cowen, 2002a; Cowen, 2002b).

In recent times, Cowen (2002b, 1996) has called for a rethinking of how to treat these unit ideas within CE. The necessity to renegotiate them is part of a wider call for re-imagining the field in the new millennium (Ninnes & Mehta, 2004; Kazamias, 2001; Crossley, 2000; Broadfoot, 2000; Watson, 1999). Such a call is believed to be mandated by a changed or changing world, in the words of Kazamias (2001, p. 439), “the new *cosmos* of late modernity” and notably, by what is seen as a pressing need to incorporate into comparative educational research the complex new views of identity, culture and nation that have emerged or are emerging not least through post-structuralism, postmodernism and post-colonialism (Ninnes & Mehta, 2004; Ninnes & Burnett, 2004; Cowen, 2002b; Tikly, 1999).

Even if the world has changed or is changing, it does not necessarily mean that older perspectives on these unit ideas should be automatically dismissed. Their renegotiation does not imply developing an ahistorical thinking. Rather, the practice of their redefinition should be viewed “as one of consolidation and maturity that builds cumulatively, confidently and critically upon past achievements” (Crossley, 2000, p. 329). Hence, historical interpretations of these concepts in the field should be reviewed to assess which ideas can be kept, which should be readapted and which should be discarded.

This chapter seeks to contribute towards the re-conceptualisation of these unit ideas in CE through a critical engagement with both the traditions of the field and the new views of nationhood and national identities. It starts with an analysis of the historical literature of the field, seeking to sketch how these concepts were construed and what implications did their understanding carry for the study of education across settings.

This is followed by an outline of the emergence of new perspectives on identity and nation in other fields of study such as Cultural Studies, Sociology and Sociolinguistics. It is argued that these new perspectives make urgent a rethinking of how CE appreciates these notions and that a new agenda for comparative educational research arises out of their re-articulation. It is then suggested that discourse analysis is a helpful approach in putting into practice the new research priorities and in reaching new complexities in understanding identity formation in school practices. The main argument being forward here is that discourse analysis can be *a theoretical and methodological bridge in the study of identity and nationhood across cultural settings*. The chapter finishes with a call for looking beyond economic aspects of education and globalisation into a cultural and historical motif of analysis reinvented, however, along the lines of the new emancipatory views on nationhood and cultural identity.

Nationhood and Cultural Identity in the Comparative Education Canon

The notions of identity, nation and culture, and their study in different settings have always been a central theme in a particular strand of CE. For example in the work of Kandel (1933), Mallinson (1975) and Schneider (1966), there was the idea of “national character”. Hans (1958) also stressed through his “factors” (notably race, religion, language and political philosophies), an extended concept of national culture and identity. A cultural framing also characterised the Sadlerian dictum that “the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools” (Sadler, 1964, p. 310).

Underpinning this early historical literature of the field was a certain cluster of claims about the nature of nationhood and national identity. These were often perceived as natural and objective entities, existing “in the very nature of things”, to use Gellner’s terms (1983, p. 48). This assumption is reflected in the literature as a tendency to write and talk about these concepts in terms of an organicist and naturalist wording. One example of this tendency comes from Hans. He distinguished between “immature” and “mature” nations, and drew an analogy between national communities and human beings as follows: “The growth of nations can be compared with the growth of an individual” (Hans, 1958, p. 11). The parallelism between a national group and a human being is also manifested in the work of Kandel who also ascribed to each and every nation characteristics and qualities that are similar to a person. Nationality, he writes, “is for a people what personality is for the individual, the expression of its life and culture” (Kandel, 1933, p. xxiv).

There was also a tendency in this literature, notably in the work of Mallinson (1975), to make nationality equivalent with such terms as “national consciousness” and “national feelings”. This terminology reveals the way in which he and other comparativists thought about identities – they were inner and innate essences. This thinking is particularly dominant in their views on the notion of “national character”. Mallinson, for instance, defined it as a “fixed mental constitution”, a determinant of a nation’s behaviour rather than a form of national behaviour. He also ascribes its origins “to the existence of a number of relatively permanent attitudes – to these prime

values – common to a nation” (1975, p. 14). In his writings on the concept, Kandel, recognising the danger of generalisations, defined it as a strong possibility towards collective behaviour in specific ways. As he put it, “certain groups are likely to act in ways different from other groups according to their history, traditions, environment, ideals, and intellectual outlook” (1933, p. 23). Even so, he could not also escape essentialised generalisations such as “the Englishman dislikes to think or formulate plans of action” and “the Englishman, more than any other national, believes that an ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory” (1933, p. 25).

The above statements also highlight a specific reading of *cosmos*. In the eyes of these comparative educators, the world was inevitably and fatally organised into a league of unique and independent nations, each with its own distinct identity, culture and destiny in the world. The work of Mallinson is also indicative of this reading. He wrote that each and every nation was “master of its own fate, owing no obedience to any power above or outside it, and free to determine itself as it best thought fit” (1975, p. 265). In the literature studied, however, there was no consensus on what constituted a nation or a national identity. On the contrary, comparative educators often defined them on the basis of a range of combinations drawing upon ethnic and civic criteria. Nationhood were said to be determined by ethno-cultural elements such as a common language, a common religion, collective historical experience, a shared set of traditions and customs or a common descent; or, by such political-territorial features as a common territory, a body of civic values and aspirations common to all citizens or a *patria* of common institutions and laws.

The essentials of cultural identities and nationhood were further understood as being there from birth, unified and continuous, changeless throughout all the changes, eternal. To cite Mallinson again, national character was described as “the totality of dispositions to thought, feeling and behaviour peculiar to and widespread in a certain people, and manifested with greater or less continuity in a succession of generations” (1975, p. 14). The illustrations from his work can be multiplied – the identity of a society “is the total way of life of that society” and “comprehends all that is inherited”; “is an expression of continuity, an awareness of an extension of people in time, in numbers and in space”; and “is based on long continued uniformity of customs and manners” (Mallinson, 1975, pp. 7, 263–264).

To sum up here, the notions under discussions were seen in this early comparative literature as essential, homogenised, fixed and everlasting entities. Their specific conception is a manifestation of the colonisation of CE by the so-called primordialist and perennialist paradigm on the study of nationhood and nationalism (Özkirimli, 2000; Smith, 1999). In turn, this reading of national identity and nation produced and legitimised: (a) certain views on the nature of education and its purposes; (b) how national systems of education and educational knowledge were shaped; and thus (c) a certain kind of comparative education with particular research emphases and priorities.

Since the nation and identity were viewed as essential units, they were in turn seen as existing *independently from* school practices; and if they existed *before* these practices, a national system of education was nothing more than their *mere reflection*. The following statement taken from Kandel is illustrative of this point: “each national system of education is characteristic of the nation which has created it and expresses

something peculiar to the group which constitutes that nation” (1933, p. xxiv). Hans echoed Kandel by stressing that education systems “are the outward expression of national character and as such represent the nation in distinction from other nations” (1958, p. 9).

Thus, the main purpose of national education was to protect, preserve and hand on the so-called cultural inheritance of a nation, and by means of this heritage, to foster a sense of national belongingness among citizens and to assure the cultural continuity of the nation. An example of this line of thought comes from Mallinson. “It is through the education of the immature that each society strives to protect and perpetuate its traditions and its aspirations” (1975, p. 8). Kandel likewise spoke of education in terms of “the transmission of the cultural inheritance which has been regarded as necessary for the preservation of society” (1933, p. 365). In this view, education was an institution where the nation’s children were assimilated into national culture and learned how to *be* nationally. This form of national socialisation was based on the assumption that children were already ethnic subjects, but the fuller realisation of that was to be achieved through national education.

Since they were construed as given entities, national mentalities, traditions and their historical trajectory tended to be dealt with in CE as “the things outside the school” (Sadler, 1964, p. 310), “the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces” (Kandel, 1933, p. xix) or the “factors” (Hans, 1958) that affect the shaping of education. Formulated differently, the forces and factors’ school of thought approached cultural context and the history of cultural context in which education was embedded in terms of a causal narrative (Cowen, 2002a; Kazamias, 1961): they were the ‘determinants’ and ‘causes’ of certain forms of national educational systems and knowledges.

Hence, as a mode of research and an approach to knowledge, CE under the impact of nationalist claims of primordialism and perennialism was envisaged as a multi-disciplinary *episteme* devoted to the study of education within its wider cultural and historical context (Kazamias, 1961, 2001; Cowen, 1996, 2002a). This point is perhaps best illustrated in the work of Mallinson. He defined comparative research and study in education as “a systematic examination of other cultures and other systems of education deriving from those cultures in order to discover the resemblances and differences, the causes behind resemblances and differences, and why variant solutions have been attempted (and with what result) to problems that are often common to all” (1975, p. 10). This epistemic strand of the field tried to specify the cultural contexts that are always relevant in shaping all educational systems and all educational knowledge. It was, however, on the margin of mainstream CE, which was mainly preoccupied with the modernisation and development of educational systems within a broader functionalist and positivist approach (Kazamias, 2001; Cowen, 1996).

In the mid-1970s and early 1980s, there was a shift in the field (Kazamias, 2001; Tikly, 1999; Cowen, 1996). It concerned itself with colonialism, neo-colonialism and cultural imperialism, examining educational patterns in former colonies from a dependency theory perspective. Within this paradigm (Carnoy, 1974; Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Watson, 1982), comparative research in education focused on, amongst other things, the specification of the forms and contents of cultural identities created by school practices across colonial settings (Cowen, 1996), but being concerned mainly

with economic facets of underdevelopment “did not lend itself easily to an analysis of issues of race, culture, language and identity” (Tikly, 1999, p. 609). Nevertheless, what was common in all work produced during this period was the sociological view of education as a mechanism for cultural reproduction. The most explicit manifestation of this tendency in CE is the volume of Brock and Tulasiewicz (1985), in which the concept of “cultural identity” was used to explain the role of education in reproducing cultural norms. In the introduction of this volume, the editors write about this notion: “The cultural identity of the group is kept up by constant reference to the reservoir of its culture” and “is born of a common heritage” (pp. 3–4).

Though forms of identity within education became now units of comparative analysis, the notions of identity and nation, as the last statement above highlights, were still perceived as essential and fixed entities (Ninnes & Burnett, 2004; Tikly, 1999). As a result, this new body of comparative literature took the modernist categories ‘coloniser’ and ‘colonised’ for granted – and reproduced and perpetuated them. It treated the relationship between these categories unproblematically and necessarily as one of omnipotence, neglecting to examine the effects of colonialism on the identities of colonising nations. It also gave little attention to heteroglossia, antinomies and tension regarding identity formation within both the colonial and the metropolitan settings; to cultural resistance by colonised peoples to imperialist cultural plans and cultural hybridity as a result of these struggles; and, to fragmentation of colonial experience along gender, class, ethnic and other lines. That is, it failed to examine exactly all the issues which are now considered to characterise notions of national identity and nationhood.

New Perspectives on Nation and Identity

In the second half of the twentieth century, a number of influential works (Kedourie, 1960; Gellner, 1964; 1983; Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983) appeared in the fields of political science, history and sociology, signalling a shift in the study of nationalism: “from a primordialist, essentialist notion of the nation to the currently dominant view of the nation as constructed or invented” (Eley & Suny, 1996, p. 6). Some scholars (Smith, 2001; 1999) speak of this shift in terms of the emergence of a new paradigm of explaining the nature and origins of nations – the so-called modernist paradigm, which apart from the thesis of the social constructedness of nationhood, advocates their modernity. Others (Hall, 1992) see this shift as the beginnings of the emancipatory process of deconstructing national cultures and identities.

More recently, during the 1990s, a new set of approaches (Bhabha, 1990; Hall, 1992; 1996b; Billig, 1995; Woodward, 1997; Wodak *et al.*, 1999) appeared. These postmodern and post-colonial accounts do not represent a distinct explanatory category of the nation but they employ a constructionist mode of thinking to back and operationalise the modernist arguments (Smith, 1999). For Eley and Suny (1997), these recent methodological approaches and techniques have moved the study of nationhood and nationality into “the realm of discourse and the generation of meaning” (p. 6). Specifically, they attempt to explain *how* nations and identities are socially constructed in two senses: (a) what

particular means and devices are employed to construct them and (b) what elements constitute the meta-narrative of the nation. It is the task of the following paragraphs to provide an account of these most recent developments in the study of nationalism.

The point of departure of the discussion is Anderson's thesis of nations as "imagined political communities". For him, each and every nation is necessarily imagined because it stretches beyond immediate experience – it embraces far more people than those with which nationals are personally acquainted and far more places that they have visited. As an abstraction, the nation is imagined as finite, bounded, autonomous and horizontally uniform:

The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. ... It is imagined as *sovereign* because ... nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so. ... Finally it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship (Anderson, 1983, p. 7).

Similarly, national identity can be conceived as a mental construct - one that creates a sense of solidarity among a group of people by promoting the notion of being part of and sharing a common image; a construct that stresses the bound-ness of this image, providing an imaginary unity against other peoples that exist beyond its frontiers and from whom the group is felt to be autonomous; and, a construct that is conceived as unity, concealing actual divisions and heterogeneity within the national boundaries.

The re-reading of nations and identities as imagined is not a denial of their reality and material effects. Rather, it is a recognition of the fact that they are contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world. Hence, nations and nationalities, in Anderson's words, "are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (p. 6).

Like Anderson, Hall also points out that identity is imagined as a form of solidarity. He goes on to suggest that this is achieved through "a discursive device which represents difference as unity or identity" (Hall, 1992, p. 297). Thus, however different the members of a nation may be in terms of class, gender, region, ethnicity, age or race, this device-identity depicts them all as sharing the same features and belonging to the same national family. This means that the unity, which every national identity treats as fundamental, is not a natural but rather an imaginative structure of solidarity accomplished through the exercise of certain forms of symbolic power.

Although diversity within the nation is often repressed and backgrounded in national identities, international differences tend to be foregrounded and emphasised (Woodward, 1997; Bauman, 1997; Hall, 1996a; Hall, 1996b; Billig, 1995). Hence, any identity is about imagining the national Self as much as imagining the national Others. As Hall (1996b) puts it, "there is no identity that is without the dialogic relationship to the Other. The Other is not outside, but also inside the Self, the identity" (p. 345). From a post-structuralist perspective, the presence of otherness in national imaginings

is critical in constructing national sameness: “[I]t is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its *constitutive outside* that the ‘positive’ meaning of any term – and thus its ‘identity’ – can be constructed” (Hall, 1996a, pp. 4–5).

If nations and national identities are an imaginary complex of ideas containing at least the defining elements of unity and difference then the image is real to the extent that citizens are convinced of it, believe in it and identify with it emotionally. The issue here is how the imagined community reaches the minds of those who are convinced of it – it is conveyed *and* constituted in *representation*. Indeed, according to Hall (1992), nations are not only political formations but also systems of cultural representations. It is via these systems that a people represent, interpret and produce knowledge about themselves:

[N]ational identities are not things we are born with, but are formed and transformed within and in relation to *representation*. We only know what it is to be ‘English’ because the way ‘Englishness’ has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture. It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings – *a system of cultural representation*. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the *idea* of the nation as represented in its national culture. A nation is a symbolic community and it is this which accounts for its power to generate a sense of identity. (Hall, 1992, p. 292)

Bhabha (1990) points out that a mode of representation which has been used to produce and circulate the image of the nation is *narration*. “Nations, like narratives,” he writes, “lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realise their horizons in the mind’s eye. Such an image of the nation – or narration – might seem impossibly romantic and excessively metaphorical, but it is from those traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea” (p. 1). In a more recent account, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) emphasise the same point by writing that “the practice of narration involves the ‘doing’ of identity” (p. 138). This perspective is often related to the notion of “narrative identity” seen as the identity of a character – the national Self – in a story (Wodak *et al.*, 1999; Martin, 1995). The quintessence of such an identity is that the nation draws its identity from the story’s plot rather than being described in it.

In all scholarly accounts highlighting narratives as sites of identity work, there is also an emphasis on the multiplicity of identities. In the words of Özkirimli (2000), “different members of the nation promote different, often conflicting, constructions of nationhood” (p. 228). Hence, “there is no single narrative of the nation” (Özkirimli, 2005, p. 169). Yet, the idea of multiple identities does not simply refer to the articulation of different narratives by different social groups. It also refers to the construction of diverse narratives according to the sort of social communicative occasion that they are told and to the historic and institutional location of their narrator(s). The view of identities as situational entities is best captured in Wodak and her colleagues’ formulation that there is “no such thing as *one* national identity. We believe rather that different

identities are discursively constructed according to audience, setting, topic and substantive content” (1999, p. 4). The various versions of national identity in a given society are in relationships of appropriateness and in relationships of complementarity, translation, opposition and exclusion.

Several implications for theorising identity and nation can be highlighted in relation to this plurality thesis. First, their construction may be seen as a contested process and these concepts themselves as *terrains of contestation* (Özkirimli, 2005; Smith, 1999). Second, they are marked by *fragmentation, contradictions and hybridity*. They are made up out of partial and diverse narrative fragments, of the Self and the Others, that frequently pull in different directions. Thus, for Martin (1995) “the Self is a mixed body” (p. 17); for Hall (1996a) cultural identities are “fragmented and fractured” (p. 4); for Calhoun (1997) nations are “heterogeneous objects of analysis” (p. 21); and for Bauman (1997) every group identity is “a *palimpsest identity*” (p. 53). Third, identities are *ambivalent* entities and there are various kinds of ambivalence. Bhabha (1990) advocates that they oscillate between tradition and modernisation. According to Hall (1990, 1992), they are ambiguously placed between past and future, belonging to the future as much as to the past. Billig (1995) speaks of the tension between the particularistic and universalistic claims of nation. In his various works, Smith (2003, 1991) finally suggests that they fluctuate between reality and fiction, culture and politics, inclusion and exclusion.

Identities, moreover, change shape not only *in space* across social fields, institutions and occasions, but also *over time*: “national identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short period” (Hobsbawm, 1992: 11). Similarly, Bauman (2004) sees identity “as an *as-yet-unfulfilled, unfinished* task”, a concept that “was destined to remain not just perpetually unaccomplished but forever precarious” (pp. 20–21). Hall (1996a) also speaks of identity as a formation in a state of constant flux and identity construction as “a process never completed – always ‘in process’. It is not determined in the sense that it can always be ‘won’ or ‘lost’, sustained or abandoned” (p. 2). Hall further stresses the point that changes in the shape and form of an identity are always associated with “its determinate conditions of existence”, including material and symbolic resources.

