Educational Governance Research 7

Elisabeth Hultqvist
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Thomas S. Popkewitz *Editors*

Critical Analyses of Educational Reforms in an Era of Transnational Governance

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Educational Governance Research

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Inés Dussel is researcher and professor at the Department of Educational Research, CINVESTAV, Mexico. She received her Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. She acted as director of the Education Area, FLACSO/Argentina, from 2001 to 2008. She has published 10 books, edited 4, and over 150 chapters and articles in refereed journals. Her research interests focus on the relationships among knowledge, school, and politics, in a historical and cultural approach. She's currently doing research on digital visual culture and its effects on schooling.

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John Krejsler is professor (Ph.D. and M.Ed.) at the Danish School of Education, Aarhus University, Copenhagen, Denmark. His research centers on "new conditions for (pre-)school and teacher education – in a transnational perspective" and brings together three key themes: *the transnational turn* in education policy, *evidence* and new conditions for producing "truths" about "what works," and *social technologies* (e.g., comparative surveys and rankings, appraisal interviews). His work draws upon Foucault, Deleuze, and Habermas, among others. J.B. Krejsler has seats on the boards of the *Nordic Educational Research Association* and the *European Educational Research Association* and was a visiting scholar at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) (2015) and a visiting professor at Kristianstad University (Sweden) in 2009 and 2010.

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Bob Lingard is professor at the School of Education at the University of Queensland. His research domains are sociology of education and education policy. He has published 24 books and 150 journal articles and book chapters. His most recent books include the coauthored *Globalizing Educational Accountabilities* (Routledge, 2016) and the coedited *National Testing in Schools: An Australian Perspective* (Routledge, 2016) and *The Handbook of Global Education Policy* (Wiley, 2016). He is editor of the journal *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* and of the Routledge book series *Key Ideas in Education*. Bob is a fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia and also of the Academy of Social Sciences in the UK.

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Lei Zeng is a doctoral candidate of curriculum studies and global studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison (Madison, USA). Her research investigates how discursive practices of science and technology, social planning, and education reforms are entangled and mobilized transnationally with epistemological principles that historically (re)constitute and enact boundaries of time-space-subject of living and learning. Lei is also interested in interdisciplinary approaches that work upon/within/through space not merely as matter but, rather, mattering – disconnecting and reconnecting relations among ideas, technologies, non-/human bodies, places, time, etc.

Chapter 1
Critical Analyses of Educational Reform – Writing a Title and Editing a Book

Elisabeth Hultqvist, Sverker Lindblad, and Thomas S. Popkewitz

The contributions in this book give critical readings and understandings of what educational reforms mean; sociologically, historically, and culturally at a given time. The book focuses on changing conceptions of education and educational systems: how schools or teacher education respond to discourses of effectiveness and efficiency and also their transformation according to standardized templates. Such changing conceptions are defining the meanings of education and educational progress and are important to identify and analyze for educational knowledge and for critical discourses on education in society.

These changes are often placed in dominant discourses of our time as necessary adaptions to current globalization. The process of globalization, where a national educational system is increasingly formatted according to a transnational discourse, is also one where no explicit decisions are made or seldom emerge in the national debates. Discourse on national schooling is often constructed in relation to national symbols and myths, whereas the European Union (EU), Bologna and OECD, or World Bank transnational discourses operate around needs to succeed in a "competitive global race among economies." In addition, current notions of accountability, competition, and research on school effects are increasingly related to perceptions that everything must "fit" with transnational templates of comparability.

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The global policy of governance also defines what is of relevance for educational research. Relevance means measurable impact (research must be empirical and presenting reliable numbers as part of its evidence), like those from international large-scale assessments such as the OECD Program for Individual Student Assessment (PISA) and the IEA's Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS). Under the impact of the flood of reforms in the name of globalization and "effective and efficient education," the sociological and political positions in educational research are in transition. A paradigmatic model of excellence is developed where research is "robust" (i.e., based on lots of measurements) and provides "the science" on which reforms make educational systems more efficient and effective (and for the economic system).

Models to organize and reflect on globalization and educational reforms are central themes of this book. Several authors are reflecting on the educational restructuring movement viewed as a "world movement" and as a result of a variety of changes in policies, societies, world economies, governments, etc. and its profound and general impact on education and schooling. A neoliberal way of restructuring, for some, has become a broad-based movement across countries, though differing in various national and regional contexts.

Transnational and Global: What Terms to Use

In the first section, the book presents a focus on transnational conceptions of education and different notions of critical analysis in education studies. We decided to talk about current educational issues with the use of "transnational" rather than "global" to think about the phenomena of educational reform and change. Each term carries a direction for thinking about schools and research. Transnational and globalization float across intellectual terrains and social theories, filled with excesses of meaning to name cultural and economic changes that cross national boundaries and to describe and explain these changes. And in both cases, we are aware of what Antonio Nóvoa (2002) has called "planet speak." Transnational and global appear as ubiquitous words that everyone seems to "know" and often without any need for explanation. They appear daily in the newspapers about the double promise of progress that once was spoken about through the worldwide church's redemption of the soul or as the evil that will erode one's senses of national belonging and control over daily life. As watchwords, they evoke talk about what is right and good about the new millennial and, at the same time, the dangers and dangerous population that threaten progress.

While we can, in some ways, talk about globalization or transnationalization as an issue of contemporary life and schooling, it is important to recognize that the phenomena of worldwide connectedness and relations are not merely of the present. An incipient globalization related to the development of capitalism was already evident in the second half of the nineteenth century, along with the emergence of more consistent and coordinated practices of colonialism. Globally integrated

markets and financial systems were forged as it became possible to transport goods across vast distances and as people were able to remain in touch with each other using new communication technologies such as the telegraph. When historically examining arguments about global integration and transnational governing after 1950, it becomes clear that the forms of interaction in trade, investment, and tourism – with the exception of migration – have remained steady. Only in the 1990s did migration flows reach the per capita rates of the 1910s and late 1920s. The distribution between different regions has remained almost steady since the 1870s, with even more regional concentration in the most recent decades with the rise of the European Union.