If national identity is now seen as the product of narrative representation, the issue is what is “the cluster of ideas and understandings that came to surround the signifier ‘nation’ in modern times” (Suny, 2001, p. 870). It is suggested that a narratively constructed identity contains *four* main elements.

The notion of a *common national space* is the first pillar. “A nation is more than an imagined community of people, for a place – a homeland – also has to be imagined” (Billig, 1995, p. 74). The geo-body of the nation is articulated in a range of ways (Smith, 2003, 1986) – as a sacred homeland, a unified entity which starts and stops at demarcated borders beyond which lie other national territories. It is imagined as a historic and ancestral land, a land that spiritually and organically belongs to its people and a people to its land. It is also imagined as a unique, peculiar, beautiful and self-sufficient land, separating what is ‘ours’ from ‘theirs’.

Secondly, there is a *collective national time* in the narrative representation of national identities. “If nations exist in space,” Smith suggests, “they are equally

anchored in time” (2003, p. 166). The national time is often segregated into three sub-elements – *a shared past, present and future*. It is represented as stretching back into the mists of obscure generations of ancestors and forward into the equally unknowable generations of descendants (Calhoun, 1997; Miller, 1995; Smith, 1986). Of these three facets of time, Hobsbawm (1996) privileges the past in the making of nationhood. “What makes the nation is the past; what justifies one nation against others is the past and historians are the people who produce it” (p. 255). In any national historicity, there are a number of recurrent themes – the people’s uniqueness, the superiority of their culture and character, their racial and cultural purity, their longevity, the importance of their autonomy and the negative effects of heteronomy (Berger *et al.*, 1999).

A third aspect of identity is the idea of *a shared national culture*. “Modern man (*sic*) is not loyal to a monarch or a land or a faith, whatever he (*sic*) may say, but to a culture”, writes Gellner (1983, p. 35). Similarly, for Martin, the making of any collective identity implies “a selection of pre-existing cultural traits which will be transformed into emblems of identity” (1995, p. 13). National identity is represented to be the sum of the great artefacts of a “high culture”, as presented in the classic works of literature, painting, music and philosophy and beyond that, to everyday practices which make up the lives of ordinary people – to the widely distributed forms of popular music, art, design and literature, or the mass activities of leisure-time and entertainment (Hall, 1997; Smith, 1991; Gellner, 1983).

The final aspect of the narration of identity is *a common national habitus*. “National identity has its own distinctive habitus which Bourdieu defines as a complex of common but diverse notions or schemata of perception, of related emotional dispositions and attitudes, as well as of behavioural dispositions and conventions” (Wodak, 2006, p. 106). Here, instead of the traditional term ‘national character’, the notion of national *habitus* is preferred on the grounds that it indicates not ‘something’ inherent and eternal, but a set of beliefs or opinions, emotions, attitudes, and behavioural norms that can change from one period to another and that are internalised or individually acquired in the course of socialisation. Hence, a national *habitus* goes beyond stereotypical images about ‘us’ and ‘them’ to include features such as the willingness to take sides with the nation one has a sense of belonging or the readiness to protect it when one feels it is threatened (Wodak *et al.*, 1999).

Thus, to have a national identity, following Billig (1995), is to possess certain banal, prosaic, routinely familiar ways of writing and talking about nationhood – about the national space, the national time, the national culture and the national *habitus*. However, “rather than being *reflected* in discourse, identity is actively, ongoingly, dynamically *constituted* in discourse” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 4). Equally, for Wodak *et al.* (1999), “national identities, as special forms of social identities, are produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled, *discursively*” (pp. 3–4), and for Özkirimli (2005), “nationalism is in this sense a form of discourse, a way of seeing and interpreting the world” (p. 2). This discursive approach to nationalist phenomena is based on structuralist and post-structuralist linguistic philosophy. This theory sees language not as a neutral medium merely reflecting reality, but rather as a means of creating experience, identities and systems of knowledge about the world (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Fairclough, 1992).

This recent reading of identities as inscriptions in discourse has been criticised on the grounds that it tells little about agency, specifically how subjects interact with discourse and how they may resist, modify, negotiate or reject narratives about the national Self (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). In an attempt to hit a middle ground, Hall (1996a) employs the term ‘identification’, defining this concept as

the meeting point, the point of *suture*, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to ‘interpellate’, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be ‘spoken’. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us. (pp. 5–6)

National identity can be similarly conceived as a positional concept. It is a position of identification, the attachment of the subject to what may be called the nationalist subject position. This is constituted by nationalist discourse, either, according to Hall (1992), the discourse of national culture, or, according to Calhoun (1997), the discourse of nationalism. Both discourses have the ‘nation’ or the ‘people’ as their object of signification. Members of a nation identify with this position to which they are summoned and seek to engage or invite others in discourse. “National cultures”, as Hall (1992) points out, “construct identities by producing meanings about ‘the nation’ with which we can *identify*” (p. 293). This premise – the joining of authors and readers in structures of nationalist meaning and conventions – represents a consensus in the literature.

Implications for Comparative Education: A New Research Agenda?

In light of deconstructive views, treating nationhood and cultural identity within CE as essential, unified, eternal and fixed is problematic. Rather, the emergence of these new theoretical accounts makes urgent a rethinking of how the field appreciates the concepts of identities and nations. Their re-negotiation and re-conceptualisation builds on the traditions of the field and is explored here in relation to the nature and function of education, as well as to the way in which educational knowledge is constituted. It is then suggested that a range of new research issues for CE to engage with arises from this re-reading. The intention here is to identify some potential areas for research and to open debate rather than to imply closure.

Since national identities and nationhood are now seen as products of language and discourse, their treatment as existing independently from schooling processes is problematic. From the standpoint of the new theories, signifying practices within education (for instance, the production and distribution of curricula and textbooks, and their consumption in school and classroom), as in other social domains, are not mere reflections of the distinctive character, history and culture of a nation. Rather, they should be viewed as *sites of their discursive construction*. Any educational practice of

signification be it a civics lesson, the reading of a poem, a geography book or a history map, provided that it has either explicitly or implicitly the ‘nation’ or ‘people’ as its privileged object of attention, can be seen as *an instantiation of national identity articulation*. In any such instance, the production of the nation’s image is a historically and socially contingent praxis depending on a number of factors: the topic and the audience to which an instance of identity construction is related, the general features (including purposes) of the pedagogic setting and the education system in which this instance takes place and more generally, the wider society and the historical trajectory of that society in which identity formation is embedded.

Therefore, the role of national education is not so much to protect, preserve and pass on the nation’s cultural inheritance. Instead, the purpose of education, from the point of view of postmodern, post-structural and post-colonial accounts of identities and nationhood, is to participate in the construction and transmission of this heritage to the masses – for example, of the belief in national unification, in the differentiation of the Self from Others and in the singularity of the people, of the idea of national continuity over time and in space, and more generally, of certain types of national subjectivities. Some scholars working for instance in the field of history education have recently begun to address these functions of education (Lowe, 1999; Frangoudaki & Dragona, 1997; Green, 1997), and others to particularly study them from a comparative perspective (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Vickers & Jones, 2005). In spite of these positive developments, there is still a lot to be done, especially in developing the theoretical dimension of this work.

Moreover, the centrality of a culturally contextualised and historical approach to the study of educational matters across national settings – that is, the Sadlerian views that ‘the things outside the schools’ shape and regulate ‘the things inside the schools’, and that education is ‘the outcome of battles long ago’ – should *still* be relevant today for the field. For example, in light of the new views on nationhood and cultural identity, it is expected that constructs of national identity in education are linked to, and influenced by, the articulation of nationhood in other social fields (the political, media, academic), both synchronically and diachronically. The value of contextualisation in the investigation of educational practices and the relevance of cultural specificities in shaping educational forms and knowledge have been also reiterated recently by some scholars working in CE (Mason, 2006; Crossley, 2000; Broadfoot, 2000; Alexander, 2000). Others, the most vocal of them being Kazamias (2001), Watson (1999) and Sweeting (1999), have extended the notion of cultural context calling for the reinvention of the historical in CE.

However, from the position of new conceptions of identity and nationhood, the link between ‘the things outside the schools’ and ‘the things inside the schools’ needs to be reread in terms of a *dialectic*: ‘the things inside’ are *constituted* by ‘the things outside’ but at the same time, they are *constitutive* of them. Therefore, if CE is to take account of the new complexities of identity formation, any educational instance of identity constitution should be now construed as “the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history” (Kristeva, 1986, p. 39). By the insertion of history into a text, it is meant that identity absorbs and is built out of available conventions from a society and its history, being in this way involved in the enactment of continuity with

the past and reproduction. By the insertion of this text into history, it is meant that identity reworks the available meanings of that society, and in so doing, it helps to make history by contributing to processes of change in the image of the national Self.

Moreover, and following again new theories of identity construction, the relation of education with cultural context and the history of cultural context, ought not to be thought of and examined on the basis of determinism – ‘the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces and factors’ as ‘determinants’ of educational forms and knowledge. Instead, this motif of the historical comparative literature should be re-conceptualised on the basis of the idea of *possibility* – ‘the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces and factors’ as the conditions for articulating certain nationalist narratives and at the same time, delimiting the possibility for other ways of representing and constructing knowledge about the Self. This point will be revisited and further explained later in this chapter.

From a critical engagement with both traditions of the field and new perspectives on identities and nationhood, a number of new priorities for research can be now sketched.

It is necessary for CE to start interrogating notions of nationhood and cultural identity across national settings. The starting point of this process should be an interpretation of these notions as *products of discourse and language*, being materialised in curricula, policy texts, textbooks or classroom practices. A whole range of new research themes emerges from this insight. Of particular relevance are for instance the study of how nationalities are constructed as primordial units, of how nations and cultures are presented as homogeneous, of how continuity and singularity are enunciated, of how distinctions between the Self and the Others are constituted, of how identities are presented as eternal and natural entities. The implication for CE here is to engage in investigations of the ways in which these nationalist ideas (unity, timelessness, uniqueness, difference, and so on) are constructed in different places. Such an approach, one that focuses on *how* rather than *what*, is not a usual practice in CE, and in other educational fields. In the literature, national identities and nationhood are often studied via methods of content analysis which neglect the role of language in constituting content (Oteiza, 2003).

Another area of study is to deepen understanding of how nationalist subject positions are constructed in schooling across cultural settings. This type of analysis can be carried out by identifying and describing issues such as: what kind of knowledge about the national past and culture the nation’s children are given; what types of opinions, emotions and attitudes about and towards the Self and the Others are made available to them; what representations of the nation’s geo-body they are provided with; and, what sense of destiny in the present and future is cultivated in them. It is through identification with particular nationalist readings of time, culture, habitus and space that children ‘become’ certain kinds of national subjects.

If CE is to start examining the making of national subjectivities, then attention also needs to be given in the study of the ways in which pupils are summoned to identify with narratives of nationhood and whether some space is created for them to negotiate, resist, modify or reject national mythologies. This mode of analysis can be extended to cover the ways in which teachers or writers of curricular material themselves are positioned in

relation to discourses about the Self. A crucial implication for comparative research here is to trace and explain possible variations across cultural settings regarding pupils' interpellation and writers' positioning towards nationalist discourses.

Moreover, the 'style', to employ Anderson's (1983) term, in which nations and identities are imagined in different places needs not be examined as coherent and consistent. Rather, it ought to start from the view that it is marked by fragmentation, ambivalence, heterogeneity, contradictions and pluralism, implying that the search for the nature and origins of these features can be the basis of comparison. This implication, as was said earlier, derives from the postmodern and post-colonial axiom that the imagery of the nation is fractured, fluid and hybrid, a point of struggle and contestation, of ambiguity, dilemmas and paradoxes.

The inherent historicity of every national identity, that images of nation are subject to change or perpetuation, implies a need to look at how nationhood is challenged, transformed, sustained or defended across cultural settings. The recent works of Vickers and Jones (2005) on national identity and nationhood in East Asia and Schissler and Soysal (2005) in Europe provide two examples of the application of such an approach comparatively. However, although the contributors in these volumes analyse changing politics concerning nation, they frequently neglect the persistence of older entrenched national myths; and more importantly, the hybridisation of identification deriving from co-articulations of new and older national images. The complex juxtaposition of new and old and the creation of novel hybrids should also be taken into account.

A final area of comparative research addressed here stems from the view that national identity is contingent upon the ideological, political, sociocultural and historical context in which it is embedded and is constitutive of this context in creative or normative ways. Such a view implies a necessity to explore both the role that education is given to shape and transmit certain perceptions of nationhood, and the conditions for the (re)production of certain styles of identities. The examination of the conditionality should seek to capture and illustrate both the uniqueness and the interdependency of cultures. Some of the complex linkages between educational constructs of identity and the broader conditions which they are related to can be revealed by discourse analysis.

Discourse as a Theoretical and Methodological Bridge

This section seeks to show how discourse analysis can be fruitfully used to help CE to operationalise some of the new priorities for comparative study that arise from a rereading of both the traditions of the field and the notions of nationhood and national identity. As a research method and a theoretical approach to knowledge, discourse analysis provides a set of concepts and techniques that are valuable in studying nations and nationalities in a systematic way in different places. It is argued here that the notion of 'discourse' itself can be a theoretical and methodological bridge across cultural settings. Its analytical power lies in that it can capture what is common in different places – that is, the discursive (re)construction of nationhood and national identity – and at the same time, does not gloss over history, culture and difference – “the themes

that make comparative education intellectually interesting” (Cowen, 2002a, p. 419). It also lies in that it builds bridges not only across cultures but also between disciplines, micro and macro levels of analysis, theoretical and empirical study – the themes of “a neo-comparative education” (Broadfoot, 2000; Kazamias, 2001; Crossley, 2000; Bray & Thomas, 1995).

Identifying and Describing Discursive Identities

The ‘styles’ in which national identities are imagined in a range of educational texts (curricula, textbooks, policy documents, teachers’ talk or pupils’ writings) across cultural settings can be identified and described through three interconnected levels of analysis: the level of propositional contents, the level of discursive strategies, and the level of linguistic realisation. This tripartite framework of analysing nationalist discourse derives from a view of discourse as a group of statements about a specific topic whose organisation is regular and systematic (Mills, 2004; Hall, 2001; Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1972).

- First, there is the level of topics and propositions. The purpose of discursive analysis here is to reveal the thematic choices of, and the messages encoded in, nationalist discourse. Its contents are organised in terms of the four categories of narrative identity presented and defined earlier – the category of ‘time’, of ‘space’, of ‘culture’, and, of ‘habitus’.
- The second level of analysis is the level of strategies. Following the Austrian strand of Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak, 2006; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak *et al.*, 1999), a strategy is defined as the particular, conscious or unconscious plan adopted by writers or speakers to achieve the aims of constituting and conveying primarily national unity and difference in relation to the categories of time, space, *habitus* and culture. Yet, identity, as was said earlier, is also about the construction of a range of other nationalist notions – the ideas of national continuity, uniqueness, superiority, autonomy, positive ‘self’-presentation and negative ‘other’-presentation, and so forth.
- All these strategies are of a constructive nature – that is, they attempt to enact a certain kind of identity by promoting sameness, difference, continuity, and so forth. There are also strategies of perpetuation (that aim to maintain, defend and reproduce a national identity) and transformation strategies (changing a particular identity and its pillars into another one). All these strategies types stem from a view of discourse as having simultaneously the following functions – constructive, transformational and perpetuating (Wodak, 2006; Wodak *et al.*, 1999).
- There is another cluster of strategies – those of involvement or detachment, and those of intensification or mitigation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). The former set refers to how writers or speakers express their involvement in or detachment from a represented nationalist discourse and position their point of view in the discursive flux. The latter set is applied to qualify or modify the epistemic status of a nationalist proposition and to express its commitment to truth. Both sets of strategies are related to the way hearers or readers are summoned to identify with nationalist discourse.

- Third, there is the analysis of the linguistic means and devices which are involved in the expression of contents and strategies. The two layers – contents and strategies on the one hand, and language on the other – “are connected via the process of ‘realisation’: lexico-grammar ‘realises’ semantics, the linguistic ‘realises’ the social” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 108). This process, in other words, is based on the idea that content and language forms are inseparable (Fairclough, 2003). A central dimension of the linguistic realisation of nationalist discourse is what may be called the lexicon of nationality. And, as Billig (1995) points out, “the crucial words of banal nationalism are often the smallest: ‘we’, ‘this’ and ‘here’, which are the words of linguistic ‘deixis’” (p. 94). This means that a given nationalist discourse is expected to construct narratives of national time, national space, national *habitus* and national culture, as well as of continuity, difference, singularity, autonomy, in specific ways realised linguistically through specific vocabulary choices.

This tripartite framework of identifying and describing identities, based on the analysis of nationalist contents, strategies and language forms, is illustrated with examples from my own research on national identity and school historiography in Cyprus and England.

The following extract is taken from a Greek Cypriot textbook. It encodes particular readings of the past and present of the Greek community of Cyprus, as well as of its *habitus*, destiny, land and culture. These readings are linked to three strategies – the strategy of stressing continuity, difference and unity – and both contents and strategies are constituted and conveyed via certain linguistic devices:

Many peoples (or groups) made their way through Cyprus or conquer it: Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Ptolemies, Romans, Arabs, Crusaders, Franks, Venetians, Turks and English. However, the inhabitants safeguarded the Greek character which had been formed since the Mycenaeans had settled on the island, at the end of the Later Bronze period; this is evident in the language as much as in the tradition.

The projection of the continuity of ‘the Greek character’ of the population, culturally defined by Greek language and tradition, is prominent here. Two linguistic devices are used to realise the strategy of continuation. First, there is the tense system which gives expression to the comparative loci of difference and similarity. These two loci construct the view of the distant past as the origins of the Greek character of the people, and of the present as the epoch where this character is still evident. Second, there is the conjunction ‘however’ employed to realise the contrastive locus of comparison. This suggests the reading that the people ‘safeguarded’ (a verb carrying connotations of preservation) their character, despite repeated contact with and attempts by ethnically and religiously different peoples to suppress, change or destroy it.

In this excerpt, there is also strategic emphasis on difference and sameness, which is linguistically manifested in group-constituting labels (such as ‘Turks’, ‘Franks’) and the epithet ‘Greek’ (it evokes a Greek unified people). Through these two strategies, both the constitution of the Self and the Others, and their differentiation, are created

by insinuating a symbolic frontier between a Greek world of subjugation, defiance, resistance and struggles, and a non-Greek world of power, conquests, oppression and threats. This division highlights the destiny of the Self in a world of nations – to preserve their Greek character by defending it against Others who tried to change or destroy it. This, in turn, is related to the implied message of Cyprus as a Greek land, both at the present time and throughout history, as well as a specific perspective on the nature and *habitus* of the Self – ‘we’ are a Greek cultural community of shared language and tradition, and of stubborn loyalty to them, including the readiness to fight against powerful peoples for their maintenance.