If we take the idea of transnational, the invention of the nation-state with the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia is one point that also captures such a field of relations that is not merely of the present. There is no nation without its being part of a transnational system that embodies particular events and institutions in worldwide or transnational interactions. It is not until the nineteenth century, however, that it is possible to talk about the nation-state, at least in the West, and something that might be akin to transnational. We say the West as it is also possible to locate other forms of globalization in and outside of Europe through different kinds of worldwide flows, networks, and connections: some literary, some religious, some purely military, and others political as in the creation of a world system of nations.

When we look at the changing patterns of interconnectedness – globalization or transnational – the question is historical and not merely taxonomical. Each term, in different ways, responds and, at the same time, functions as an "actor" in interpreting the patterns of transnational activities. "Actors" in the sense that each of the terms are ways to locate, notice, make judgments, draw conclusions, and frame the practices in contemporary fields of existence. The terms focus on capturing the changing relation and contemporary political and cultural configurations that include the school.

In one sense, transnational and globalization are floating signifiers continually filled with excesses of meaning. Globalization, for example, is a word that floats across contemporary literature to name cultural and economic changes that cross national boundaries and to describe and explain these changes. When discussed in policies relating to schooling and teacher education, those changes are often seen as unproblematic. In a review of transnationalism, in contrast, Fuchs and Roldán (2017) argue that in the nineteenth century, internationalism was used to talk about the limits of the state. The idea of transnational appeared, they argued, in the turn of the twentieth century to celebrate American exceptionalism in the context of its relation to other nations of the world. Transnational reappears in the late twentieth century to discuss the supranational entanglements and global networks that entail the re- and de-territorialization of the state and its pluralities.

While we can talk about globalization and transnational as issues of contemporary life and schooling, the phenomena of worldwide connectedness and relations are historical (Popkewitz and Rizvi 2009). As such, there is a need to differentiate current processes from those that preceded them. For example, it might be argued that the current practices of globalization are driven by revolutionary changes

brought about by new information and communication technologies, leading to a kind of time-space compression never witnessed before. Or indeed, it could be suggested that the global architecture of the system of nation-states is transformed that changes the ways in which the state works. And these changes affect educational and the subjectivities produced in schooling. Yet what is significant is providing adequate interpretations about the distinctive features, characteristics, and politics formed through the intersection of cultural, social, and political spaces in contemporary life.

For our purposes, the literature on globalization and transnational studies overlap, and the distinctions are of nuance in which word is used rather than of substance. This book does focus on questions embedded in the twin ideas of global and transnational that often go unnoticed, questions of what constitutes the qualities of comparativeness that such *trans*national and/or global studies (Popkewitz 2017). The comparativeness rears its head in twin words whose composite forms *transnational*. The insert of "nation" assumes comparativeness as the very idea of a nation assumes a historical geopolitical relation in order to have its identity. Where transnational or global histories are produced, there are comparative categories/kinds of identities represented to describe schools in different places. In tracing the development, growth, and changes in schooling, differences are both internal and external. These differences might be described as the institutional qualities of schooling prevalent in much of neo-institutional theory today about the growing international isomorphism of educational systems. Other forms of comparativeness are the examination of differences in the formation of the common school in different countries, how the schools teach citizenship to national populations, how social structures produce forces of reproduction of social inequities, and the changing credentialing for academic careers.

The qualities that constitute comparativeness are often erased in what Cowen (2006) calls the banalities of educational studies. The educational banalities that Cowen addresses are embodied in binary distinctions between the "self" and others, expressed in words like "globalization" and localization, internationalization and regionalism, distinctions that historically were erased, Cowen argues, through the very practices that are associated with the changes occurring since at least the nineteenth century.

Our interest is to interrogate the ideas of comparativeness in *trans*national history as a way of thinking and enacting studies of education and change. Yet it also creates the conundrum comparativeness of transnational studies. While there are efforts to talk about indigenous knowledge, non-Eurocentric approaches, the idea of comparing and comparative history is a strategy of reflection that embodies an attitude of the enlightenment's notions of reason and rationality. To engage in comparative history is to push the limits of history by being sensitive to the different epistemological systems that are not merely the recouping of the West. Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe* (2000) partially engages this challenge when he argues that Western notions and categories are indispensable but inherently insufficient to narrate the processes of change in and outside of the West. Further, studies of the self and other are a translation problem. Translations are not copies but creative

articulations that pose a number of challenges that are not merely about finding the right words. It is the challenge of finding modes of communicating differences in the historical, social, and cultural systems of reasoning without creating representations and identities that inscribe differences in a continuum of epistemological values about its objects.

The choice of transnational in the title was pragmatic rather than theoretical. The chapters in the first section use both "global" and "transnational" in their arguments. Each author explains why the choice of words in relation to the arguments given. Global, for example, in the discussions gives attention to what are issues that are not merely those of nations but how particular kinds of institutions and epistemes are forming that have no particular national boundaries, that is, current languages, technologies, and institutions that are not merely located in the nation although influencing the redefining of the nation in educational arenas.

The revisioning of the study of education is the focus of Robert Cowen's chapter. His use of globalization is to consider the case of comparative education and the limits of its epistemological constructions. He argues that comparative studies have focused on models of applied social science. The models of applied social science, he argues, "mirror" the more general movement of social and educational sciences on social and communicative processes and methods in the postwar years. The lance of the Holy Grail, he argues, is its catechism of methodology. The result is a technical knowledge that narrows intellectual visions through its deductive rationality to organize and structure educational phenomena. There is a paradox to this science of change. It is about stability. The deductive rationality fixes the point of departure of research in order to engage in a crusade in which democracy and equality become its symbolic canopy. This certainty is subtle and embedded in the crusade for international measurements and global universalization of schooling. That canopy loses sight of the formation of human identities in political contexts and the issues of equality. Cowen concludes that the problem of comparative research (but more generally of the social and education sciences) requires another vocabulary than those of crusades and its millennialist language. New variants of comparative research requires the intersection of the historical, cultural, and sociological in questioning the interrelations of educational reform and university disciplines for understanding models of governance.

The discussions in this book, while not arguing for the end of the nation-state, do explore ways in which governing has changed through more explicit international agencies and technologies of measurement in broader fields of interactions, communication, and power. There are arguments, for example, about whether the changes point to the end of the nation-state as we "know it" or the end of the state as a unit of analysis. Its normative qualities are expressed as both salvation themes and fears through which governments, research communities, and civil society are to both interpret and imagine the possibilities of our lives. It could be suggested that while the authority of nation-states has not entirely declined, the global architecture of the system of nation-states is transformed and that there are new ways in which states now work in a manner that is globally networked. This clearly affects the

ways in which educational policies are developed and allocated to forge particular kinds of subjectivities in and through schooling.

Critical Notions

A different element expressed in the title is the notion of critical. Blumenberg (1966/1983) wrote that the Enlightenment had two interrelated strands. One is that of progress, that is, to find the paths that bring forth the ideals of the Enlightenment into the context of daily life. Much of the human sciences are committed to this project of organizing the present in the name of some utopic future. The study of the present is to make clearer its points that foster or hinder change. But the Enlightenment project, Blumenberg argues, also entailed what he called as "renunciation." This renunciation or critical thought is to unthink the common sense and allow the possibility to open different ways of acting, thinking, and doing. When contemporary research speaks of finding "useful," practical knowledge, there is an erasure of the Enlightenment's recognition that the idea of progress simultaneously requires a space of continual doubt in processes of change. Progress requires renunciation, the ever-present poking holes in what is given as natural. The use of critical studies in this book engages the task of denaturalizing what is taken for granted as acts of affirmation and not as negation.

Our use of the term "critical," then, refers to styles of scholarship that is not singular (see Popkewitz and Fendler 1999). At one level, "critical" refers to a broadband of disciplined questioning of the ways in which power works through the practices and performances of schooling, such as found more generally in the different approaches of Bourdieu and Foucault, among others. The modes of critical inquiry in the books are aimed at understanding, for example, how the marginalization of people is constructed, as well as the various forms in which power operates to produce exclusions. One view of critical concerns issues of domination and repression that structurally differentiates power. A different notion of critical is what Foucault called productive power. It sets itself the task "of interrogating anew the evidence and the postulates, of shaking up habits, ways of acting and thinking, of dispelling commonplace beliefs, of taking a new measure of rules and institutions" (Foucault 1991: 11–12). Further, critical inquiry also entails a self-reflectivity about the implications of intellectual work as political projects.

The critical that we speak about is not only to inquire into policy and the everyday activities of schooling. It is also to explore the historical limits of science and its inscriptions as the knowledge in codifying and measuring educational reforms.

In the first two chapters in this section, there is a focus on research and the search for alternatives to consider the global and transnational in the study of reform. The authors engage in critical analyses of what is taken as the common sense of policy, research, and school pedagogy. They argue for new ways of thinking and a new vocabulary that can engage the complexities of the changes occurring. That vocabulary, however, is never merely about words but the system of ordering and classifying

the sciences of education and their assumptions about change. Its methods, although different in the chapters, are to historicize and relativize, epistemologically, the objects that are given in schooling and which research seeks to understand their effects.

Educational Reforms and Transnationalization

The second section focuses on educational reforms within a transnational context. From the nineteenth century to contemporary reform, there seems to be a continual effort of reform. The emergence of the modern school from the nineteenth century was witness to the idea that society can be planned through the careful interventions of new institutions, among them the school. One can think of the common school as created under the ideals of a society where all collaborate to live out the historical dreams of the republic. That dream and the underlying faith in policy and science can provide the paths to the future continues today. Neoliberal economic theories of the trickle-down economic model of past decades provide one path to the cosmopolitan life.

What is important and explored in this section is the changing transnational terrain in which reforms are being steered. There have appeared in the post-World War II era new international agencies and modes of assessment and evaluation that provide what can be called "a grey zone" (Lindblad et al. 2015). These were discussed in the previous section when exploring the modes of knowledge and agencies that interpret the international school system results and make recommendations and specific national proposals for educational improvement. These agencies operate in a *grey zone*, spaces where actors contribute and mediate how the international assessments are to be interpreted and recommendations made about changing educational systems. Operating below the formal radar normally examined when looking at research outputs or policy arenas, the *grey zone* does not operate by the canons of research communities nor do they directly bear the same responsibility as policymakers and elected officials. However, it performs as a governing process through organizing principles that serve to delineate the problems of education through its *needs* – statements about educational systems and the targets of its change.

This section pursues how these international agencies and the forms of knowledge "act" in the "restructuring movements" in educational policies, defined as decentralization, marketization, and New Public Management. At first glance, such distinctions seem at odds with each other. Decentralization focuses at how local and community decisions are given value as the epitome of a democratic system. The New Public Management, also touted as embodying democratic values, is concerned with system-wide process of how to engage stakeholders in the modernization and effectiveness of education. These different locations of policy and reform practices, however, are in fact interrelated in their principles of what is (im)possible as change when view sociologically and historically. The chapters analyze the value

of the international assessments, the comparability between countries as de-naturalized process. How the restructured educational reforms, argued in second section, fundamentally changed the circumstances for social reproduction, the running of schools, and teacher education.