The categories of ‘discourse content’ are also valuable in sketching the different style in which identities are imagined across cultures, diachronically and synchronically. This is illustrated with the ‘past’. In English histories, two main aspects of the representation of the national past are what I have termed in my analysis ‘the narrative strand of constitutional growth’ and ‘the narrative strand of imperial expansionism’. In contrast, Greek Cypriot histories, as was mentioned above, promoted the past as one of the preservation of Greek culture on the island. The making of the past along Greek lines has dominated school historiography in Greek Cypriot schooling since the first decades of the twentieth century. Following the territorial division of Cyprus in 1974, a new narrative was added to existing patterns. This is ‘the strand of heteronomy and autonomy’ that tells the story of a Cypriot people struggling for physical survival and freedom against great powers.

The content categories can be also important in revealing the motifs of fragmentation, ambivalence, dilemmas and hybridity that characterise the constitution of identity. In English stories, for example, the narrative of constitutional growth promotes a democratic nation, the English first and then the British (after the creation of the United Kingdom), who, with the passing of time have broadened their liberties. In the expansionist narrative, the Self is also articulated in an ambivalent way: there is, on the one hand, the image of a powerful and progressive English nation who had managed to bring their weak and backward Celtic neighbours under English power, and on the other, the image of a civilised and superior British nation who were engaged in a mission to spread civilisation to uncivilised and inferior peoples. Similarly, the co-occurrence of the narrative of Greek cultural preservation and the narrative of Cypriot heteronomy and autonomy in Greek Cypriot histories after 1974 further exemplifies the heterogeneous, fragmented, ambivalent and dilemmatic nature of identity. Each of these two strands promotes a different position of national identification: a Greek position, the narrative of Greek cultural preservation, through which the Self is construed as a Greek people that is an inseparable part of the Hellenic community; and a Cypriot position, the narrative of autonomy and heteronomy, through which the Self is seen as a Cypriot people that is independent and different from the broader community of Hellenism.

Ambivalence and heterogeneity can be also studied through the discursive motif of ‘linguistic realisation’. This is illustrated with an excerpt from an English textbook of 1966, which is also indicative of the persistence of the nineteenth-century Whig construction of the English past as a triumphant and uninterrupted march towards political democracy:

Just as a child grows up to maturity, learning by experience and teaching, so a country must develop its own institutions and ideas, growing through its history into a responsible nation. Some of the lessons are hard, some of the experiences are shattering, like the Civil War in the reign of Charles I, but all play their part. We in Britain have developed gradually towards a country where the law protects our liberties and Parliament represents the majority of our wishes.

In this passage, it is uncertain whether the terms ‘country’ and ‘nation’, the deictic ‘we’ and the possessive pronoun ‘our’ denote the English or the British people. This is the effect of the fact that the text blends together elements from English identity discourse – the Whig historicity manifested, for example, in the episode of the Civil War – and elements from the British identity discourse – the British parliament as the representative of the nation’s will and the British law as the guardian of national liberties. Similarly, the term ‘Britain’ appears ambivalent whether it refers to Britain or England, highlighting the so-called enigma of national identity in England – British or English? (Kumar, 2003). This example also indicates that the aim of discourse analysis to ‘read between the lines’ can only be reached with a combination of detailed linguistic analysis of texts and the explanatory insights from other social disciplines (Fairclough, 2003; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

The notion of ‘linguistic realisation’ is also useful in tracing the different formation of identity according to audience and generally, the idea of multiple identities in educational practices of signification. This notion embeds the view that even if a certain proposition or strategy is the same in two distinct instances of identity formation, its realisation in language may differ. One example is the different linguistic realisation of the idea of the preservation of Greek culture and identity over time in elementary and secondary education textbooks. Greek Cypriot stories for elementary school often convey this idea through simple language, for example, by verbs and adverbs denoting continuity and the tense system: “The Cypriots continued to feel love for Greece. This love has never stopped.” The same message is often expressed in secondary textbooks through abstract noun phrases – “the continuation of Hellenism under extremely bad conditions” – or negation: “But, despite all the sufferings the Arabic raids caused to the Greek Cypriots, they had *no* effect on their Greek character.”

Apart from content categories, the analytic category of ‘discourse strategy’ is also a useful tool in uncovering identity shifts. To mention one example, English histories, in light of decolonisation and post-colonial literature, sought to reconstruct the reading of the British imperial past via a strategy of transformation. Consider this extract taken from a textbook section entitled “Changing interpretations”:

For more than fifty years twentieth-century historians agreed with the nineteenth-century view that the British Empire brought the benefits of European civilisation to native peoples. ...

By the 1970s most countries of the Empire had become independent of Britain, some after bitter wars. British historians no longer looked at the Empire purely from the British or European point of view. A. J. P. Taylor pointed out that British rule did not necessarily benefit the people of the Empire.

By means of temporal references, this extract adopts the locus of difference to project two understandings of the relation between empire and native peoples. The first is the nineteenth-century reading (still evident in most parts of the twentieth century) that empire brought the benefits of civilisation to them. The second is the view of the 1970s and onwards that empire did not necessarily benefit them. What links these two historical interpretations is change – from the old certainty that empire was favourable to the colonised peoples into a new view that empire was not necessarily beneficial to them.

The strategies of detachment/involvement and of mitigation/intensification are also of important value especially in examining comparatively the way in which writers or speakers position themselves in relation to represented discourses on nationhood and the way in which hearers or readers are summoned to identify with them. This is also illustrated with examples from my own analysis of school historiographies in Cyprus and England, notably in relation to how stereotypic expressions appeared in textbooks. Consider two extracts:

1. The Irish live like beasts, are more uncivil, more uncleanly, more barbarous in their customs than in any part of the world (in source 4E: an Englishman reporting in Elizabeth I's reign, taken from an English textbook).
2. Processions, honour and dignity, personal liberty, were all effortlessly violated by the Venetians (found in the main narrative of a Greek Cypriot textbook).

In the English textbook, the utilisation of direct reporting with source to give expression to the negative stereotype of the Irish as uncivilised indicates a mood on behalf of the textbook writer to explicitly detach himself from it and to implicitly challenge it in terms of universal truth. At the same time, this detachment strategy mitigates the illocutionary force of the stereotype and its persuasive impact on readers, telling them that this is just an opinion and thus, generating space for them to negotiate it. The Greek Cypriot textbook, in contrast, does not allow much space for the readers to negotiate the stereotype of the Venetians as an autocratic people. It is conveyed as a universal truth (via the simple past) and its illocutionary force is further intensified through the adverb 'effortlessly'. These features also highlight the writer's strategic involvement in the making, naturalisation, legitimacy and perpetuation of this stereotype.

Conditions for Discursive Identity Construction: Contexts of Possibility

Discourse analysis can be also valuable in the comparative study of the conditions within which certain identities are constructed – through the idea of 'context of possibility'. "Discourse", Fairclough & Wodak (1997) point out, "is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration" (p. 276). Blommaert (2005) further elaborates that the notion of context is to be construed "as *conditions* for discourse production" (p. 66). This position echoes Foucault (1972) who defined this notion as the rules of formation of discourse. For him, context operates as a regime of possibilities, permitting, and at the same time, constraining what can be thought, said and written, in this case, about the national Self. The context, then, does *not* determine the articulation of an national identity, but rather "what enables it to appear, to juxtapose itself with other objects, to situate itself in relation to them,

to define its difference, its reducibility, and even perhaps its heterogeneity; in short to be placed in a field of exteriority” (Foucault, 1972, p. 45).

The reading of context as conditions of possibility regarding the representation and construction of nationhood differs from older approaches in CE to the study of cultural and historical context in two ways. First, it acknowledges the possible existence of a finite variety of positions of national identification based on and derived from different interpretations of and interactions with the context of possibility, by members of a national community. Older approaches, viewing nations and cultures as essential entities, did not accommodate diversity of nationalist imagination. Second, trying to trace conditions of possibility underlying the making of a discourse on nationhood is an activity much less fixed, certain or transparent than the older deterministic arguments. Though it also implies that a range of ‘forces and factors’ are linked with its construction, the notion of context of possibility recognises that the researcher probably fails to grasp all of them, primarily the most ‘insignificant’ but perhaps the most crucial, leaving thus room for conditions yet to be identified. In other words, this concept is more locally sensitive, more inclined to capture the vast complexity of the emergence of a nationalist discourse, and points to the limitations of analysis and interpretation.

Yet, the line between ‘contexts of possibility’ and ‘causes’ or ‘determinants’ is very thin and fuzzy. Larsen (2004), using a similar distinction in her work, notes that ways bringing together these two notions without resorting to determinism must be developed. A fruitful way, perhaps, to resolve this problem would be to look for these contexts in texts themselves rather than arbitrarily decide about them on the grounds of available theories and literature. This suggestion derives from the view that any discourse is defined by its relations with others and by the material conditionality which it is related to (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1972).

One example of how such an interdiscursive approach can reveal the conditions that made the production of a nationalist discourse possible is the shift in the representation of colonial rule in English school stories. As said above, histories of the post-imperial period seek to transform the view that imperial rule brought the benefits of civilisation to colonial peoples into a view that empire did not necessarily benefit them. This means that it was decolonisation and the emergence of new post-colonial histories (upon which textbooks draw) that made it possible for this shift in the making of the national past to take place. An additional condition for national identity reconstruction was the existence of practices of new history in school historiography – notably the belief that history is just a reading of the past which is never definitive but shifts in light of new historical evidence.

A second example also comes from English history textbooks. School stories of the earlier parts of the twentieth century often represented Magna Carta as “the foundation of our liberties” or as the act that “rescued our ancestors from much of the oppressive tyranny of the feudal system”. In both utterances, the possessive pronoun ‘our’ conveys the view of Magna Carta as beneficial to all the English. In contrast, Magna Carta tended to be represented in textbooks of the later parts of the twentieth century as an act which was favourable only to some people: “It was granted to all freemen of the realm (not villeins).” Again, this shift was made possible to occur with the emergence of new history as a paradigm of history teaching and writing as well as of new

academic historiographies in the post-war period, promoting the reading of this act as the foundation of the rights of the higher social ranks of England – not of common people. Thus, new history, new constitutional and post-colonial academic historiographies, as well as decolonisation and the collapse of the British Empire were part of the contexts of possibility for identity constitution in post-imperial English textbooks.

It derives from the discussion above that instances of national identity construction also necessarily position themselves in relation to non-discursive aspects of context. Perhaps this point can be made clearer with an example from a Greek Cypriot textbook. It illustrates exactly how material conditions shape the construction of a particular image of the national present and the destiny of the national Self:

Four years have passed since the coup and the Turkish invasion. The 40% of our land is under Turkish occupation. Four thousands our dead and two thousand the missing persons. Some 200 thousand Greeks have been forced to abandon their houses and belongings and they live as refugees under miserable conditions. Those who stayed behind are being humiliated and are suffering at the hands of the conqueror and with numerous blackmails are also being enforced to abandon the land of their fathers.

Under specific material conditions – the Greek and Turkish military offensives, the territorial division of the island, violent displacement of populations, death and abject social and economic circumstances – the common present is constructed in negative terms, as one of ordeal, occupation, mourning, expulsion and oppression, implicitly conveying an image of the Self as a victimised people.

The conceptualisation of ‘contexts of possibility’ along both discursive and material lines, is indicative that the approach offered here does not align itself with postmodernist reification of discourses as autonomous collusive actors which steer speakers and writers, hearers and readers. Nor does it subscribe to the post-structuralist dogma that there is ‘nothing outside the text’. Rather, it tries to hit a middle ground: discursive practices produce, reproduce, transform and dismantle material aspects of the world just as elements of material reality shape what can be thought, spoken and written (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Conclusion

The emergence of complex new perspectives on nationhood and cultural identity in other fields of study does not merely imply a necessity for a radical rethinking of how CE treats these unit ideas. Perhaps more importantly, it also highlights for comparative educators that they need to broaden their research agenda and particularly to look beyond economic globalisation concerns into non-economic issues including identity, ethnicity, culture, nation, race and gender. This is a call that has been repeatedly stressed in recent times in literature (Kazamias, 2001; Watson, 1999; Tikly, 1999; Cowen, 1996). Here, I would like to extend this call by arguing that it is important to start the study of these non-economic concepts from their understanding as discourses and as products of discourse, and to examine the complex dialectic linkages of their

articulation in educational sites with the wider cultural and historical contexts of possibility in which they are embedded. This chapter illustrated, I hope, that discourse analysis can help CE to carry out these research priorities, and thus, to recapture its concern with two of its older, but largely marginal, traditions – the study of culture and the history of culture.

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TIME FOR A SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION? FROM COMPARATIVE EDUCATION TO COMPARATIVE LEARNOLOGY

Patricia Broadfoot

A New Dawn for Comparative Education?

The scale and reach of this handbook is welcome testimony to the current buoyancy of the field of comparative education – testimony to its intellectual energy, its theoretical reach and its considerable diversity. In recent years, comparative education has moved out of the doldrums it found itself in during the late twentieth century, acquiring both a new clarity of purpose and significantly increased external recognition of its value as an approach. There are a number of reasons for this.

One of the most important has been the willingness of comparative educationists to grasp the opportunities provided by the advent of postmodernist perspectives; to progress from the on-going debates between positivist and humanist perspectives which dominated a previous era in order to embrace the rich intellectual potential of the emerging sociological emphasis on culture and lived experience. Comparative educationists have not shied away from the challenges presented by a more fractured way of looking at the world; nor have they failed to respond to the implications of the seismic changes taking place in the world. Indeed, a great deal of the recent interest in characterizing the field of comparative education has centred on these very issues – as shown, for example, in the twin millennium issues of the journal *Comparative Education* (Crossley & Jarvis, 2000, 2001).

Thus, in place of the previously more typical focus on education systems and policies, national contexts and international surveys, we are increasingly seeing bold attempts to reconfigure the epistemology of the field; to apply hitherto untapped theoretical perspectives; to conceive new units of analysis and to widen the range of building blocks that form its focus such as micro comparative studies of classroom life. In short, as this Handbook convincingly demonstrates, the field of comparative education finds itself in ferment, a bubbling cauldron of new ideas and perspectives that has welled up in response to the significant intellectual challenges of an increasingly globalized world.

But, happy as we should be at this state of affairs, there remain aspects of comparative education that are significantly less buoyant at the present time. Chief among these is the issue of methodology – the rigour of the research process itself. I do not refer to the kind of arcane debates about epistemologies which have long characterized the

field. Rather I refer to the apparently simpler, but yet fundamental, questions concerning how data are collected; how they are analyzed and reported; how they are stored and how they may be made accessible to other researchers and future generations. As Crossley and Broadfoot (1992) have argued, this is an area that has received relatively little attention in the comparative education literature. Yet it is fundamental to the quality of the research that is ultimately produced.

New times present new research challenges. If, as suggested above, there is now a growing recognition among scholars in the field that we need a re-conceptualization of the fundamental building blocks of comparative education, (see, e.g., Alexander *et al.*, 1999), so too, I would argue, it is time for a fresh look at how adequate are the traditional tools of the trade for addressing the new research questions now emerging. It is perhaps not too whimsical to suggest that comparative education is in the process of moving out of a protracted adolescence into young adulthood. Like all adolescents, it has had to meet the challenge of separating from its parent disciplines as part of a process of exploring its own, potentially unique contribution; to endure a time in which it was not sure of its identity, in which it experimented with a variety of different perspectives and approaches; in which it lacked the self-confidence of a mature field. Hence there have been protracted discussions in the literature about 'the state of the art' (see, e.g., Bray, 2003; Watson, 2001) and occasional turf wars between rival orthodoxies.

But, with the advent of explicit recognition of the implications of globalization, Governments are now becoming increasingly hungry for comparative insights. There is, in consequence, an unprecedented opportunity for a significant upscaling of the perceived importance of comparative studies of all kinds. This in turn requires the development of the field's capacity to deliver research that it is adequate in its scope and sophistication to bear the weight of this interest. As always, coming of age brings with it increased responsibilities. Comparative education, like other comparative fields, must be able to deliver research findings that have a broad, international salience; in which the rigour of the process of conceptualization, research management, data-gathering and analysis is both robust enough to withstand politically motivated attacks and yet sufficiently fresh and original that it is able to provide the independent validation or challenge to the status quo that is its *raison d'être*.

So what might be the features of such a sea change in the scale and sophistication of comparative education research? In this chapter I argue the need for two fundamental re-orientations that seem to me to be particularly pressing. The first of these re-orientations is, I suggest, a change in the focus, the epistemological foundation of what we currently term 'comparative education' and the concepts that frame the research questions being asked. The second re-orientation I want to argue for concerns the methodologies which comparative researchers currently employ. Thus in the first part of what follows, I seek to illustrate the need for a radical re-examination of the basic precepts of the field. In the second part of the chapter, I explore some of the exciting new methodological challenges for comparative education that are likely to present themselves in the years ahead if it is to meet the criteria of an 'adult' scientific discipline in the twenty-first century. Together these two sections provide the basis for a concluding section which describes a future in which comparative education has

indeed come of age: an approach to comparative studies that combines the best of an illustrious tradition with a refreshed theoretical orientation and enhanced empirical rigour. These new developments in the field, it is suggested, will in turn underpin the possibility of conducting comparative studies which are both on an unprecedented scale and also have an international impact on conventional thinking about educational delivery.

From Comparative Education to Comparative ‘Learnology’?

Previously, I have criticized the world of education for being slow to challenge the accepted ‘delivery’ model of conventional schooling (as well as now, increasingly, higher education) (Broadfoot, 2001). I have drawn attention to the irony that whilst a surgeon transported from an operating theatre in say 1900 to one in the twenty-first century would find themselves hard put to understand the function of almost all the equipment it contained, a school teacher from that time would feel immediately at home in the conventional paraphernalia of a contemporary classroom. Although slightly unfair, this comparison does underline how little the accepted wisdom concerning educational delivery has so far been challenged. Education is still broadly conceived as the transmission of a given body of knowledge from either a teacher or a book or some combination of the two, knowledge which is ‘studied’ by the student and hopefully ‘learned’ sufficiently well to be reproduced in some kind of examination process. If all goes well, the student passes the test set and everyone is happy. If it does not go well, failure is generally explained as either a lack of application on the student’s part (‘must try harder’) or as a reflection of some innate weakness on the part of the latter (‘less-able student’). This model of learning, accords ill with what we know from the growing body of ‘learning science’ (Claxton, 1999) even in the Western world in which it mainly developed. It accords even less well with the traditions and learning approaches of other cultures (see, e.g., Watkins & Biggs, 1996; Hufton *et al.*, 2003).

Given the hitherto largely unchallenged nature of this paradigm, either by educationists or by policy-makers, it is unsurprising that virtually all educational research, including comparative education, focuses in one way or another on aspects of this ‘delivery’. Whether it is the formation of education policy, educational administration and management, the training of teachers, questions of school organization, curriculum development, assessment procedures or any of the other topics that form the focus for educational research, such studies are almost always conceived within the status quo in that they concern how to improve on solutions to current problems of organization and delivery – how we can provide education more efficiently, more equitably, or more effectively. Rare indeed are the occasions when either the theoretical or the empirical magnifying glass is set up to examine rather different assumptions and questions concerning education and learning.

Thus, although pressure has been building up within the field of comparative education to recognize the significance of the cultural flesh on the skeleton of laws and policies, systems and resources which formally define educational provision, this trend

has yet to challenge the established parameters of the field. It has yet to challenge the discourse that defines educational issues in terms of a delivery model of education in which countless thousands of children and young people throughout the world are more or less successfully processed through centrally determined curriculum packages and taught to compete with each other in the business of regurgitating their knowledge in specific ways. Most contemporary developments within the field of comparative education must thus be regarded as still essentially debates *within* the existing paradigm. There is a need, I would argue, for the application of more postmodern conceptual tools, to create a 'neo-comparative' education (Broadfoot, 1977, 2001) that recognizes the very considerable research evidence that now exists concerning the shortcomings of conventional models of education. The critical lens provided by comparative educational research can arguably play a key role in the search for concepts and approaches that will be more fruitful for the twenty-first century. For whereas the 'delivery' model of education may have served well enough for less rapidly changing times, it is becoming increasingly clear that it is ill-equipped to respond to a world of pervasive information technology, rapidly changing employment markets and the absence of a common canon of values and behavioural norms.

So far, one of the most defining characteristics of the twenty-first century is the erosion of the boundaries between formal education and other activities in life. The worlds of work and home, leisure and study are becoming increasingly integrated. This means that the modernist conception of education as a defined and organized form of activity conducted in a specialist institution and conceived as a preparation for adult life thus becomes increasingly anachronistic. Indeed, it could be said that in an increasingly postmodern world, the continued use of modernist paradigms of educational organization and of teaching and testing, are a powerful reactionary force helping to sustain the status quo. If the 'normal science' (Kuhn, 1962) of education is to be challenged, then research must provide the seed bed of the necessary 'scientific revolution', or 'paradigm shift'.

Such a paradigm shift, I suggest, needs to move *learning* itself centre stage as the focus of study. Questions such as how individuals can best be helped to engage successfully with the myriad different forms of learning opportunity that technological development has made available pose novel challenges for educational research. For comparative education in particular, the broader and more amorphous territory of learning, challenges its more traditional focus on education systems and the problems of provision. If learning per se, rather than provision for its acquisition or the evaluation of its outcomes, becomes accepted as the new centre of gravity for the discipline, so it might be reasonable to reflect this development in a change of nomenclature. 'Comparative education' as a descriptor might be replaced by 'comparative *learnology*' as a new name for research that seeks better to understand the business of learning by using the systematic comparison of contexts and cultures. The use of the descriptor '*comparative learnology*', whilst not perhaps defensible in the face of a sustained exegesis, would nevertheless provide a strong signal that the centre of attention for such studies is the process of learning itself and the forces that shape individuals' engagement with it.

This is particularly important because, as suggested above, despite the enormous volume of research on teaching and learning that has been undertaken over the years,

there is still a considerable gap in our understanding of how to improve learning outcomes in the many different contexts in which learning takes place. Where there is a preoccupation with ‘what works’ – as is increasingly the case among governments anxious to ‘raise standards’, there is a corresponding tendency to ignore the inevitable complexity of the learning process and a consequent failure to take into account some of the complex social forces that impact upon it. Among these are the following as identified by James and Brown:

- The influence that the environment (characteristics of learners or the learning context) has on the success of a particular approach in promoting learning
- The difficulty of clearly conceptualizing some aspects of learning that are seen as highly desirable (e.g., attitudes, dispositions, values, identities) but do not have a common interpretation in the way that straightforward practical or cognitive skills do
- The difficulty of assessment in cases where a clear conceptualization of the learning is yet to be established
- Problems at a theoretical level that arise from a lack of engagement of many of the theories of learning with those of teaching or instruction (i.e., a lack of pedagogy)
- The need to provide evidence of learning in a form that will convince the community beyond academic researchers’ (James & Brown, 2005, p. 9)

As James and Brown argue, how individuals learn in different settings and cultures and how this process can best be facilitated, are questions to which the answer is neither simple nor unambiguous. Indeed, so complex are the factors involved that, in the best traditions of social science, as Kazamias has argued (Bouzakis, 2000), illumination is as likely to come from the humanistic tradition using, for example, a historical approach, case studies and other forms of qualitative data, than from the more systematic, controlled studies of the positivist tradition. Alexander’s comparative study of learning in five countries provides a good illustration of this approach building on the foundations laid by earlier studies such as those of Osborn and colleagues (2003).

Added to the challenge of seeking to understand the interaction between learning processes, and the impact of particular contexts, is the fact that learning itself takes many different forms. Various efforts have been made to define the main elements such as those of Gardner (1993). Recently, the advent of new neurological research techniques has served further to stimulate such efforts with an unprecedented interest in the brain itself as part of the attempt to understand the process of learning (see, e.g., Perkins, 1995). This application of neuroscience underpins the developing field of ‘learning science’ as a major field of research endeavour to complement more traditional educational perspectives.

Even a relatively high-level categorization of different kinds of learning such as that provided by James and Brown (2005, p. 9) powerfully illustrates the importance of such perspectives where learning is the central focus of enquiry:

- Attainments including subject knowledge or work competencies
- Understanding – of ideas, concepts and processes
- Cognitive and creative learning involving performance or ‘new’ knowledge
- Using – involving the application of practical or technological skills

- Higher-order learning including metacognition
- Dispositions – attitudes, perceptions, motivation
- Membership, inclusion self-worth – the shaping of learner identity

The particular contribution that comparative studies can make to our understanding of these complexities is the effort to understand the complex interaction between different kinds of learning and different cultural and institutional settings such as attempts to explain and evaluate the significance of the various kinds of learning that individual cultures prioritize. Moreover, a particular strength of a comparative approach to learning science as embodied in a '*comparative learnology*' would be a respect for the cultural integrity of key concepts. Such a research approach would make no initial assumptions about how the purpose and processes of learning were being defined in the setting being studied.

Whilst the differences between cultures in this respect are unlikely to be as significant in today's, post-colonial, globalized world as they once might have been, there remains plenty of evidence in the pages of both anthropological journals and those dedicated to comparative education that processes of learning and their goals continue to vary widely around the world. Moreover, as priorities for learning change in response to social and economic change, there is likely to be increasing fracturing of traditional educational models and tools.

Educational testing provides a powerful example of the potential difference between modernist and postmodernist educational perspectives. The quotation below describes a more humanistic, individualized perspective on this most positivist of educational technologies:

[I]f being a learner is about becoming a member of a community and engaging in norms of social practice and tool use, or if one accepts 'knowledge creation' as an important learning outcome in a knowledge society then the perceived need for valid and reliable assessment instruments ... might disappear. ... If the learning outcomes in which we are interested are dynamic, shifting and sometimes original and unique, we need a new methodology of assessment, perhaps drawing more on ethnographies and peer-review approaches in social science, appreciation and connoisseurship in the arts and advocacy, testimony and judgment in law. (James & Brown, 2005, p. 19)

Such an approach to evaluation is in stark contrast with the kind of modernist approach embodied in most contemporary forms of assessment and testing which are predicated on an objectivist stance. The series of international surveys of educational attainment of recent years provide one of the most powerful examples of this tradition using as they do, sophisticated quantitative methodologies for comparative purposes. Reviewing the key role of OECD in such studies, McGaw (2004) provides the following description of the search by a consortium of 30 member countries for education 'indicators' that will permit:

The systematic examination and assessment of the performance of a state by other states, with the ultimate goal of helping the reviewed State improve its

policy-making, adopt best practices, and comply with established standards and principles. (Pagani, 2002, p. 1)

This project is based on a model of education that assumes that ‘one size fits all’. It is arguably flawed both in not taking into account significant contextual differences between the nations involved and in not questioning the accepted structures and delivery of formal education as it has evolved in the last century or so.

Yet, although many comparativists have deplored the technical inadequacies of such international surveys of achievement over the years (see, e.g., Goldstein, 2004; Brown, 1999) there has been little attempt so far to challenge them in the terms set out above, namely, that such surveys of achievement represent the increasingly global imposition of a unidimensional model of education that reinforces and celebrates only a small part of the rich tapestry of actual and potential learning. The more countries strive to compare themselves on such common yardsticks, the more it becomes unlikely that comparisons of other kinds of learning outcome will be pursued, which are less amenable to formal assessment, even though they may be more important.

I rehearse these arguments in order to highlight the urgent need for comparative educationists to recognize that as the field is becoming increasingly influential in policy terms, so the responsibility of comparative education to be self-critical in terms of its focus and methodology also grows correspondingly. It would be a sad irony indeed if the contemporary dynamism of the field proved, in the end, to be a reactionary force rather than fulfilling its unique potential to provoke a fundamental questioning of accepted perspectives within education.

If the digital revolution and the dawning of the information age means that formal education provision is becoming a relatively small part of the range of learning opportunities available to individuals, comparative studies of that learning need to embrace both the widest possible range of theoretical perspectives and the full canon of available methodologies from complex statistical analyses based on huge quantitative data-bases at one extreme through to intensive ethnographic studies on the other. A comparative focus on the process of learning itself offers a far more ambitious intellectual project with the potential for research that embraces a scale and range of contributory disciplines hitherto almost unimaginable to address, for example, the much neglected ‘affective domain’ – the part played by the perceptions and feelings of the individual learner. Thus, comparative studies could draw on insights derived from anthropology to neuroscience, political science to systems engineering and the arts, to gain a much more profound understanding of the constants and contexts of learning.

The initial contribution of adopting a ‘comparative learnology’ perspective would be to problematize the discourse of comparative education since the existing apparatus of educational assumptions and terminology arguably encourages collective conceptual blinkers. Even the most familiar terms – ‘comparative’, ‘international’, ‘system’ and ‘policy’ – embody a range of taken-for-granted assumptions about the appropriate focus and subject matter for such studies. As such, these terms, as a form of discourse, are themselves a source of power and control (Foucault, 1977).

The skeptical reader may justly feel that this bandying of new jargon is neither necessary nor helpful. It is certainly the case that for a century or more, comparative

education has provided a wide range of valuable insights into aspects of educational provision and practice – the deliberate management of learning – and that it is these insights that form the foundation for the current ascendancy of the field. But despite these successes, I suggest that if comparative education *remains* in this paradigm in the future, it will find itself in a self-referencing and self-reinforcing vicious circle in which research fails to challenge in any fundamental way the conventional ways of conceiving learning and hence, educational problems and issues. Having failed to rise to the challenge of change, comparative ‘education’ will in turn find the validity and reliability of the research process subject to progressive erosion and with it, the capacity of the field to make an impact.

A comparative study of learning, by contrast, what I refer to here as ‘comparative ‘learnology’’, offers an exciting range of new research avenues. Such a ‘neo-comparative education’ would still retain an important place for the existing project of comparing the educational process in different cultures. However, it is likely to involve a more interdisciplinary even ‘meta-disciplinary’, approach in which a range of social disciplines such as sociology, politics, economics, geography, cultural studies, anthropology and history combine on occasions with the physical sciences and medicine, to illuminate the complex and interrelated realities that impinge on learning. Examples in this respect might include the interaction between diet and learning outcomes in different cultures, or the impact of pollution on brain functioning in different national settings. In both these cases, whilst there may be significant differences in the educational interventions in the settings being compared, these interventions may ultimately be of less significance than differences between the populations being studied that derive from quite different factors. A focus on learning, rather than education per se, will, I suggest, make it more likely that these other factors and perspectives will be taken into account. This in turn should encourage a challenge to the established boundaries of the field that will provoke new questions and concerns as well as eventually, produce new insights that will challenge the dominance of prevailing discourses about what is desirable in education and how this may best be achieved.

Some Problems of Methodology

Shifting the focus of comparative study from education to learning also requires the development and use of new research tools that take full advantage of contemporary advances in technology in their ability to capture and compare social reality. Such developments make it possible to anticipate the possibility that the twenty-first century will witness significant development in terms of the rigour, scale and innovation of comparative methods.

Thirty years ago, writing in a special issue of the journal *Comparative Education* devoted to the then ‘state of the art’, I suggested that ‘comparative education is not a discipline but a context’ (Broadfoot, 1977), that it needs to be conceived as part of a more generally conceived – the word repetition is deliberate here – interpretive social science perspective. The challenges for comparative education are thus the challenges for social science as a whole. As comparativists, we endeavour constantly to ‘make the

familiar strange', to recognize that in a 'science' where words are the principal tools, there must be a continual search for new epistemologies, new methodological tools and new vision. Yet comparative studies also provide a particular challenge since of all the methodologies of social science, they are potentially among the most powerful providing as they do something of a 'virtual' laboratory' for the study of different approaches to aspects of social organization. It is the recognition of this potential that is fuelling the significant growth of large-scale international comparative studies at the present time such as the European Social Survey (www.europeansocialsurvey.org) which involves a series of collaborative surveys between more than 20 countries to compare key facets of contemporary life in those countries.

But if comparative studies offer perhaps the best approximation in the field of social science to the systematic research methods of natural science, they are also associated with some of the most difficult methodological challenges. This is particularly the case in relation to the comparative study of learning since the latter involves such a complex interaction of different factors. Thus, as I outline below, a 'comparative learnology' is likely to require sophisticated methodological approaches that take full advantage of the new social research technologies now being developed.

Cultures and Contexts

Not surprisingly, the challenges facing the development of comparative education are broadly shared with other applied social fields such as Social Policy. At the present time all social science disciplines have to respond to the challenge of globalization which is reflected in the increasing importance of an international focus both for research problems and in the organization of research teams. The recent European Union initiative to establish 'Networks of Excellence' (www.frontierseu.org/networks), for example, is typical of the growing trend towards larger, international collaborations in research projects and the development of communities of researchers drawn from several nations. But whilst such cooperation is in principle supportive of both the rationale and the practice of comparative studies, it also highlights the endemic problems of working across contexts and cultures.

Whilst these problems accompany both quantitative and qualitative studies, it is with regard to the latter that some of the core issues of comparative studies become particularly intractable. The difficulty of achieving equivalence of concepts and comparability of meaning between cultures and contexts, for example, or the representativeness of the cases chosen for study is particularly salient when generalizability depends on a relatively small number of cases. The logic informing the choice of case or country selection will critically affect the validity of the study. Whilst the standard assumption is to compare 'most similar cases' this may not always be the most fruitful design and it will not be easy to know this at the outset of a qualitative study. Where studies depend heavily on words, rather than numerically coded data, there may be problems working with raw data that is rarely fully translated or where the data have been translated, since such data are inevitably subject to the overlay of human interpretation by others such as interviewers and translators, as well as by the researchers themselves. Moreover, the

data that form the basis for analysis are often summaries of cases – cases that are often not comparable if produced by an international team especially if they are derived from Government sources.

Yet difficult as such issues are methodologically, they must be addressed if a sufficiently rigorous basis for comparative qualitative studies is to be provided. For, as Stenhouse (1979) argued, there is a need for a much greater emphasis on evidence in the conduct of comparative studies because it is through the provision of evidence that:

[e]xperience is made public to invite judgment in dialogue, and such judgement rests upon the possibility of an appeal to evidence. This evidence, the fundamental data source for comparative education, must be description; and I am going to argue that since it became a self-conscious academic study, comparative education has paid too little attention to observation and description, preferring to emphasise such abstractions as statistics and measurements on the one hand and school ‘systems’ on the other. ... [A] comparative base for critical interpretation is of very great importance.

I am ... asking that we develop in our field a better grounded representation of day-to-day educational reality resting on the careful study of particular cases. (Stenhouse, 1979, pp. 8, 10)

Sharing Access to Data

If the starting point for a ‘comparative learnology’ is the individual learner’s lived reality, their feelings and experiences, then the sort of observation and description called for by Stenhouse must be the starting point. This approach requires the application of specific qualitative methods including the capture of biographical and visual data, in order to understand the diversity of individual experience and the impact of change, that is, methods that can capture the intersection of time and space. Such case-based, rather than variable-based comparisons, provide for an understanding of the different layers of context. They can form the basis of controlled comparisons or be simply in the form of a patchwork of qualitative case-studies.

But whatever their design, the data produced by studies that emphasise observation and evidence present a particular challenge in terms of their accumulation, storage and future access. Where large sums of money have been spent on a cross-national comparative project, it is clearly desirable that the products are stored in a form such that they can be readily accessed by other researchers in the future. Once again, it was Stenhouse who exhorted researchers to be ‘meticulous about their records and, as soon as they have completed their study, such records of first hand observation and interviewing need to be lodged in national archives which could be replicated internationally on microfiche’.

If the first part of Stenhouse’s exhortation has proved difficult enough to achieve – the UK requirement to lodge all qualitative data derived from ESRC sponsored research

in the ‘Qualidata’ national archive, for example, has proved costly and demanding for researchers in terms of organization, funding, legal obligations and protection – how much more challenging will be achieving similar repositories on an international scale, with all the legal and language issues involved. The rapid development of ‘grey literature’ available on the internet coupled with the development of open access repositories represents a significant step forward in our collective technical ability to share both data and analyses. However, significant challenges remain concerning the management of and access to such sources. As with any large research team, there are more or less complex issues of ownership, authorship and the archiving of data, the increasing prominence of research governance and ethics issues and the requirement for transparency in relation to respondents, suggests a growing need for agreed international protocols and standards, research guidelines and an ethical code. But at present there is no obvious international body to translate such pressures into action.

Funding Constraints

The problems associated with large-scale data management and access are compounded by prevailing research funding regimes. Historically, comparative education studies have found it difficult to attract funding. More recently, the growing recognition on the part of governments in particular of the value of comparative studies has meant that such funding is now more readily available. Yet the latter remains both largely national in focus and short-term. Not only does this make it difficult to set up more internationally focused projects, it also renders studies and the data they produce, vulnerable to national political agendas and protectionism with regard to access. Although there are some green shoots appearing with regard to international cooperation on data storage and access, such developments remain a long way short of the sustained international effort that would be needed to establish data repositories on the kind of significant international scale that currently prevails in other fields such as Medicine.