The overlapping of the different strategies of reform in the governing of schooling can be illustrated in the Nordic countries. In studies on changes to the welfare states, education has played a central role. The development of the welfare state model after WW2 in Nordic countries, in particular, was built upon a centralized and governing-by-rule model in order to achieve equality in education and also in healthcare and social services. The dismantling of a parallel and socially separated school system into an integrated and common lower secondary school was not met without resistance, primarily by teacher groups at the upper secondary school level. An integrated, common school for all children was used as the starting point behind the rationale for the governing-by-rule model which then quieted the political opposition.

During the 1980s, changes to the societal structure, a consequence of, among other things, an increase in and higher-educational levels of its citizens, allowed for greater social mobility to a larger group of people who invested in schools and education, because of rising competition; the initial goals were more difficult to translate into stable social positions, and criticism of the centralized and governing-by-rule educational system grew. Emerging groups gained the support of the growing and more educated middle class who targeted those integrated classes who were not seen as upholding the same level of knowledge and were indirectly equipping students for the growing competition, which from a political standpoint made the centralized governing-by-rule model no longer possible. Criticism of centralization and governing by rule included growing demands for freedom of choice. Skepticism of the centrally and publically run school at the end of the 1990s was ignited when resolutions on deregulation and increasing governance at the county (municipality) level are put into place. However, criticism against the public schools' inability to fulfill public expectations also lays the groundwork for students and parents to choose schools, which in practice led to an emerging charter school sector and growth in the competition between charter and public schools. With the deregulation of the state-run school and the implementation of the freedom-of-choice reform including a voucher system, the school became a weakened policy instrument in the welfare state, and instead education is given a social project with more freedom given to each individual family. Two sides of the same coin, deregulation is substituted by targeted goals, which is the same as repealing the rule which binds students to the school in their neighborhood and substituting it with school choice.

These are the two reforms, to serve as the basis for the restructuring of the Swedish school system and the restructuring of school governance, which moves into results-based and free-market governance. This begins the free-market-based logic, which assumes that access to information and comparable materials, translatable into expectations for comparable school outcomes, needs to be the same, for all; while at the same time, guided by concerns of some. At the turn of the millennium, comparisons of performance and results become the guiding principles.

With inspiration of Mitchell Dean's analysis of models of government, we can make visible this field for schools and education and the object of research whose conceptualization also involves an output of a kind of truth. Focus on performance and results constrains schools and education within a field of technical administration. Though in the analysis of these mechanism and governing technologies, certain viewpoints and positions emerge that appear self-evident, the documents and interventions produced are also seen as correct and legitimate. According to Dean, this is defined as the *practice regime* (Dean 1999). Around the turn of the 2000s, benchmarking for what a good school and what a good education are is based more on international instruments such as PISA and TIMMS. Comparability denationalizes individual countries' educational politics, and policy strategies are formed based on what is expected in order to "succeed in the constantly increasing competition in the global race of Knowledge Economies."

How do school results and performance indicators work as actionable knowledge in Swedish education? Lindblad explores the question of what governs "governing by results." Through deregulating and governing by goals, the schools and local governments are responsible for evaluating student results. At the national level, the National Agency for Education is responsible for collecting and overseeing that student results are followed up. However, the movement of governing by goals is guided by the principles of New Public Management where the goals are predefined based on various given results. Thereby the concerns of politicians and professionals are more and more reformulated into measurable and comparable results. And a *technological quality assurance culture* has been developed where performance and results are set, to a greater degree, based on the standards of the transnational instruments of PISA and TIMMS. Lindblad further develops how "governing by results" has an adverse effect on policymaking and notes that the sinking results in the international performance measures has overshadowed Swedish educational policy over the past 10–15 years.

Reflections on the underlying factors are given little space; instead, the outcome of the international measurements, *the actionable knowledge*, is shaping policy. Unilateral measures have been aimed at improving the national ranking in international assessments and not the results themselves. School results were found to have little effect on students' school choice as this was steered mainly by personal and informal contacts. As concluded in Lindblad's chapter, the meaning of "governing by results" is not straightforward. However, Lindblad does not suggest that more measurements need to be taken; rather, there should be analyses done of the meaning of the educational system in its social and cultural contexts.

The restructuring at the start of the 1990s, with the introduction of deregulation and the school choice reform, changed the basic expectations of Swedish schools. School choice emerges for some social groups as an essential step for further studies and work. In the second chapter, Hultqvist asks about the success of the school choice reform – which is reflected in the rapid expansion of the number of charter schools – is adequately understood as a response to a "monopolistic policy". To pose the problem in this way, school policy is considered as not in tune with the expectations of some social groups. Against the background of the education

systems' structural changes and the possibility of realizing education investments, the author analyzes "school consumer" expectations and strategies. Hultqvist argues that they are related to the complex interplay between heightened levels of education, a grade inflation that has increased the difficulty of converting education and degrees into stable social positions. But above all, the structural changes have affected families' ability to realize their future through education investments.

An international study of the social boundaries and social groups identifies for the Swedish part a group of middle-class families. What becomes important is how they define and perceive "we" in relation to other social groups, as well as "they". The construction of differences order the paths and strategies they chose to either maintain or transcend these boundaries (Saint Martin and Gheorghui 2010). Their social position as a result of a social mobility rested on an accumulated cultural capital. What expectations of school and education does this social mobility give rise to? Educational strategies which "engine" the creation of boundaries between different schools and different courses of study should, according to the author, be analyzed from the perspective of the families' social history in relation to structural changes.