The Skills Gap

There is also the problem of ‘the skills gap’ – an international cadre of researchers who are trained to a sufficiently high level not only in the basic quantitative and qualitative methodologies of comparative education, but in the specific linguistic, theoretical and methodological skills needed to undertake a rigorous comparative study. The exceptionally challenging task of studying two or more locations each with its several levels of context and culture that impact in a complex way on learning, calls for individuals with very specific experience and training. The anthropologist undertaking an ethnographic study of a particular classroom setting or cultural learning tradition is faced with an exponentially more complex task if the study becomes a team-based and multi-site comparison as several recent comparative education studies have illustrated (Osborn *et al.*, 2003; Alexander, 2000). The need for researchers to work in increasingly interdisciplinary teams, and to be able to access and use ‘metadata’ of all kinds, is likely to require a significant increase in the level of methodological training

available to both new and experienced researchers if they are to be equipped with the skills to take advantage of these new facilities.

The result of all these problems associated with pursuing comparative research, as Holmwood (2005) has argued, is that a great many comparative studies, including a good number of those in the field of comparative education, have exhibited depth without breadth in the form of an in-depth, narrowly oriented study of a single setting or case or, at the other extreme, breadth without depth, manifest in large-scale, often quantitative, cross-national comparative projects seeking to garner basic data from multiple cases.

The pursuit of comparative studies of learning or what I have termed ‘comparative learnology’, arguably requires the rich descriptive power of a qualitative approach since only this kind of approach can preserve cultural integrity and hence validly represent the situational wholeness of learning. Whilst it would be wrong to decry the value of more quantitative and large-scale comparative surveys, for both hypothesis formation and hypothesis testing, I submit that such studies are more likely to reinforce outmoded ways of thinking about educational delivery and particularly about learning. The spurious seductiveness of what the nineteenth-century British Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli, referred to as ‘lies, damned lies and statistics’ has a great capacity for reification. As is widely acknowledged, statistical data alone are unlikely to be able to explain and situate the patterns they document.

Figure 1 provides a typical example in this respect. Using data drawn from the OECD PISA study, it presents a very interesting set of data concerning the relationship between achievement in Mathematics as a function of within and between school differences and social background. Powerful as such comparisons are they are likely to be substantially more valuable if embedded in a much more comprehensive database of different kinds of data involving sustained and sophisticated interdisciplinary data collected over a long period of time.

By the same token qualitative studies are bedeviled by the difficulty of producing findings that are sufficiently large scale and convincing in their rigour to be able to challenge accepted orthodoxies. The successful realization of a ‘comparative learnology’ providing comprehensive and generalized insights into learning will require both these challenges to be overcome. This will require both a step change in the scale of data collection and management currently being undertaken, more sustained funding and a significant increase in international cooperation.

So far I have argued that the potential contribution of comparative education, like other comparative fields of study, has been limited both by the burden of an accumulation of different and abstract epistemological positions which can be found in the history of the field and by the limitations inherent in established approaches to data-gathering and analysis. In the third section of this chapter, I explore the prospects for overcoming these constraints in terms of the potential to expand exponentially the scale and quality of the enterprise whilst retaining the ecological validity of the subject. I deal first with the potential contribution of new methodological tools and then finally, with the epistemological perspective which should drive the future use of these powerful new research instruments.

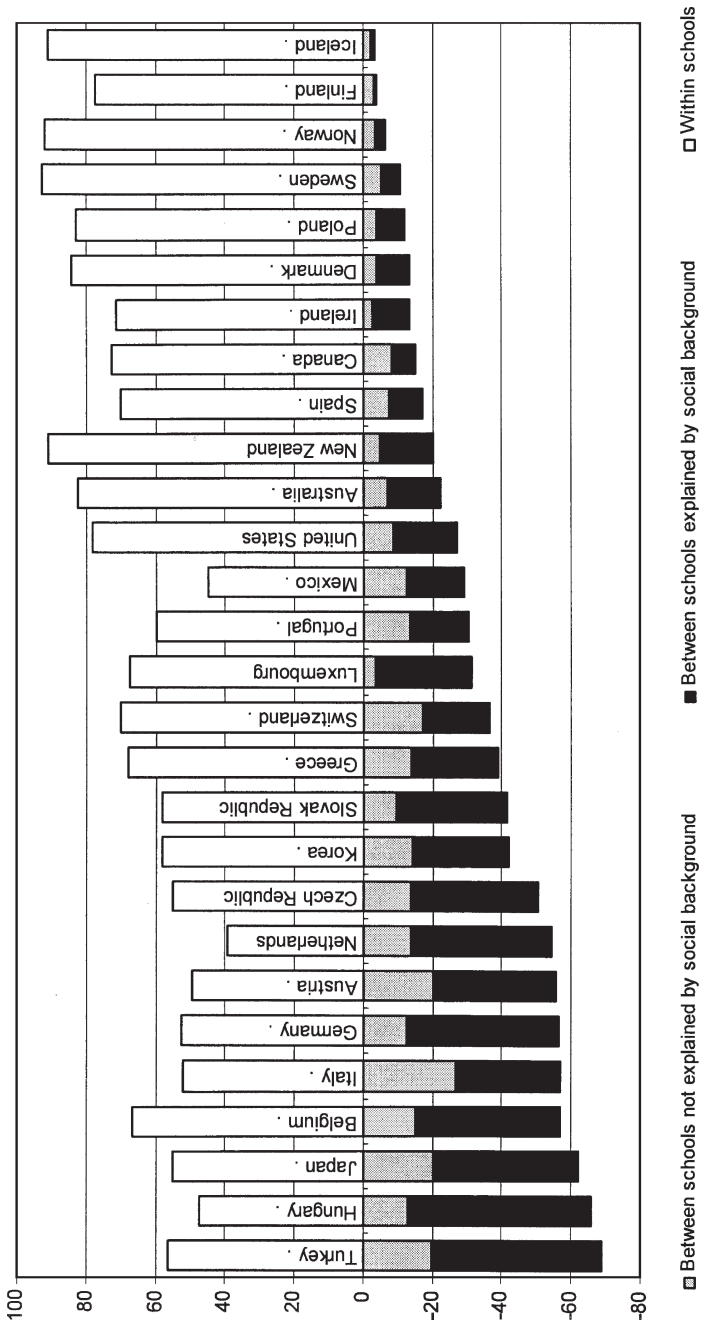


Figure 1. Variance in student PISA 2003 Mathematics achievement partitioned into within and between school components
 Source: OECD (2004, p. 383)

New Questions, New Tools

As suggested above, one of the most promising contemporary developments in comparative studies is the potential contribution of new technologies. At the most basic level, such technologies are transforming the possibilities for international collaboration between researchers. The advent of 'access grid nodes', for example, which has made it possible to have virtual electronic meetings, is transforming the constraints of time and cost that inhibited such collaboration in the past. Such opportunities for live discussion and sharing have in turn made much more practicable the blending of different cultural perspectives so necessary to authentic comparative studies.

Even more significant, potentially, is the capacity for new technologies to transform the scale of data collection and storage. It is becoming increasingly possible to capture live performances of various kinds, not only in more familiar oral and video recordings, but also using digitization. This in turn permits access to data at a distance as well as more sophisticated comparisons of its content. Thus, for example, data from the three existing sweeps of the European Social Survey (ESS), which aims to provide a high quality measure of long-term change in international attitudes, currently involves 27 European countries and has produced a vast volume of comparative information about these countries, which is readily accessible to academics around the world using their own desk-top computers.

Moreover, access to huge international data-sets seems set to grow exponentially as a result of advances in 'E Science'. This is the capacity to transport huge volumes of digital data by means of 'the grid' – a very high powered international computer network. Developed by natural scientists, these technologies are now being harnessed by social scientists to make possible the advent of 'E Social Science'. It is now possible to begin to use such techniques for retrieving archived data, for example, – to capture historical reality in all its richness. Thus for example, in the UK the 'JISC' Digitization programme is making possible the translation of some 600 volumes of census reports relating to the British Isles covering the period from 1801 to 1933 which will be available to any researcher who wishes to access it. News stories dating back to 1896 and television newsreels from 1955 are also being made into a digital historical archive.

At present such projects are not focused directly on education but it is easy to see how the availability of huge volumes of digital data – whether numeric, pictorial or text-based – will transform our collective capacity to interrogate the reality of social life on a comparative basis. In due course, the availability of 'qualitudinal' surveys – longitudinal qualitative data-bases of aspects of social life in different countries – will complement the existing quantitative, longitudinal surveys which have long been the bedrock of epidemiological studies in public health and to an extent, in education.

Such developments make it possible to begin to imagine the advent of comparative studies of a quite different order of magnitude than in the past, with data-bases and associated search tools that begin to rival some of the most prestigious natural science installations such as the high speed particle collider at CERN in Switzerland that is provided by means of scientific collaboration between many nations. If it is now not too difficult to begin to envisage a future in which the collective capacity to do comparative studies will be vastly enhanced by the availability of huge, well-organized and textually

rich data-bases, complete with user-friendly interfaces. Such facilities are also likely to bring with them new methodological challenges in terms of data-management, data ownership and access, the protection of confidentiality and so on. As well as requiring much more sophisticated ethical and administrative protocols, the operation of such 'comparative laboratories' on a collaborative international basis presents quite new political and methodological challenges. This is already apparent in the attempts by the European Union to set up such a European Observatory for the social sciences (EHROS).

To take advantage of such developments it will be necessary for scholars in the field of comparative education, as in other comparative social science fields, to be highly trained professionals in *methodology*, as well as in their chosen subject of study, capable of working across other cultures and disciplines as a global community of researchers. As is increasingly being recognized, the pressing social problems and issues of our age are both global and complex, requiring an unprecedented degree of interdisciplinary and international collaboration. As I have suggested, one of these contemporary global issues, is the need to address the very substantial new challenges facing the world of education through the use of comparative methods that will permit a better understanding of learning in all its contexts and modes.

These methodological and organizational developments have the potential to take us a long way from the traditional territory of comparative education. They suggest the possibility of the collection and coordination of data concerning education and learning to become as sophisticated and coordinated internationally as is currently the case for other fields such as health or climate change whilst retaining the necessary depth and range of qualitative material that is essential to sustain the cultural integrity of the data. This has not typically been the case up to now for, as the following statement from the UK Economic and Social Research Council illustrates, even where substantial international and interdisciplinary coordination of data management has taken place:

[t]he heavy investment by international organizations such as The Council of Europe, Eurostat, the International Labour organization, the United Nations and the World Health Organisation in data mining and post hoc harmonization of national data, this has not been matched by a similar level of attention to methodology, methods training, research design and the research process among funders. As a result, many of the projects supported by international organisations are limited to series of parallel (noncomparable) studies. Frequently, national teams collect data about a specific phenomenon in their own countries without prior discussion of crucial methodological issues, such as the social construction of concepts in different cultural conditions and research communities national or ideological contexts. (Holmwood, 2005, p. 2)

It is increasingly being recognized that all social science is by definition global, and that the use of comparative methods therefore is in turn fundamental to social science. Historically, the vision of many comparative fields has been limited by discipline and scale and by a national focus. The potential of such studies has also been limited by a failure to work collaboratively and to be too content with a 'cottage-industry' approach in terms of funding, methodological sophistication and the provision of large-scale infrastructure.

Although comparative education has been characterized by some commendably ambitious attempts to increase its scale and impact, such as the PISA study referred to above, such international collaborations have been far from typical. Moreover, the political and methodological challenges inherent in such collaborations have inevitably led to limitations and compromises in the depth and comparability of the data collected.

Towards a Neo-Comparative Education

In this chapter, I have argued that with the new methodological possibilities that political and technological advances are now increasingly opening up it is time to engage in the collective challenge of ‘re-engineering’ comparative education. This does not simply mean the pursuit of richer, deeper, larger-scale and more collaborative studies. Nor does it mean the creation of sustained comparative ‘observatories’ or data laboratories housing data on a scale hitherto undreamed of in the world of social science yet accessible from the desk-top computer, important as both such contemporary developments promise to be. New technical and methodological opportunities such as these can only be of limited usefulness unless they are accompanied by a willingness to think through anew the questions that drive such data-gathering and analysis.

For, however sophisticated the technologies for data collection and management become, as far as the social sciences are concerned, there must also be provision for the more reflexive engagement of the researcher with context and culture. There is a fundamental difference between the natural sciences and the human sciences since, as Habgood (1998) has argued, the latter are fundamentally interpretive. The philosophical foundations of the human sciences, he suggests, are defined in terms:

which cannot exclude the role of the human mind in expressing intentions, generating meaning and discerning values. ... The human sciences seek for understanding through a process of interpretation and total lived experience of being human ... without allowing individual disciplines to obscure the complexity and interconnectedness of actual human existence (p. 6). ... But as we reflect on what we ourselves are, and on what our history has made us, all the disciplines are relevant because we stand at the point where they all meet, both as observers and as objects of study. (p. 10)

Comparative education has always been explicitly or implicitly reformative or, as Nicholas Hans famously put it ‘intentionally reformative’. The reason for undertaking comparative education studies has not typically been simply that of scholarly interest, though there is a place for this. Rather, as with most other branches of educational research, the goal historically has been to find ‘what works’ and to use such insights to inform educational policy-making and educational practice. Whilst few would want to quarrel with this broad aspiration as a prospective goal, in practice its pursuit rests on a judgement about what constitutes reform or improvement. In order to map out a journey, it is necessary to have a clear view of the destination. This in turn implies the

need for a root and branch examination of the epistemological foundations of what we now know as ‘comparative education’.

The key argument of this chapter has been that what we currently refer to as ‘comparative education’ needs to broaden its focus to embrace *learning of all kinds* as its central focus. I have suggested that the contemporary field is constrained by the conceptual constraints associated with modernist assumptions about educational delivery. Such concepts, which were the product of a very different time, remain an important and fruitful focus for comparative education study. However, as the world of education itself becomes subject to increasingly radical change, so, I have suggested, the centre of gravity for comparative education needs to shift towards a more central focus on learning rather than education per se. We need to begin to question whether the world of education in the future will need classrooms and schools, books and teachers, syllabuses and tests as we know them today, How will new technologies with their capacity for individualizing learning; for making it fun; for providing immediate feedback; and for being accessible at any time and in any place, impact on different cultures? What will be the balance of learning in and out of formal institutions, at home, school and work, at different ages and for different purposes? What kinds of learning will be most important? Will learning how to learn, for example, replace ‘learning that’ or ‘learning how’ as the key driver? Where will moral and spiritual learning figure compared to other kinds of curriculum content and skills development in the societies of the future?

On the answers to these and similar questions rests the legitimate focus for future comparative studies of education. In particular, I have suggested that the comparative education of the future will need to be capable of both framing and capturing the diversity of *learning* that goes well beyond what is conventionally encompassed in the term ‘education’ at the present time. The advent of this shift in the focus of study for comparative education happily coincides with the growing availability of much more powerful research tools for data collection and analysis. The capacity of these new tools to capture the rich complexity of daily life and to make such data widely available on an international basis offers, I suggest, an unprecedented opportunity for comparative education to upscale from a ‘cottage industry’ endeavour to that of a multinational corporation. It is to be hoped that in the future, large-scale and sustained international collaborations of highly trained teams will increasingly provide for the comprehensive study of learning, the scale of collaboration hitherto only associated with international, quantitative studies of achievement.

To the extent that it is able to develop such a capacity for interdisciplinary and qualitative studies of learning on a significant scale, comparative education is likely to move from being either the blunt tool of policy-makers on the one hand or the arcane scholarly endeavour of academics on the other, to being a powerful force for change in the way we think about education. I believe that such a ‘neo-comparative education’ that is centred on the processes of learning itself, can make a significant contribution to the urgently needed re-examination of the goals of education in the contemporary globalized world. Appropriately, (if ungrammatically), termed ‘comparative learnology’, this new orientation might be the first step in a scientific revolution.

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RECLAIMING A LOST LEGACY: THE HISTORICAL HUMANIST VISION IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Andreas M. Kazamias

Prologue

The history of comparative education in the second half of the twentieth century has been marked by periodic “systems crises”, in Alvin Gouldner’s meaning of the term. The historian can identify such “systems crises” in the late 1950s and early 1960s, in the mid-1970s and early 1980s, and in the late 1990s and the opening years of the new millennium. “The central implication of a crisis”, according to Gouldner, “is not that the ‘patient will die’, but rather that the system “will change in significant ways from its present of condition”, and that such change may produce “a basic metamorphosis in the total character” (Gouldner, 1970, p. 341). As a result of these critical episodes, comparative education may not have undergone “a metamorphosis of its total character”, but it changed in significant ways. One significant change has been the metamorphosis of comparative education from an essentially historical-philosophical-humanistic *episteme* to an essentially social scientific *episteme*. The concern of this chapter is twofold. First, it briefly examines critically the two varieties of comparative education as systems of thought or modes of inquiry and ways of knowing. The systems in question have drawn their theoretical insights and methodological approaches from the domains of ‘history’ and ‘social science’, and will be referred to as ‘historical comparative education’ and ‘scientific comparative education’ respectively. The second concern of this chapter is to make a case for another intellectual system, mode of inquiry and mode of knowing, or another variety of comparative education, which, drawing from both history and social science, avoids their respective limitations. This alternative system will be referred to as “comparative historical analysis”.

Historical-Philosophical-Humanistic Comparative Education

As examined in greater detail in the first section of this Handbook, the dominant approach to the study of comparative education until the 1950s, as exemplified by such notable comparative scholars as Michael Sadler, Isaac Kandel, Nicholas Hans and Robert Ulich, was what may be referred to as the “historical-philosophical-humanist” or the “historical-humanist-meliorist” approach. Other comparativists, for example, Brian Holmes has referred to the major representatives of this genre of comparative education as “historian

comparativists” or “historian comparative educationists” (Holmes, 1965, p. 64). In epigrammatic form, the main characteristics of the “historical-philosophical-humanistic” generation of comparative education discourse have included the following:

- Comparative education is a ‘human science’, as connoted and denoted by the Greek term *episteme* and the German *Wissenschaft*; it is not an empirical or positivistic social science. According to Hans, “comparative education as an academic discipline is just on the border line between the humanities and sciences and thus resembles philosophy, which is the formulation of both” (Hans, 1959, p. 299).
- Related to the above, comparative education, to use Karl Popper’s classification of the sciences, is a “historical science” not a “generalising social science”. As a “historical science” its epistemic focus is on the illumination and explanation of the particular, of specific events, not on universal historical laws (Popper, 1957, p. 254).
- Related to the above, comparative education is a *hermeneutic*, explanatory *episteme* that aims at historical interpretation. In one of the many statements on the nature of comparative education, Kandel has written:

The thesis that the study of education without a study of all the backgrounds which give meaning is to reduce it to absorption with techniques which, however useful, furnish only a narrow approach to the fundamental concepts and purposes of education. It is significant that the earliest and still the most living contributions to the philosophy of education deal with education not in isolation but in their political, social and ethical setting. ... The real contribution of the history of education lies in introducing the student to an appreciation of the relativity of education to the multiplicity of the forces in its contemporary setting. ... Comparative education, the study of current educational theories and practices as influenced by different backgrounds, is but the prolongation of the history of education into the present (Kandel, n.d., pp. 164–165).

And again:

[T]he study of comparative education as a method of clarifying and interpreting educational issues has its proper and rightful place by the side of the study of the history of education; to ignore these two methods of approach is to fail to recognize their value for building a philosophy of education and as a consequence to run into the danger of spinning educational Penelope’s webs (Kandel, n.d., p. 185).

- In so far as it deals with ‘education’, not just in the narrow sense of ‘schooling’ but in the broad sense of *paideia/culture*, comparative education’s main concern as a ‘human science’ should be with the ‘human being’, the *anthropos* (‘man’). It should, therefore, be *anthropocentric* (‘man-centred’). As such, it should be pervaded by a ‘humanistic’ philosophy, and it should be concerned with the great problems – political, social but also ethical – which ‘humankind’ faces.

In the 1960s, a period during which social science emerges as a hegemonic intellectual system, the historical-philosophical-humanistic discourse in comparative education, as indicated in Section One of this Handbook, was criticised by a new generation of scientifically minded comparativists, but also by revisionist historians. As a consequence,

the methodological, epistemological and *pari passu* the ideological trajectory of comparative education was veering towards the social scientific path.

Social Scientific Comparative Education

As with the historical-philosophical-humanist motif in comparative education, the social scientific motif that became dominant in the years following the first system crisis of this *episteme* in the 1960s is examined in great detail in the first section of this Handbook. And as with that motif, here I shall refer rather briefly to the distinguishing features of this genre of comparative education discourse and comment critically on it. It might be helpful at the outset to delineate some of the most important features of social science and the scientific method.

The ultimate purpose of the non-human sciences is prediction and control. In pursuing this purpose, scientists in the main formulate explicit hypotheses, test them in laboratories or other sites/contexts, and seek to establish generalisations or universal laws. While natural/physical scientists seek to establish universal laws concerning physical phenomena, social scientists attempt to do so with respect to social phenomena. Another feature of science is that the findings are subject to replication for purposes of confirmation or refutation. Furthermore, one of the essential concerns of the social scientist is explanation, that is, in addition to describing social phenomena, the social scientist is also interested in explaining why such phenomena are the way they are. But it should be noted here that ‘explanation’ in the empirical social sciences is different from historical explanations.

As a participant in the debates on the nature and scope of comparative education in the comparative education crisis of the 1960s (Kazamias, 1963), I cited Nadel’s method of “co-variations” as a good example of the comparative method as used in the social sciences. According to Nadel, variations of social phenomena are first observed, and then general uniformities or regularities are arrived at. Such correlations or co-variations are not causal connections; they are of the type: “X varies as Y does” or “when A occurs, B also occurs” (Nadel, 1951, pp. 222–226). Although I judged Nadel’s method of “co-variations” to be “an extremely valuable scheme” for research in comparative education, I also pointed out that it had certain “limitations” and “dangers” if not used carefully. “As is the case with most social ‘general laws’”, I wrote, “the ‘if A then B’ type of law cannot but be a limited one, for obviously the S(n) situations are limited”. Then I commented on the nature of “scientific laws” in the social sciences, particularly in sociology, which at the time informed comparative studies in education, particularly “functional sociology”. I then wrote:

In so far as sociology is a science, sociological laws must necessarily correspond to scientific laws with universal applicability and with explanatory and predictive powers. Some sociologists have indeed attempted ... to establish universal propositions or general laws of human behavior. However, as Barrington Moore has noted, it is safe to assert that ‘generalizations of social science nowhere approach the range and cogency of those in physics and chemistry (Kazamias, 1963, p. 391).

In subsequent assessments of the “functional sociological approach” to comparative education, I wrote:

The structural-functional perspective of the '60s has however: a) resulted in reductionist tendencies; b) restricted the types of questions raised; c) forced comparative educators into a conservative ideology regarding schools; and d) led them to overlook important aspects of educational change (Kazamias, 1972, p. 408).

Furthermore: "Structural-functionalism, as a framework to analyze and interpret society and social changes has been assessed as consensus-oriented, politically conservative, and a historical" (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977, p. 162). In the same vein, Benjamin Barber averred:

Despite its vaunted neutrality, functionalism is pervaded by instrumental values such as stability (homeostasis) and efficiency ('good functioning' per se) that give it a static and politically conservative temper ... at the same time, by refusing to deal frontally with categorical purposes and human projects, functionalism depoliticizes its subject-matter and trivializes its contents (Barber, 1972, pp. 430, 435).

Another variant of scientific comparative education was advocated by positivistic social scientists, the most prominent of whom were Harold Noah and Max Eckstein of Columbia University and George Psacharopoulos, formerly of the London School of Economics and later of the World Bank. As I wrote elsewhere:

Noah and Eckstein, two influential comparativists, advocated a scientific comparative education that would conform to all the epistemological and methodological accoutrements of what Benjamin Barber had called 'methodologism' and we had then called 'methodological empiricism, namely, hypothesis formation and hypothesis testing, verification, control, scientific explanation, prediction, quantification, positivism and theory construction (Kazamias, 2001, p. 441).

Some of the contemporary comparativists, including this writer, were critical of the emerging social scientific discourse in comparative education, especially the positivist motif. Among other things, we were critical of the emergent scientific paradigms for being "ahistorical". Also, as noted above, I was critical of the traditional historical-philosophical-humanistic approach. Instead, I called for a "revisionist historical approach, one that would combine history with social science" (Kazamias, 1961, 1963). I referred to this approach as "comparative historical analysis", one that would construct a comparative historical educational *episteme* akin to comparative history and comparative historical sociology.

Comparative History, Comparative Historical Sociology, and Comparative Historical Education

Comparative history, according to Marc Bloch, the historian of the French Annales School of historiography, is a purely scientific discipline, oriented towards knowledge and not towards practical results. History, Bloch further notes, "is animated not by the

love of the past, but by a passion for the present; it is this faculty of understanding the living [that] is, in very truth, the master quality of the historian” (Bloch, 1964, p. 43; Larsen, 2001). And in the same epistemological vein, the eminent Max Weber has noted that comparative history uses the comparative method as a tool of dealing with explanation of a given historical problem.

Looking at comparative history more from a sociological, that is, a social scientific rather than a historical perspective, Theda Skocpol, a comparative historical sociologist, noted that there are at least three variants of comparative history:

Some comparative histories, such as the *Rebellious Century. 1830–1930*, by Louise and Richard Tilly, are meant to show that a particular general sociological model holds across different national contexts. Other studies, such as Reinhard Bendix’s *Nation-Building and Citizenship* and Perry Anderson’s *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, use comparisons primarily to bring out contrasts among nations or civilizations taken as synthetic wholes. But there is still a third version of comparative history – which I am here labeling the method of comparative historical analysis – in which the overriding intent is to develop, test, and refine causal, explanatory hypotheses about events or structures integral to macro-units such as nation-states (Skocpol, 1974, p. 36).

And again, from the same perspective, by Skocpol and Somers:

[C]omparative history serves as an ancillary mode of theoretical demonstration. Historical instances are juxtaposed to demonstrate that the theoretical arguments apply convincingly to multiple cases that ought to fit if the theory in question is indeed valid ... The point of the comparison is to assert a similarity among the cases – similarity, in terms of the common applicability of the overall theoretical arguments that ... (is) presenting.

And again,

[I]t is characteristic of all works of parallel comparative history to elaborate theoretical models and hypotheses before turning to historical case illustrations (Skocpol & Somers, 1980).

These references highlight quintessential elements of comparative history that would inhere in a reinvented historically oriented *episteme* of comparative education. One is the element of explanation and interpretation for the purpose of understanding any aspect of the educational enterprise. This *epistemic* element alone differentiates the comparative historical approach to the field from other prevalent approaches, particularly from the positivistic scientific paradigms. It also places this type of comparative analysis in the category of the interpretive-explanatory rather than the predictive sciences. There is a great difference between these two modes of comparative study, an elaboration of which is beyond the scope of this chapter. In other words, comparative historical analysis deals with explanation and interpretation rather than prediction. It is a retrospective rather than a prospective analysis, in the sense that it begins with

particular historical conditions, causes if you like, that are related to the system/event under consideration.

The other quintessential element of comparative history that is implied above, that would be germane to a reinvented historical approach to comparative education is the use of concepts, models and theory in the comparative analysis of educational phenomena. Most historians are not theoretical, but most comparative historians use to a degree more or less theoretical insights from other disciplines. Most social scientists and sociologists, however, are theoretical. Sociologically oriented historical comparativists, with varying degrees of emphasis on the generality of theory, seek to combine social theory with historical analysis and interpretation.

In some such studies, for example, Neil Smelser's *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution*, specific historical patterns, structures, institutions or processes are approached, analysed or illuminated in terms of, or as illustrations of explicit, formal conceptual models drawn deductively from sociological theoretical traditions. Preoccupation with an explicit conceptual model, likewise deduced from sociological theory (in this case a combination of functionalism and Marxism), characterises also Immanuel Wallerstein's "world system" approach as applied in his book *Modern World System*. The difference between these two approaches is the generality of the theory. Smelser formulates a middle-range theory of social change, while Wallerstein offers a model with universal applicability, purporting to explain global developments from the Neolithic Revolution to recent times.

In still other forms of comparative history, theories (e.g., functionalism, Marxism, modernisation, postcolonialism, or other types), or formal conceptual models may not be explicitly invoked or used. Instead, however, there is recourse to concepts of limited or more general applicability (e.g., 'class', 'capitalism', 'power', 'conflict', 'violence', 'reproduction', 'dependence', 'democratisation', 'globalisation', 'systematisation' and 'segmentation'), which provide the 'lenses', or the medium to select, organise and interpret the historical material.

Most historically oriented and theoretically or, conceptually minded comparative historians generally avoid the use of comprehensive theories of the type noted above. One species of the theoretically minded comparative historians is what has been called the "eclectic user" described as follows:

This scholar is interested in theory but can't find a comprehensive theory that is fully satisfying. So, the 'eclectic user' puts together different theoretical insights wherever they seem to apply, or wherever they help illuminate a particular historical situation. Sometimes an eclectic historian will be very explicit about eclecticism and even try out different theories on the same set of historical data. (Kaestle, 1984)

There have been conspicuously few historically oriented comparative educational studies that have used theory either in the systematic comprehensive sense, or in the 'eclectic' sense. Among these few, the following are noteworthy:

Margaret Archer, *Social Origins of Educational Systems* (1979).
Andy Green, *Education and State Formation* (1990).

- Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (1965).
- Andreas Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey* (1966).
- Andreas Kazamias, "Transfer and Modernity in Greek and Turkish Education", in A. M. Kazamias & E. H. Epstein (Eds.), *Schools in Transition* (1968).
- Kazamias, A. M., & Massialas, B. G., *Tradition and Change in Education: A Comparative Study*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ. (1965).
- Muller, D., Ringer, F., & Simon, B., *The Rise of the Modern Educational System* (1989).
- Carnoy Martin, *Education and Cultural Imperialism* (1974).
- Carnoy Martin, & Joel Samoff, *Education and Social Transition in the Third World* (1990).
- Shipman M. D., *Education and Modernisation* (1971).
- Michalina Vaughan & Margaret S. Archer, *Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France, 1789–1848* (1971).

Another characteristic of comparative historical studies is that such enquiries belong more to the qualitative than to the quantitative research tradition, which, among other things, involves comparisons of configurations. These aspects of the comparative historical epistemological and methodological perspective were well stated by Charles C. Ragin in his book *The Comparative Method* (1987) as follows:

Not only is the qualitative tradition oriented toward cases wholes as configurations, but it also tends to be historically interpretive; historically oriented interpretive work attempts to account for specific historical outcomes or sets of comparable outcomes or processes chosen for study because of their significance for current institutional arrangements or for social life in general. Typically, such work seeks to make sense out of different cases by piecing evidence together in a manner sensitive to chronology and by offering limited historical generalisations that are both objectively possible and cognizant of enabling conditions and limiting means – of context.

Ragin further explains:

Most comparativists, especially those who are qualitatively oriented, also seek to interpret specific experiences and trajectories of specific countries (or categories of countries). That is, they are interested in the cases themselves, their different historical experiences in particular, not simply in relations between variables characterizing broad categories of cases (Ragin, 1987, pp. 3–6).

The last point made by Ragin above points to yet another and final for our purposes here, quintessential element of historical comparative educational studies. From our perspective, the comparative historian is interested in interpreting and illuminating specific experiences and trajectories, i.e., in the particular cases themselves. In this respect also, the comparative historical approach to education differs from the social scientific variants as presented above, especially the methodological-empirical and the world systems ones.

The historical comparative studies cited above are examples of comparative historical research that is carried out mostly at the macro level of sociocultural analysis. I should like to add here that there are other noteworthy historical comparative studies that examine synchronically educational problems and issues at the micro level, and diachronically aspects and problems of education in the same society. Also there are studies focusing on one society, a form of historical comparative education demonstrated in A. Sweeting's study of Hong Kong (Sweeting, 1999).

Re-Inventing the Historical Humanist Vision in Comparative Education

In arguing for the reclamation of the disappearing historical legacy in comparative education, I have elsewhere emphasised that history is also a humanistic *episteme*: “it deals with the human condition, with human beings as subjects and not as commodities or numbers, with human cultures as wholes and not narrowly as economic cultures, and with human values, in short with humanistic and humanizing knowledge, in the broad meaning of the term” (Kazamias, 2001, p. 447). And in my critical comments above, I pointed out that the historical-philosophical-humanistic discourse of comparative education, was pervaded by a humanist philosophy and was concerned with the great problems – political, social and ethical – that mankind faces.

Reclaiming the humanistic element in comparative education, is, in my opinion, also implied in Patricia Broadfoot's vision of a “neo-comparative education”. In her words:

We need to recongnise that there is an implicit value position in any conceptualisation of a problem and in the choice of method to study it. Comparative educationists therefore need to be willing to engage in fundamental debates about the nature of ‘the good life’ and about the role of education in relation to this in a world where, increasingly, nothing can be taken for granted. In our unique role that enables us to straddle cultures and countries, perspectives and topics, we have a responsibility to carry the debate beyond the discussion of means alone, and towards ends (Broadfoot, 1999, pp. 228–229).

Epilogue

Recently, some comparativists, older players like Rolland Paulston, Max Eckstein, Robert Cowen, Joe Farrell, Wolfgang Mitter, Jurgen Schriewer, Val Rust, Robert Arnove and Andreas Kazamias, and newer ones like Patricia Broadfoot, Vandra Masemann, Nelly Stromquist, Anthony Welch, Francisco Ramirez, and Carlos Torres to name a few, have taken the challenges of the onset of the new millennium and of the postmodern turn in sociocultural and politico-educational theorising/thinking as an opportunity to both reflect upon the intellectual tradition of comparative education and to engage actively in charting new epistemological and methodological trajectories

or paradigms. In the new era of late modernity and even postmodernity, the stage is being set for the performance of a new dramaturgical act in the multifaceted *protean episteme* of comparative education. At the 2001 Washington, D.C. conference of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), Marianne Larsen, a young comparativist, instructed us and the larger community of comparative educators in these words:

At the 2000 CIES Conference, Rolland Paulston encouraged us to use our imaginations to envision new spatial, visual, and discursive forms of truth, while Andreas Kazamias proclaimed that we needed to reinvent the historical in comparative education so that we can better understand the world. While we may initially conclude that these two approaches are completely divergent, this is not entirely the case. Within the wider discussions about the future of comparative education, there are multiple methodological and epistemological choices for all comparative researchers. We have much to gain from challenging the barriers that limit wider debate and dialogue. Comparative education could benefit from both reinventing our past tradition of historical research, while imaginatively adopting the pluralistic stance, multi-interpretive strategies and general incredulity towards totalizing meta-narratives that post-modernism brings to the social scientific tradition (Larsen, 2001).

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THEN AND NOW: UNIT IDEAS AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Robert Cowen

Introduction

We have never seriously developed, in comparative education, comparative interpretations of the educational processes patterned by tyranny, war, or revolution. Why not? We do not have a comparative education which offers comparative understandings of educational processes of city states (whether Italian or Greek). Why not? We have lots of narratives about education in small states. Have we ever aspired to a comparative education of big states? We have some analyses of colonialism and its educational patterns. We have nothing serious and comparative on empires. Why not?

In other words, we have only seen some social spaces, only some social times, and only some political processes. Are there any ways to understand that? What have been our rules of epistemic order and what social processes have helped to frame them and our shifting agendas of academic attention? And now – what might we worry about, other than the fact that there are simply not enough people to do the work that needs to be done.

Then and Now

There were once some simple stabilities, comforting certainties, in comparative education: there were methodologies. In London, it was wise, as an MA student, to know your positivist science (bad) from your hypothetico-deductive science (good). Overall, methodologies served as a vital exclusionary principle: knowledge of that literature distinguished comparative educationists from other academic tribes (such as sociologists).

There was a second certainty in comparative education in the mid-1960s: all comparative educationists would acquire strong area-specific knowledge about areas in which they did not live. They would look outwards, for example, to Eastern Europe and the USSR, or to France and Germany, or to Japan or to China. Ideally, that meant residence there, the acquisition of the relevant languages, and a delight in knowing the foreign culture. Thus the autobiographical capital of one expatriate generation of comparative educationists (Bereday, Hans, Kandel, Lauwerys, and so on) was made into the expected, routinised, institutionally transmitted, intellectual capital of the next generation. These themes can be traced in the recommendations of George Bereday

(1964) in Teachers College Columbia for the training of doctoral students and in the 'comparative education' staffing of that institution at its peak. In the comparative education department in London the same policy of recruiting area specialists – normally an epistemic disaster – was used in the same time period. Overall, however gained (and it might be gained through a first degree in languages or in experiences as a member of the Armed Forces and it still helped to be 'foreign' and an immigrant), area-specific knowledge of 'foreign' places was a vital exclusionary principle: it was knowledge which distinguished comparative educationists from other academic tribes (such as sociologists).