Education as a distinctive value does not fit into the political discourse on education. Education appears for the families to be the key factor in promoting well-being and economic prosperity. In order to equip the workforce to become competitive and employable in an increasingly global economy, education is assumed to be a process of lifelong learning. Krejsler, Olsson, and Petersson study how the policy discourse surrounding teacher education in Denmark and Sweden is transformed by the supposed need for modern nations to achieve success in a global knowledge economy. The national education policies in Denmark and Sweden have aligned themselves with the transnational partnerships, such as the Bologna process. The authors show how, through the soft governance, new forms of knowledge become more dominant and make new teacher subjectivities possible. These changes are part of a general reform movement where national models for teacher training follow a European comparable model that despite room for study programs to have national differences appear to be increasingly similar.

The authors show how the Scandinavian teacher education reforms align with the wider network of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and have gradually adapted to a consensus-producing transnational policy where comparability, standards, performance indicators, best practice, etc. constitute the overarching logic. Genealogically, the national teacher education programs have developed differently, though they have become more similar in light of the transnational turn in policy-making. A new discursive community arises, beyond the national context, which drives the national players to transform in accordance to the signed mutual agreements. A new logic for producing truths is in place, which is inclusive, opaque, and consensus producing but often distant from the contexts that the knowledge produced is aimed at improving.

In line with the reforms of Swedish and Danish teacher education programs in the light of the transnational turn, Tröhler analyzes the harmonization of the Swiss cantonal education system. The education system is still organized according to the

sovereignty of the cantons. Even if there was reluctance among the Swiss cantonal authorities to participate in the education policies of the OECD and consequently of the PISA surveys, Switzerland became part of the program. After the PISA results in 2000, the Swiss people voted in 2006 to partly harmonize the cantonal education system in order to enhance the general quality and to reduce obstacles of geographic mobility, *Harmo*nizing *S*witzerland, launched as HarmoS.

In this chapter, Tröhler takes HarmoS and the new curriculum, known as *Lehrplan 21* as Swiss examples of paradoxical character of modern education policy that believes it enhances its agency by referring to the "crystal-clear" facts or data, which enable comparison between schooling in the respective education systems. The author argues that this enhancement represents more an "illusion of control' rather than a real agency. The reliance of policymakers on "crystal-clear" facts provided by research turns out to be the application of normative theories embedded (and hidden) in the instruments designed for political decisions. Tröhler argues that the internationally dominant education policy with its trust on "evidence-based" facts and "proof of efficacy" arose out of a technocratic governance model within a medical-biological system of reasoning. Tröhler demonstrates in his chapter how the concept of "competence" in Curriculum 21 became a way out of the contradiction between the self-limited "knowledge" and the immeasurable *Bildung*. The approval of the Swiss to harmonize (HarmoS) the cantonal education system was by the policymakers, interpreted as carte blanche to implement globally dominating models for comparison performance.

New Imperatives of Education: On the Networked Self – Cosmopolitan and Managed Educational Subjects and Practices

If we start with a simple proposition, schools are concerned with making kinds of people. The early founders of the nation understood that the citizen is not born but made. And education was a central tactic in this production. The categories of children as "learners," adolescent, disadvantaged, artistic, and so on are kinds of people produced in the performances of schooling. The language of education places the making of people as the noble pursuit of professions in search for the common good. Current American research on teacher education speaks of making the professional teacher that contributes to "social improvement." Educational psychologists and curriculum designers talk about learning as empowerment and creating equality for all children. While this is the hope and desire of schooling, the noblesque words historically elide schooling as an activity to change children; so they different kinds of persons then if they did not go to school.

The making of people in schooling is more complex than the desires about social improvements, and it is that complexity that this section explores. That complex is bound to the double gestures of hope and fear (Popkewitz 2008a, b; also see

Popkewitz' Chap. 8 in this book). The gesture in schoolings' impulse to include is connected to fears of the dangers and dangerous populations that threaten the envisioned future. If we take the modern Western school, there is the hope of creating enlightened citizens who embody the common values of the nation typically expressed than those universal qualities of humanity. The *French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* and the American Bill of Rights are two such examples of the inscription of Enlightenment's universal hopes into the political regimes of government and governing principles that order the school curriculum and teaching.

But with the gesture of the hope of the future in schooling is another gesture that is connected and assembled with the hope. This double gesture is historically embedded fears of decay and degeneration and accompanied the very ideas of progress that became visible in the Enlightenments. The French Enlightenment's *philosophes*, for example, narrated the idea of civilization as a story of the evolution of a universal humanity through the application of reason. The universality was given to the Enlightenment's cosmopolitan as a kind of person whose reason transcended the particular and provincial to arrive at a higher order of individual and social good. The cosmopolitanism, however, embodied a duality that mutually constructed each other. The "humanism" of the cosmopolitanism entailed a continuum of value. That continuum installed a hierarchy to order and divide people, races, and their civilizations. Differences were a comparative logic that placed civilizations in continuums of "advanced" and "less advanced."

The making and remaking of people and hopes and fears connected to this are basic to the problematic in education and educational reforms. Thus, an important task for research on education is to analyze the premises in the construction of such problematic. In this section, the chapters are presenting critical analyses of how subjectivities are constructed and how subjects are managed in different ways of governance in deregulating and individualizing education systems and designs for learning. The chapters are working with different inquiries and research approaches to this general problematic.