The consequence of these two patterns was quite extraordinary. Even the golden glow of memory, and the genuine pleasure I had as a student in learning, thinking, and talking about France and Japan or the USSR or the USA or about philosophies of science and about methodologies cannot hide how intellectually dull was the literature that was being produced. Of course – to criticise only friends – Nigel Grant's well-written book on the USSR (1968) was longer and more detailed than Janusz Tomiak's subsequent book (1972) on the same place, but it was and is difficult to find a sustained intellectual argument in either text. W. D. Hall's books on France (1965, 1976) were extremely well informed, but what was their theoretical argument? Such books were among the best of their kind, but they were books of narrative. They constituted a sort of comparative education waiting-to-happen, the nadir of which was probably the effort to put together standardised descriptions of educational systems in particular regions, with some comments on social context (McLean & Cowen, 1983).

The 'Anglo-Saxon' methodological literature was also a distraction from the important task of creating a comparative education with a complex intellectual problematic. The methodological literature took up a lot of time and journal space – in a period when there were very few persons specialising in comparative education. The methodological debate also constructed a sort of comparative education-in-waiting. However, what was being waited for never showed up. Comparative education had one of its discontinuities.

Nevertheless in the mid-1960s the field of study, to define itself inside the university (in places such as the USA, Canada, the UK, and Australia), needed to offer apparently distinctive methodological approaches at a time of severe competition for prestige and university space between the philosophy of education, the history of education, sociology of education and psychology – the so-called foundations of education (Cowen, 1982). When the people in comparative education were from all over the place (literally and also) in terms of their original academic disciplines there was apparently, as measured by the flurry of publication (Fraser, 1964; Brickman, 1966; Fraser & Brickman, 1968; Hausmann, 1967; Noah & Eckstein, 1969), a need 'to have a history' and to have specialist methodologies.

As a crucial caveat, it should again be noted that the full comparative history of comparative education has not yet been written. So, later, it would be important to trace the ways in which these propositions were not true even of, say, France, the Nordic countries, Italy, Spain, and Germany (and of course Japan and South Korea, China and the USSR). In much of Europe, and certainly in West Germany, the internal

sociology of the university and the philosophic grounding of 'educational studies' were producing a different academic tradition in comparative education (Mitter, Rust, in these volumes) although the German agenda of external attention (its 'area-studies') rapidly followed political lines of power. Both propositions are true for East Germany too, of course, for different reasons.

As it happened, while the English-speaking field of study was reinventing itself around its new histories and its new approaches, there was a rapid shift in the 'reading of the global'.

Comparative education (as in West Germany) was suddenly being re-shaped by new lines of international power and foreign policy and the availability of research funding. That changed what was studied and researched: Latin America, China, Japan, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa became newly salient. There was international competition for international influence, not least in Africa, the Middle East, and in the Indian subcontinent. In the Institute of Education in London, for example, changing epistemic labels reflected changing international politics: the former 'Colonial Department' was replaced by 'education in tropical areas' which rather rapidly mutated into 'education in developing countries'. Later, this labelling changed again, at least twice.

More generally, the word 'international' was not only taken into departmental titles – as happened off and on in the Institute of Education in London – but also into professional discourse as a definer of a field of action and influence. Fascinatingly, this occurred more and more in the titles of more and more professional Societies (Manzon & Bray, 2007).

Given those sharpened foreign politics, the shift into 'education and development', and the obvious ability to describe specific cultural contexts and educational patterns, and its new pretensions to scientific status, 'comparative education' was in a better position to make claims for university resources – but the price was high.

First – and it took some time for the epistemic consequences to become clear – 'comparative and international' education was politically positioned in terms of US and British foreign policy very differently from the earlier academic and pedagogically centred study of comparative education in the English-speaking world in universities such as La Trobe University in Melbourne, some Canadian universities, and in a few universities in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

Second, this new political context – and the substantive 'research' agenda derived from international politics, the involvement of governments in 'development', and the sharper *political* competition (Fraser, 1965) for international students – highlighted a strange *lacuna*: there was no clear, agreed, intellectual agenda of attention of any theoretical complexity within English-speaking academic comparative education itself. The plea by Noah (in 1974) to pursue 'loose fish' was extraordinarily revealing.

Third, there was very little work being published, apart from some short and very good papers, which combined theoretical and conceptual clarity with a comparative interpretation; in other words, there were few papers being published that were deliberately theory-oriented and these were mostly by sociologists, including R. H. Turner (1964) analysing sponsored and contest mobility; Earl Hopper (1971) typologising educational systems; and several of the essays in Halsey, Floud and Anderson (1961)

interpreting the apparent imperatives in the relation of industrial economies to educational systems. These essays helped to begin to put the narrative genie – the infinitely extendable project of writing up accounts of specific local contexts – back into its bottle (for the time being), and the methodological debate was interrupted by a shift in intellectual attention marked by the writings of Carnoy (1974) on cultural imperialism, Altbach and Kelly (1978) on colonialism, and finally Robert Arnove (1980) in a serious theoretical essay discussing world systems analysis.

Clearly, changes were occurring in comparative education but some of the motifs were coming from ‘outside’. There were at least four such ‘outside’ influences.

Firstly, some ideas were appearing that had not normally been utilised in comparative education (in North America and in Western Europe) and those ideas included Marxism and inspired variations on it by, for example, Paulo Freire. There was a Marxist motif in the writings on colonialism which were themselves an anticipatory grace note on the important question raised by Arnove (1980) about a comparative education which looked at a hierarchical international world of power. Secondly, and as indicated already, some of the best comparative writing of the period was coming from sociologists. For example, Turner and Hopper were analysing comparatively the social contextualisation of ambition – a theme not normally explicitly explored (then) in the comparative education literature. Thirdly, there was a flurry of comparative work from historians of education. This again was a body of work offered by persons whose self-identification was from outside of comparative education. The scholars included Wilkinson (1964, 1969), Vaughan and Archer (1971), Ringer (1979), and Scotford-Archer (1979). The fourth influence – also external to comparative education unless some work by Kazamias on Turkey (1966) is included here – was the analyses of the collapse of the social structures of agrarian societies with the ‘advance’ of modernisation, construed sociologically, historically, comparatively and superbly by scholars such as Skocpol (1979) as social revolutions. There was also excellent work being done on ‘black swan’ countries whose histories contradicted conventional modernisation theory – for example, by Beasley (1972, 1975) and Hall and Beardsley (1965) on Japan.

Thus, ‘comparative education’ was revitalised intellectually from ‘outside’ in the sense that it was for the first time sensitive to a range of theories of *dependencia* from Latin America, taken up and reworked in North America. A new generation of scholars who had experienced the 1968 student movement reconfigured colonialism: this was now no longer to be seen as a slightly unfortunate social fact which had existed before seriously liberal and theoretically informed education and development projects could begin (or worse, be planned) for the ‘Third World’. Now finally, within comparative education, colonialism was interpreted as a major social and historical force, which had shaped countries and educational systems and identities, and these forces and their consequences needed sustained, theoretical, comparative exploration. In parallel, the themes of revolution and the sociological and historical shifts into modernity, beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth were becoming available for comparative exploration – by comparative educationists, that is. Up to this point the literature of comparative education had been a little thin on revolutions – although, as usual, good narrative historical accounts can be found (Barnard, 1969; or even – though this was not the main point of his text – Passin, 1965). The insertion

of colonialism and world systems analysis (of the kind which Arnove was outlining) was very promising in the sense that such perspectives would, almost axiomatically, address international political, economic, and educational relations simultaneously.

These, then, were all clear intellectual and theoretical re-positionings – coming from ‘outside’ – of what would count as good work in comparative education. What was being rejected?

Assumptions about the social universe and the purpose of comparative education included four ‘rules of order’ which had shaped the field in its academic discourses in the 1950s and most of the 1960s – as well as covertly affecting most of the methodological discourse and shaping the mid-Atlantic project of the *(World) Yearbooks of Education* of that period. The rules of epistemic order included construing time as an arrow; educational reform as a series of gradualist linearities; social and educational systems as evolving equilibria; and the assumption that the purpose of comparative education was to reform educational systems.

Gradually all of these assumptions fractured in academic comparative education (if not in ‘international’ education) in the subsequent decade, partly as a result of the intellectual challenges identified above. These challenges disturbed the low level problematique that comparative education had been content to busy itself with: describing educational systems and educational policy and ‘contextual dynamics’; noting ‘similarities and differences’; and of course rehearsing and reprising its ‘methodological moment’: which in retrospect and at first glance seems to be merely a moment of slightly fractious discussions between people of wildly different cultural and disciplinary backgrounds about how to understand what (if it was to be called ‘comparative education’).

These outside influences helped to re-balance the agenda – the triad of what I called earlier in these volumes ‘transfer, translation and transformation’. This triad of relations was being made freshly visible (not least through the theme of colonialism). However, our concern with the triad was much longer and deeper: the Prussian elementary school, of interest so long ago, was ‘comparative’ in that sense. It too had raised the issues of transfer, translation, and transformation. But that agenda had become temporarily obscured, not least by the ways in which Jullien and Sadler had been interpreted as ‘the histories’ of the field were being constructed.

Primarily the outside influences sketched above were intellectual, but it should also be noted that they affected the field at a time when there were major shifts in world politics: the Cold War was changing shape and constructing cultural and economic and political competition in terms of what would now perhaps be called ‘soft power’ in parts of East Asia, notably Japan, and Korea, and in Africa, and in much of Latin America. ‘Satellite or proxy wars’ (if such technical terms may be used of wars which killed so many people) were becoming a visible pattern; and the Vietnam War itself was achieving major international visibility.

These major political changes suggested a re-reading of the global which began to redefine ‘comparative education’. Partly as a consequence (and occasionally as a scandalous consequence) academics were being newly used by Western, liberal, and democratically elected governments as applied social scientists. This process began to include ‘comparative and international’ educationists in increasing numbers.

Thus the breakout from an almost compulsive concern with methodology and the interminable descriptions of context – which in my view followed from a highly ideological overvaluation of the ‘living spirit’ aspect of the problematique which Sadler (Higginson, 1979) had posed in his short essay on ‘how far can we learn anything of practical value’ – was through the double-disturbance of new epistemological options and a different reading of the global. The theme of colonialism in that sense was the symbolic marker of a major shift in the field – but the field was pulled into new patterns of research and agendas of intellectual attention and anxiety not merely by an epistemic shift but also by political shifts.

Now and Then

Overall, it can be suggested that this happens – ‘now and then’, to borrow a vernacular expression – in comparative education. That of course raises the question of when and why ‘now and then’ occur. And it raises another problem – these jumps, or irregularities look at first as if they fracture the field: they must be abnormal because these moments are when our Shameful Discontinuities occur and clearly discontinuities are bad (are they not?).

It might be more analytically useful to suggest that discontinuities are productive and necessary. Not only will they happen anyway (the social world changes faster than our theorisations of it), but they are also very stimulating – as has just been argued. The discontinuities mark a double-shift: a shift in *episteme* which is our normal concern, the thing we normally discuss; and a shift in international politics which we also talk about professionally – but which we rarely snap analytically together with the changes in epistemic assumptions within the field.

In other words, the interpretative argument which is being proposed here is that comparative education and its re-stimulation and rebirths – and thus its new potentials – are far from being Shameful Discontinuities which are a special problem for us in comparative education. Rather, they are analytically understandable.

Typically, however, we see our history and ourselves in a rather peculiar way. Even noting that new generations of scholars have to make intellectual room for themselves, we have in comparative education probably gone too far in so frequently contrasting two singularities – a ‘before’ and an ‘after’. One way and another, we have invented quite a range of labels to identify a number of proposed singularities. The process began early with the invention of categories such as ‘the precursors’ (Noah & Eckstein, 1969). We still find the shifts from one singularity to another to be puzzling, and we tend to anguish about the discontinuities – one marker of which is, at such moments of bewilderment, the creation of ‘state of the art’ issues of the journals – unless, that is, a millennium is immediately at hand. The markers may also include new claims about the importance of a missing perspective (e.g., sociology or anthropology or feminism or postmodernism), there will be *cris de cœur* in opposition or in reproof, and the field may ‘read the global’ and think about itself in a fresh way. However, it is probably important to emphasise that an epistemic claim is not in itself sufficient – academics in particular make new epistemic claims all the time. The double-shift of new epistemic claims and of a new reading of the international political economy is necessary.

Hypothetically (again, given the absence of a comparative history of comparative education) it can be suggested that – with strong local variation such as in Canada, mainland China, Germany, and South Africa where either the sociology of university knowledge was different or there were different political challenges – there have been three such moments since 1945.

One has already been illustrated to give some sense of the complexity of what would have to be traced in looking at the shift away from concern for methodologies and narratives about ‘context’ (in Edmund King’s vocabulary, ‘cultural envelopes’), into a concern for colonialism, the histories and sociologies of societies moving from feudalism to various forms of ‘modernity’, and world systems perspectives. It was suggested earlier that these epistemic disturbances were also affected by major international political events, such as the ways in which the Cold War took shape sociologically, in new patterns of international political relations – to be fought by proxy (and brutally) in some places and softly, by cultural and educational policies, in others.

The Second Discontinuity – another set of ‘outside’ possibilities or potential influences – was drawn to the attention of comparative educationists particularly by Val Rust’s (1991) very alert list of things that might define the beginnings of postmodern moments in the field of study. Outside of comparative education, multiple epistemic claims were on offer for fresh ways to think. Rust traces those claims well: the eclectic surface structure of Rust’s article represents accurately the astonishing eclecticism of the epistemic options which were being discussed ‘outside’ of comparative education.

However, the early 1990s were also a moment marked by a massive historical shift in contemporary power structures, notably in Europe, and the emergence of new forms of ‘state’ – including regional ‘states’ and a new salience for post-socialist states (Birzea, 1994; Karsten & Majoor, 1994; Mauch & Sabloff, 1995; Sting & Wolf, 1994). In other words, new state formations – including the European Union – were rapidly identified as a normal puzzle of the field, and the reading of the global and the new political shifts in Europe rendered temporarily invisible some of the epistemic claims within the range that Rust had identified.

The Third Discontinuity might, in a full (future) analysis, be identified as the moment when the politics of the economic changes termed ‘globalisation’ overlapped with the mature politics of neo-liberalism by the mid-1990s (OECD, 1996, 1996a). Whilst these shifts in the international political economy were being analysed, the second, and of course later, part of the double-shift – the epistemic competition took place.

There were two very different claims. One was that it is a rationalised world of effective and efficient schooling, of measurement and evaluation – even a world in which educational systems should be replaced by skill-formation systems. Thus the correct way forward for comparative education would be to strengthen empirical research that collects robust and relevant data of especial use to policy-makers. These motifs are extremely well explored, with a sharp critical sense, in the recent *World Yearbook* on educational research and policy and steering the knowledge based economy (Ozga, Seddon & Popkewitz, 2006); and more briefly in Hartley (2004) and in St Clair and Belzer (2007).

There was also a clear and strong counterclaim which drew from a major academic literature and new thinking within educational studies and comparative education: that

it is a postmodern world (e.g., Edwards & Usher, 2000) and postmodern approaches are the way forward for comparative education (e.g., Ninnis & Mehta, 2004).

Of course there are important caveats to be made about ‘a discontinuity’, any discontinuity – shameful or otherwise. As the history of heresies tends to show (viewed either from the perspective of the heretics or from the perspective of whichever is the true church at the time) things do not just stop. And then totally change. There are routine continuities. The excellent work of the historians who were thinking comparatively is one example, as well as continuing claims about the importance of an historical perspective. That work continues in the writing of Muller and colleagues (1987), Andy Green (1990), and the strongly argued themes of Kazamias (2001). Similarly, continuing concerns for identity are easily identifiable not merely in the cultural motifs of the writers from within the London school of comparative education (Lauwerys, 1965) but, for example, in the later and original thinking about comparative education and the editorial decisions of Burns and Welch (1992), in the ‘colonial’ literature (Mangan, 1993), and in the excellent analysis of Fortna (2000) which is remarkably good in that it offers a grasp of the relationships between social structures, history, and educated identity. These questions of identity included, very powerfully, the theme of gender (see Stromquist in these volumes) and knowledge and legitimacy and class and the State (Welch, 1992, 1993). There were even early questions about comparative education as an applied science (Cowen, 1973) and later ones about methodology (Holmes, 1981).

And So?

And so – it would seem in 2007 – we are yet again in a discontinuity. We not only have a double-shift: clear epistemic claims (Ninnis & Burnett, 2003) but also a change in the international political economy and how that is ‘read’ (Coulby, Cowen & Jones, 2000; Dale & Roberston, 2005). We also have ‘markers’ of something being wrong: strange *lacunae* have been noted (Cook, Hite & Epstein, 2004) and at least one very clear *cri de cœur* has been offered (Epstein & Carroll, 2005). We have a moment, in other words, reminiscent of the moment mentioned earlier when Harold Noah expounded his theory of ‘fast fish and loose fish’, and of the other moment not mentioned earlier when Psacharopoulos (1990) pointed out the futility and irresponsibility of thinking vague thoughts when comparative education could be rooted in the real world. His real world, that is.

I personally do think we are in a moment of what I am calling a ‘discontinuity’ (although obviously the evidence is still emerging, not least in the literature which is coming out in the journals). However, I think this current ‘discontinuity’ contains an interesting reversal in our normal sense of (and disappointment in) ourselves.

Currently, it may be worth stressing that comparative education is confident as an ‘applied science’ – though it should not be (Cowen, 2006) – and a bit anxious about its epistemic identity when, it will now be argued, it should not be.

To take the argument forward, where might we start, other than by re-reading almost all the chapters in these volumes? Or by noting that intellectual work in the field

of study has become more exciting than it has been for some time (e.g., Arnové & Torres, 2003; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Charle, Schriewer & Wagner, 2004; Coulby & Zambeta, 2005; Dale & Roberston, 2005; Jones, 2007; Paulston, 1999 [reprinted in these volumes]; Ninnes & Mehta, 2004; Nóvoa & Lawn, 2002; Ozga, Seddon & Popkewitz, 2006; Phillips & Ochs, 2004; Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2006; Schriewer, 2006; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

We could start with my cliché (though I hasten to add it was not a cliché when I first wrote it) that there are several comparative educations. We still have, for example, a ‘comparative education’ of solutions offered by agencies such as the OECD or the World Bank; a comparative education of international evaluation – IEA studies and PISA and the effective and efficient schools movement is not yet dead; a ‘comparative education’ of the politically sanctified or politically correct dichotomised binaries (traditional/modern; developed/developing; capitalist/socialist; East/West; North/South); and a specialist and good ‘comparative higher education’ literature.

Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest what is rarely suggested – that there are some basic and relatively invisible assumptions which frame much of the academically driven comparative education in any given time period. The ‘normal-puzzles’ of any one time period vary, but there are certain basic themes which all scholars in comparative education have explored over a long time period: there is a surprisingly similar deep agenda.

In other words, I am suggesting that academically driven, university-based, forms of comparative education with whose literature we typically concern ourselves is focused around a rolling and shifting agenda but that this agenda alters within and around a constellation of core ideas.

It is these core ideas in the field of study which almost unite it – and which also permit an understanding of its little tectonic plate shifts, what I have called here its discontinuities. The discontinuities occur within a basic frame of ‘unit ideas’ used in comparative education. (I acknowledge with pleasure that the phrase ‘unit ideas’ is taken from Robert Nisbet (1967) and his brilliant book *The Sociological Tradition*.)

I have suggested elsewhere (Cowen, 2002) that the unit ideas of comparative education are:

- Space
- Time
- The State
- Educational system
- Educated identity
- Social context
- Transfer
- Praxis

What happens at any particular moment is that one or a couple of these unit ideas become almost invisible.

For example, when I wrote about ‘time’ in comparative education in the early 1980s (Cowen, 1982) the issue of concepts of time was almost invisible except for some remarkable thinking in sociology (Martins, 1974). Comparative educationists did not

do time (they did space). Historians ‘did time’ (to borrow a phrase): time was part of their work agenda. Now it has become very easy to trace concepts of time in the literature (Cowen, 1998, 2002) and there has been an explosion of concern for time and space as a major theoretical problematique in comparative education – see illustratively Sobe and Fischer (and the literature they cite) on space-time in these volumes.

It is possible to work through each of the ‘unit ideas’ showing how each of the concepts has been defined in the past and how our use of the concepts has trapped us into certain kinds of work or certain perspectives – although things are loosening up rapidly. For example, the concept of ‘the State’ in comparative education from its naive treatment in the inter-war and post-1945-war literature has been shaken by post-structuralist perspectives – and the obvious fact of the growth of regional forms of governance. The theme of ‘empire’ (as a political formation) is attracting new visibility in the historical and social sciences – and attention has recently been given to global forms of governance (Jones, 2007). The theme of a ‘market state’ is also almost certainly worth a full exploration (Bobbitt, 2003).

Similarly, I earlier suggested (in one of the short editorials in these volumes) that the concept of ‘educational system’ had helped to trap us into a modernist comparative education that implicitly ruled out explorations of education in the city states of Italy; or the education of the courtier in eighteenth-century France or in Tokugawa Japan; or a comparative analysis of Athens and Sparta and what I would call their ‘educational Rosettas’; or the education of elites and the social use of what is too casually called a *lingua franca* – Latin – in the Roman Empire and afterwards (Heather, 2005; Waquet, 2001). What is required, of course, is to rethink the concept of ‘educational system’ and the assumption that our praxis is to reform such systems. We thus, by extension and immediately, broaden the range of ‘states’ – the political formations – which we think of as worthy of attention. For example, our comparative education is peculiarly limited in another astonishing way – we developed no comparative education theorisation which dealt with tyrants and tyranny and the associated educational patterns – and this in a century that contained Hitler and Stalin and Mao. Similarly we developed no comparative theorisations (in comparative education) of educational processes constructed by ‘men on horseback’ – and this was in a century of interventions in politics by the Brazilian, the Greek, the Japanese and the Turkish armed forces, even though the hints were there in the social science literature (Voigt, 1939; Lipset & Solari, 1967).

However, the crucial strategic point is that all of the unit ideas now need rethinking. The question is, only partly, what were the earlier thematics of the unit ideas? A crucial question is also what are they becoming?

The ‘unit ideas’ are – all of them – important in thinking through something which is at the core of comparative education: the triadic relations of ‘transfer’ and its double-osmotic problem; the embeddedness of aspects of education in a culture of origin and their insertion into a different social-osmotic pattern which carries its own immunologies or permeologies. We do not know what those immunologies or permeologies are. Thus we are not very clear, at the moment, on ‘translation’ – how the old institution changes in its new context; for example, how the ‘German’ university will change in its new context, the USA or Greece or Sweden. And thus we are completely unclear also on the theme of transformation – though work on ‘shape-shifting’ exists in the literature

(Beech in these volumes; Ishii, 2003; Kim, 2001; Larsen, 2004; Law, 1996; Popkewitz in these volumes; Shibata, 2005; Tanaka, 2005). Without such work, and the unit ideas are crucial to approaching such work, one of our basic concepts in comparative education – shape-shifting – will remain weakly identified, stuck in a narrative phase of thick or thin stories of the shape-shifting of educational institutions and ideas as they travel. ‘Shape-shifting’ is of course a silly idea: nebulous and difficult to conceptualise.

Unfortunately it is probably necessary to tackle the task if we are to comprehend the triadic relations of transfer, translation, and transformation.

Fortunately, Albert Einstein is alleged to have suggested that ‘[i]f at first the idea is not absurd, then there is no hope for it’. So, in addition, to shape-shifting, I think there are two other analytical themes which might help to rethink comparative education currently.

Possibilities and Compressions

One is the idea of ‘transitologies’. A ‘transitology’ can be thought of as a very specific form of ‘revolution’ – but avoids some of the ambiguities of that word. Thus, a transitology could be defined as ‘the processes, within a period of 10 years or so, of the more or less simultaneous destruction and reconstruction of political visions of the future; the state apparatuses (police, army, bureaucracies, political institutions); the economic and social stratification system(s); and the deliberate reform and restructuring of the educational system so that it can be used as part of the construction of the transitology’ (Cowan, 1999, 2000).

The point in such an apparently cumbersome concept is that it permits us to see something else. The time-space compression which is a transitology, somewhat like a lightning flash, illuminates simultaneously the forms of expression of social power (economic, political, cultural) in the ‘educational system’ and it shows, briefly and brilliantly, the *shifts* in those compressions of social power in educational form including, of course, shifts in ‘educated identity’. Thatcher’s Britain, Mao’s Cultural Revolution, Attaturk’s Turkey, the ‘collapse’ of East Germany (Poland, Hungary, the USSR): all these are – subject to sustained scholarly critical review – transitologies.

Thus the theoretical question is: How do you decode those shifts in the compression of social power into educational form? How do you do that, while avoiding describing ‘the educational system’ in the routine categories of comparative description which – as argued earlier in these volumes – overlap with categories useful in the administration, finance and management of primary, secondary, tertiary education?

The question can probably be cracked theoretically if we begin by thinking about ‘educated identities’ (whether classed, gendered, raced or defined by region or religion) and certain crucial educational processes and keeping in mind the Wright Mills problem of making sense of historical forces, social structures, and individual biographies.

Thus, one of the questions gets to be: What were the ‘sacred spaces’ and ‘holy routes’ in the Soviet educational system and what were its forms of ‘consecrated knowledge’? – and so on. (Clearly the model of an ‘educational Rosetta’ is quite complex and must

meet a range of criteria such as covering and comprehending non-elite educational processes.) Here the language in this sketch of possibility is chosen deliberately because of the comparative shock of imposing on Soviet secularities, which the political and economic and social system so much stressed, a vocabulary from another discourse.

Overall, then, I believe it might be possible to develop a theory of educational Rosettas – capturing the codings of social power in educational form. Thus when the shift in educational patterns occurs (in ‘East Germany’ or in states swept up by the World Bank into the knowledge economy) what is potentially revealed are the rules of the grammar of educational systems and the way they osmotically absorb context and the ways they interact with international political, economic, cultural, and educational relations. Such an aspiration – to understand the codings of power in educational forms – necessitates the embracement of post-colonial, postmodern, and post-structuralist lines of analysis which are already revitalising comparative education.

Again, it is an openness question: comparative education must not retreat, intellectually, inwards, onto itself. But nor should it, without the most careful reflection about the social and political role of universities, expand casually outwards so that it accepts, as fit and proper, those topics which the international agencies (or the European Union) say are important problems.

However, such an academic aspiration – to understand shape-shifting and the codings of power in educational Rosettas – is absurd. Good, or at least ‘good’ according to Einstein.

Shape-shifting and the codings of power in educational Rosettas, and returning to the triad of relations (transfer, translation, and transformation) and reading the global in fresh ways – those kinds of absurdities – are among the things that might get us out of the long-running modernist trap in comparative education: the siren call and the Faustian contract of being useful to governments. There are other things to do, including trying to reveal the ways in which compressions of power in certain educational forms stop exactly what they are supposed to be facilitating: education.

Our contemporary ‘crisis’, our current ‘Shameful Discontinuity’ in comparative education is not, for once, the problem of a low level intellectual problematique. Our problem is probably that we have become even more bloated than we were in the late 1980s (Halls, 1989): too many meanings are currently loaded onto the concept ‘comparative education’.

Conclusion

We probably have to recognise three things to help us rethink. One is that the ‘methodological moment’ of the 1960s was not about methodology – but about the meta-narratives of comparative education: meta-narratives which would define its choice of narrative form, the nature of its attempted generalisations; and in counterpoint, as Geogre Parkyn once discussed, those particulars which it was – despite the fact that they were particular – prepared to accept as ‘comparative education’; and the politics of its emancipatory position. What and who were to be ‘emancipated’ by its knowledge?

The second theme is one which was underplayed in my earlier analysis in this chapter and writing this chapter itself has convinced me of its central analytical importance: the university and its work-climate is a crucial part of ‘comparative education’ (Cowen, 1997).

The fascinating theme here would be a full comparison within North America of at least two comparative educations. It is not merely that Canada’s different domestic politics shape Canadian education in a different way from the comparative education of the USA. Nor is it merely the biographies of individuals such as Mallea or Zachariah, Doug Ray or Joe Katz, Hayhoe or Masemann, or David Livingstone or David Wilson which define the field. It is also the Canadian university and its social and pedagogical commitments to a Canadian domestic and political context (Larsen, Majhanovich, & Masemann, 2007; Wilson, 1994) and to Canada’s international political position. The same general point can also be made by emphasising extreme differences in domestic and international politics: it is not merely that the state-socialist USSR, or the Nazi regime or current neo-liberal states have different domestic and international politics. It is also the case that the university in brutal or subtle ways (the Nazi university, the Soviet university, the neo-liberal managed university) abolishes or redefines ‘comparative education’. ‘The university’ does this not only by – *mutatis mutandis* – exiling or shooting scholars, or by limiting intellectual horizons, but also by rewarding scholars in fresh ways.

Currently, for example, maintaining any kind of academically driven intellectual agenda is difficult in a range of neo-liberal states amid the pressures for the social sciences and for educational studies to show that they can be applied. The serious historical question for the university – knowledge applied to what by whom and for what and for whom – is still with us amid the banalities of systems of quality assurance and evaluation as these are currently practised in a remarkable range of countries, and not just England.

The third possibility would be to review those forms of ‘comparative education’ which are called ‘international’. What is the current meaning of this label and what political purposes is it serving? Are those forms of comparative education which are called ‘comparative and international’ now mainly declarative and hortatory? What do concepts of ‘post-development’ mean for the ‘international’? Is ‘international education’ now part of a world movement for the construction of peace? The issue is of vital and strategic importance as Jennifer Chan (2007) – although not in the vocabulary of ‘the international’ – has shown incisively (and delicately) in her analysis of competing epistemes in global governance reforms.

‘Comparative and intercultural education’ as an agenda for the social construction of world interculturality? Clearly there are worse agendas around which to stabilise ourselves – even the social sciences – than the search for social justice and an interculturality appropriate for our times and our place: the world.

However, before we embrace such an honourable – and ancient – vision, it is crucial to see that we have ‘comparative educations’ because what we call comparative education, in its growth, in its shape-shifting, is itself part of international political, economic, cultural and educational relations. It exists at the intersection of international and domestic politics but it has, in its century-old form, a very special and

privileged home: the university and therefore it has had for a century a very special academic shape.

We need that base and we need those earlier shapes and those earlier questions and discussion and some hints of failure: they give us a perspective on the possibilities of being damaged by banalities about academic quality as well as hints about the dangers of being liberated by totalising visions.

Overall, then, this chapter has suggested that there are deep continuities in the academic, university-based, work of comparative education and that the field, which looks every now and then as if it is in terminal crisis, is not. It was, however, suggested in the first half of the chapter that the field itself is exceptionally responsive to the intersection of domestic and international politics, and thus its surface agendas often alter at speed at various times – those ‘discontinuities’ about which we get so anxious. The surface agenda of comparative education is also dramatically different in different places. It is lines of international power, and epistemic shifts, and domestic politics which help us to begin to think about local variations in ‘comparative education’ – as a sustained analysis of comparative education in Canada and the USA (or in East and West Germany) would probably illustrate.

However, the second half of the chapter emphasised some of the strategic, crucial and relatively permanent concepts which, it was suggested, unite the field of comparative education, in addition to the core triad of ‘transfer’, ‘translation’, and ‘transformation’. These themes are called, borrowing from Robert Nisbet, the ‘unit ideas’ of comparative education. Stressing those ideas would permit us to rethink and rewrite a lot of our history.

Stressing those ideas, and perhaps a couple more such as transitologies and educational Rosettas and shape-shifting, might permit us to rethink and rewrite a lot of our future, too.

At the very least, stressing what I am calling the unit ideas of comparative education might also permit us to un-learn; to escape the modernist traps of comparative education which encourage us to retain older assumptions: (i) that thinking about education only after about 1800 is not only normal but intellectually acceptable; (ii) that one of our major jobs is to be useful to democratically elected governments in terms of policy advice; and (iii) that we have a special responsibility for reforming education and people’s lives in other bits of the world. As an academic, I do not accept any of those propositions. Let us hope we can continue to work out, generation by generation, a subtler and more important vision of our political and human and academic responsibilities.

At the very least we should begin to understand that the academic field of study traditionally called ‘comparative education’ is itself part of the international political, economic, cultural and internationally historical relations which it studies. Furthermore, we exist, in universities, as an academic voice much affected in terms of ‘hot topics’ by the intersection of domestic and international politics. That is probably why – more so than, say, sociology as a field of study or philosophy as a field of study – we have such visible ‘discontinuities’. And that is why we need to continue to struggle to comprehend, under our local chameleon-like and varied exteriors, what our more or less permanent agenda is – other than catching locusts (or loose fish) and apparently changing colour now and then.

However, chameleons (if I am correctly informed) do not really change colour. I think we do not either. We have an agenda and in my view it is a permanent one, an academic one, and a worthy one: to reveal the compressions of social and economic and cultural power in educational forms especially as these are most visible in their moments of transfer, translation and transformation. Understanding those processes would permit us to speak truth unto the State; and a few other people as well.

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CONCLUSION

Robert Cowen and Andreas M. Kazamias

*For last year's words belong to last year's language, and next year's words
await another voice. And to make an end is to make a beginning.*

T. S. Eliot, "Little Gidding"

Un-learning is, of course, the problem. When you sit down to write a book, a thesis, an academic paper, normally you just pencil in the words 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion', and then you concentrate on the main ideas or interpretative argument or sources of evidence which will substantively construct the main body of the paper or the thesis or the book. Normally, the assumptions work. Get the core ideas and sources of evidence of the piece right and then you can do the introduction and the conclusion later.

Un-learning is of course the problem, here. Handbooks do not work like that.

Part of the point of a Handbook is looking backwards (what has been done in this field of study, where are we up to?). But a Handbook looks forward, too. Handbooks contain powerful conditionalities: 'if we were there ... if we are almost up to here now ... then we should move on to explore.' In practice then Handbooks are oriented towards the future.

This is true even of the flaws in Handbooks. Handbooks automatically invite strong criticism which might emphasize that some themes are missing – social cohesion, early childhood education, fragile states, terrorism; or that some themes have been underestimated: post-structuralism, postmodernism, post-developmentalism, post-feminisms, post-Marxisms and so on. Such critical comments reclaim and reposition the future of the field.

Such claims are, in principle anyway, to be welcomed precisely because a Handbook is not a conclusion. A Handbook is not intended to freeze a field, to fix a canon, but to rehearse and then release a field of study. A Handbook might contain a reordering and a refreshment of the past; but it must address possible futures and it must pose new challenges. New comparative educations not imagined in this Handbook can – and will – be created.

However, some of the questions and themes of this Handbook are not likely to go away. They might – and should – run on into the future. With whose other academic voices does comparative education overlap and intersect? Whose categories of analysis frame its thought? What are, will, or should be, the 'hot topics' of comparative education and why: who says they are hot? With what independence, and with which other agents, does comparative education act upon the world?

The theme which unites these questions is not merely understanding the sociology of university knowledge, but also the perennial problem of the politics of knowledge, the problem of deciding what, these days, in our political times, is the emancipatory potential of comparative education. Most new social theories, all political parties and some international agencies make claims about their emancipatory potential; and ours? We know our old answers about ourselves, as a field of study. What are our claims now?

APPENDIX**Table 1.** Returns to investment in education by level, full method, latest year, regional averages (percentage) (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002: 14)

Region	Social			Private		
	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Asia ^a	16.2	11.1	11.0	20.0	15.8	18.2
Europe/Middle East/North Africa ^a	15.6	9.7	9.9	13.8	13.6	18.8
Latin America/Caribbean	17.4	12.9	12.3	26.6	17.0	19.5
OECD	8.5	9.4	8.5	13.4	11.3	11.6
Sub-Saharan Africa	25.4	18.4	11.3	37.6	24.6	27.8
World	18.9	13.1	10.8	26.6	17.0	19.0

^aNon-OECD.**Table 2.** The coefficient on years of schooling: Rate of return (based on Mincer-Becker-Chiswick), regional averages (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002: 15)

Region	Mean per capita (US\$)	Years of schooling	Coefficient (%)
Asia ^a	5,182	8.4	9.9
Europe/Middle East/North Africa ^a	6,299	8.8	7.1
Latin America/Caribbean	3,125	8.2	12.0
OECD	24,582	9.0	7.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	974	7.3	11.7
World	9,160	8.3	9.7

^a Non-OECD.**Table 3.** Returnstoeducationbygender(percentage)(Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002: 16)

Educational level	Men	Women
Primary	20.1	12.8
Secondary	13.9	18.4
Higher	11.0	10.8
Overall	8.7	9.8

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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