The double gestures are embodied in the contemporary questions of diversity that have become increasingly important in Europe and North America. Alves' chapter analyzes students' planning as a technology to manage increasing diversity in the student population in their cultural and social contexts. Based on an international comparative study, she shows that individual planning has turned into an add-on solution that actually stabilizes traditional designs of educational systems. The migrants are conceptualized, as the cause of the problem and individual planning is the way of managing this problem. An alternative way, Alves argues, forward would be to focus on forms for governing school, i.e., an adhocratic organization based on problem-solving and innovation.

At a different layer of higher education reform initiated in Europe that are opening up for students to move freely over national and institutional borders and boundaries, Simons pursues how the very freedom for students to live and be educated as "transnational independent learners" entails instruments and techniques used to govern student life and their learning trajectory. Of use for such a critical analysis is

Foucault's (1982) notion of double bind of individual freedom and governmental interventions. The analysis focus on the European Higher Education Area and the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS). The results present somewhat of a paradoxical picture of the framing of individual freedom by means of a huge architecture of tools and measures governing and tracking the independent learner.

Olsson, Petersson, and Krejsler are analyzing current discourses on education and educational reform that put the student or learner at the center and marginalize matters of teaching and instruction. Such transnational discourses about learning have turned into educational dogmas that these authors want to shake. Here, they use the Foucauldian genealogy approach and history of the present. Comparing current narratives on learning and student centeredness with discourses predominant in the 1940s and the 1970s, they are identifying common themes in learner centering over time. However, these different discourses are locating the students in dissimilar contexts, earlier within a context of inputs (e.g., in terms of resources and social and cultural inequalities) to the national education system and currently with a context of outputs (such as student performances and efficiency) in transnational contexts. Stated otherwise, what Olsson, Petersson, and Krejsler will do is to present alternatives to current discourses and by means of that pointing to the possibility of alternative routes in the reforming of education.

Governing of the intermediary spaces is one focus of the analyses of Bjerg and Staunaes' chapter. Their inquiries are dealing with current Danish education reforms inspired by OECD recommendations. They analyze the reorganization of the school day and how this is restructured. Of special interest is the rethinking of the recesses and how to use them in "potentializing subjectivities to promote learning." They present an alternative way of capturing these changes as a "governmentality of the intermediaries" with demands on leadership for learning with alternative student activities and creating rituals in order to manage, for example, the recesses in a smooth and stimulating way (e.g., brain breaks and/or in creating technologies to motivate the learners). However, in their inquiries, the authors also note that stimulating breaks might turn into processes that are troublesome to manage and lead to un-potentialization.

Dussel analyzes educational technology, and more precisely the introduction of digital media in the classroom, in an Argentinian case, where one computer per student was regarded as a way to reform the school and to produce a networked self and a "school of the future." The analysis is based on an actor-network theory (e.g., Latour 2007) where it is vital to identify the networks and practices at work in the specific localities. In this approach, "the global" is of interest only if it is made relevant by actors or artifacts in the current case. In her analysis of the Argentinian case, Dussel shows the different dynamics at work where the introduction of digital media is just one of several dynamics of importance. Thus, linear notions of reform implementation and globalization might be consistent as such but questionable for critical analyses of educational reforms – their constraints and opportunities – in their local dynamic.

In sum we note a combination of deregulation and individualization on one side, with hopes of designing education and learning in order to improve the realization of the learners' potential. But on the other side, we identify fears that this system will be misused and that the learners will be lost in the educational landscape. We also note different ways of researching this system in local networks and transnational governance.

Migration and Population Flows

The issue of migration is not a new one. The history of Europe is one of movements across its continental divides that stretch back into its trade with China, the invasions that moved across the Ural Mountains as a list that seems to have no end. The United States and Australia are countries build on migration since the seventeenth century, migrations that demanded integration with local populations, sometimes with disastrous results. The British Isles are always in interaction with Europe, evident in its Roman walls and its continental houses of sovereignty as well as its Anglo-Saxon lineage. France has more first-generation citizens than the United States. With colonialism, the subsequent world wars, the end of colonialism, different waves of immigration occurred, again making migrations and immigrations part of the normal yet pronounced issues.

Our starting with this is to recognize that to speak of immigration and schooling is to bring into view particular sets of issues that relate to the present that is, at once, historical, world-wide, and transnational in political, social and cultural distinctions in the practices of governing education. Migration and asylum-seeking flows are at the top of the social and political agenda today in Europe and the Americas, at least; these "flows" of children and families are also at the forefront of education challenges. Such issues are often spelled out in ways for education and schooling to deal with "the other" – with those who are not like "us" and who have crossed a different border in order to come to us. Here we find a number of categorizations and theories at work. Who is the other and "us" – from where and with what characteristics? How should we design education in order to deal with the other? In this section the authors deal with these challenges in different ways.

One important start to this conversation is to recognize how the immigrant is a classification that makes up a particular kind of person. The immigrant is a fabrication, a way of thinking about particular kinds of people and their modes of living. The immigrant as a statistical category was an invention that introduced new types of objects and classifications as evidence of social possibilities and explanation (Hacking 1992). This observation is important to the discussions of this section of the book. The category of immigrant is the intersections of theories, practices, and technologies – as tools for knowing and governing people – that provide new ways to experience oneself as a kind of person that did not previously exist. It is a statistical representation related to legal status that places populations as different from the normal, the citizen. But it is also a cultural classification about difference. And these

differences are the convergence or assembly of scientific observations, theories of sociology, psychology, genetics, and biology and technologies of governance.

The category, then, is not only administrative. It is a governing practice. The immigrant as a kind of person loops into daily life and gives attention to how people come to embody the categories applied, with even resisting formed within the boundaries shaped and fashioned with the categories about kinds of people. It is also important to recognize that people have moved across boundaries in multiple ways prior to the present. If we think about the invention of the category of immigrant and its governance, it is probably an invention of the state in the nineteenth century that created legal and administrative strategies for governing their territories, including census, passports, and the doubling of the names of people – given and family names, at least in Europe and its colonies. As the "nation" came to be imagined, a unity of citizen/noncitizen also had to take shape as a constructed sameness/difference as well as a construction of those included and excluded from rights, identities, certain "truths," and knowledge/power.

One central European and North American strategy for dealing with social and cultural diversity has been multicultural and intercultural education. Multiculturalism and interculturalism are words that signify both the aspiration of groups that have been traditionally marginalized in public discourse and about the allocation of values. It expresses representational politics in the United States that relate to historically internal differentiation of populations and in the European Union to identify the commitments to immigration – some from within its union under various free migration programs that circulate from labor to education. The programs can be considered as historically the fabrication of memory to create an imagined past and future through memory work. That work tells of social practices, traditions, and the (re)visioning of national myths about language, for example, to create a fabricated homogeneity of the nation (Kowalcyck and Popkewitz 2005). In the schools, the fabrication of the citizen embodies a double belonging and constellation of homes that relate Europe, for example, the nation and cosmopolitan values embodied in the European project (Kowalcyck 2014). The fabrication, however, embodies the construction of new borders that, in the Italian context, have been explored as processes of abjection and xenophobic references through religion and salvation themes of the nation that are turned into economic issues as well as into categories of cultural recognition and difference.

These themes of inclusion and exclusion are central in the chapter of Hernández-Hernández and Sancho-Gil. They analyze changing flows of migration in Spain – from being a place of emigration into one of immigration – a place where over 10% of the population is classified as immigrant and now a site where the immigrant flow to Spain is decreasing. Decisive for this pattern are changes in the economy in Spain. The migration flow has made it necessary to develop ways of defining and dealing with "the other." Thus, migration is regarded as an imperative for educational reforms important for the whole population. Hernández-Hernández and Sancho-Gil explore what happens when "an unexpected *other*" arrives to the school whose culture and social arrangements become challenged. They ask how policy-

makers, academics, and teachers in Catalan put into question what schools are about when confronting cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. Their analysis recognizes that Spain is not a monolithic community but one with language distinctions. It is one with programs in intercultural education aimed at producing tolerance and solidarity through enhanced educational equity and social justice for a society to coexist and cooperate multiculturally. This chapter elegantly brings up the tensions, dilemmas, and moral question of the schools and its attempts to respect diversity and the ethical challenges of "seeing" the other as part of the self.

A different but important element of the issue of migration, immigration, and populational movements is its official sanctioning through education and labor. In the European Union and its Higher Education Area, there are transnationally organized ways to improve migration in education. The Erasmus Mundus education and training program, for example, is a regime of global education policies. Erasmus Mundus is a program about mobility through creating dialogue and hospitality to "others," particularly what is called "third countries." It has, Lopez Lopez reports in her chapter, served over three million students in its 30 years of existence. Lopez focuses on this program and her own participation in an Erasmus Mundus MA program, "Migration and Intercultural Relations," to engage in a critical analysis of the way "the other" is positioned. Interweaving historical and theoretical concerns about the construction of difference with the concrete educational practices, Lopez Lopez explores the particular ways of "seeing" and acting in and upon the world enacted in the curriculum content and assessment of the program.

While not the intention of the program, the argument points to how the global aspirations of multicultural education create distinctions between "Europe" and others which Lopez Lopez argues inscribe in the seemingly commonsense essences and elements of the program a regime of moral and legal authority to the particular transnational governance. It's defining the spaces of "Europe" and the processes of "dialogue and understanding" differentiates the mobility (desirable) and the immigration (undesirables) such as Syrian children and youth who appear at the doors of educational institutions of "Europe". The reading of intentions of hospitality against its perversions is taken up as the appeal to invent new conditions to the existing regimes to resist such transnational governance.

The critique and appeal appear in the study of immigration and migrants in Zheng's chapter on the "floating children," a term that emerges in the 1980s in Chinese post-Mao reform and opening policies to refer to migration of children moving from rural areas to cities. Social and educational policy and the social sciences focus on this kind of child to express the challenges of social order and national modernization. Equal education is embedded in the discourses about governing the floating children. Zheng examines how the classification of "floating children" embodies diverse theories and narratives in Chinese scholarship. That scholarship "acts" materially to fabricate a distinct type of people as a natural and inevitable product of modernization and urbanization.

Zheng explores how policy intersects with the social sciences to identify and differentiate "the floating children" as distinct, unitary, and stabilized categories and scales to represent, analyze, and speak for migrants in sociocultural-spatial grids of

inclusion and exclusion. The distinctions of social science inscribe youth as "hidden dangers" of the uncontrollable. It posits that the cause of these dangers is in a state of cultural anomie due to the chaos and destructions of norms during the Cultural Revolution and the value vacuum in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The "floating children" are given as psychological and cultural problems. Its distinctions are taken for granted through the inscriptions of a particular language of difference: "rural-urban dichotomy," "individual adaptability," "social integration," "socioeconomic status," and "*suzhi*." Through the reiterative and citational practices surrounding certain analytical categories, sociologists, and educators, the very recognition to include produces differences and abjection.

Taken together, in this section, categorizations of the "other" as well as "other places" are put forward and related to "us" and "here" in education reform discourses. The authors show in different ways how migration and flows of people are connected to positioning migrants in given social and cultural hierarches preserving basic structures in predominating educational regimes.

Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this book is to analyze ongoing changes in conceptions of education – such as practices and premises for the making and remaking of education in social and political contexts. This is carried out in different fields, dealing with different aspects of this problematic:

Firstly, the authors are, in different ways, analyzing notions of transnationalization and globalization in relation to education. Here we find different actors entering the educational system such as the EU, the OECD, or the World Bank as supranational organizations and also multinational corporations such as Pearson that are at work in a large numbers of countries. It is of vital importance to portray and analyze this changing landscape and interest of actors at work here and how different conceptions of education of strategies for educational changes are formulated and expected to be realized, for instance, in terms of economical betterment or sustainable development.

Secondly, the educational landscape is in special focus in chapters analyzing migration flows and demographic changes between as well as inside territories. Such flows have a long history, and there are transnational organizations trying to improve international exchange and student moves and validation of their merits, such as in EU, and the making of a higher education area with international cooperation such as in realizing the Bologna process and the Erasmus program. Migration flows and national and transnational ways of dealing with them – in soft as well as in hard ways – are highly visible considering asylum seeking at borders and in directives to let different categories of refugees to allow entrance and permissions to stay. Here, different kinds of categorizations and strategies are vital.

Thirdly, in different chapters we note how educational knowledge and research is part of such transnational processes. Here we find international and comparative

research formulating missions for intervention and constructing instruments for benchmarking and standards for nations and for school systems. The PISA and TIMSS research programs are accelerating examples of this, relying on constructions of tests and design of studies. We also witness how categories of populations are identified and related to different kinds of treatments. And we observe the developing and use of different technologies to make schooling function and to be more effective.

Given these three fields, it is then how vital to capture how they intersect – how transnational networking and governance as well as migration flows are integrating with educational knowledge and research. Historically we observe the development of national statistics as an important instrument for state control and in identifying populational needs. We also note how educational knowledge is formed by and forming social and educational problems and how they are defined in policy discourses and in development of societal strategies by different actors.

This knowledge problematic is part and parcel of transnational governance of education. An implication of this is the demand for critical analysis of the premises for educational knowledge and strategies for educational change. Thus, in this book the authors are presenting different critical analyses regarding transnational governance and changing educational landscapes. Important here is to capture the interaction between different actors with their interests and the politics of knowledge in transnational and national governance and policymaking.

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Part I
Studies of Transnational Governance of Education

Chapter 2
Narrating and Relating Educational Reform and Comparative Education

Robert Cowen

Abstract Educational reform can be an isolated event: laws may be passed in a particular country about new ways to certify teachers as fit to teach. Sometimes, there is a major flurry of educational reform through a national "Education Act," or perhaps a legal decision by a supreme court rewrites how education may be distributed within a particular polity.

At the narrative level, this chapter concerns itself with even bigger examples of educational reform: first, the educational reforms which after 1945 made a pattern shaped by the theme of "equality of educational opportunity" and, secondly, the pattern of reforms in education undertaken in the name of "globalization" from the 1990s.

At such times, we can take for granted that the social sciences are affected by the political and economic and cultural context which they are exploring. But, after that, what else can be said other than Zeitgeist? This chapter edges a little beyond that word to see if it can locate a couple of starting points for future and more sustained analyses.

Thus, at the critical and analytical level, the theme of this chapter is the relationships of those reforms to the reshaping of a field of study: comparative education. This chapter will try to offer some initial illustrations of the ways in which these two patterns of "educational reforms" reformed the "subject" of comparative education, while accepting that comparative education was also addressing those reforms in education, sometimes in various action modalities that aimed at influencing their outcomes.

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Introduction: Crusades, Holy Lances, and Educational Reform After 1945

It is very difficult to be against "educational reform." That is a bit like declaring in public a dislike for "open education." However, that was a very dangerous expression. It was used especially in the USA in the late 1960s and early 1970s to refer to both the pedagogic patterns of A S Neil's school, Summerhill, and to the relatively staid innovations in primary school pedagogy in English state-financed schools for young children between the ages of about 5 and 11. This state-school pedagogy which had emerged by the late 1950s and which was celebrated in a national report (normally known as the Plowden Report on primary education in 1963) embraced little of the theories of childhood held by A.S. Neil. The US rhetoric of "open education" led (in my judgment) to remarkable confusion in the pedagogic reform movement on both the East and the West coasts. Clearly an ideology – of progress and of warm hopes for young people – is captured both in the phrasing "open education" and in the phrasing "educational reform."

Thus, there is an important question to be asked about "educational reform": what is the broader ideology of which is it part, who is being enthusiastic and why, and what does a specific set of educational reforms mean, sociologically, historically, and culturally, at any given moment? In parallel, another more difficult question can be asked: in which ways have we as academics within our "disciplinary" perspectives – including the historical trajectories of our fields of study and our conventional and continuing assumptions about the "good knowledge" we were creating – fitted ourselves within such educational reform, adapted our field of study to such educational reform, and, perhaps, failed to see ourselves and what we were doing, critically?

It is these two themes (the relationship of educational reform to redefinitions of a "disciplinary" field) that I will try to hold together, interpretatively. I will comment on some patterns of educational reforms and then sketch some of the relations between those reforms and the shape and trajectories of a field of study – comparative education. I will do this twice – firstly for the period from about 1950 to 1970 and then, secondly, for the period after 1990 or thereabouts. The puzzle is the same in both periods: how may patterns of educational reform be interpreted in counterpoint with changes in a field of study called comparative education?

There are multiple examples of when an educational reform is more than an educational reform and when it can without exaggeration be construed as a metaphor. One such example was the exclusion of "the middle classes" from access to higher education in the USSR after the 1917 revolution (Fitzpatrick 1970). This was clearly a "crusading" moment: a new society was to be built, and given the trauma, victories, and tragedies that were involved, it is not improper to ask who in the USSR saw themselves as crusaders; how would the USSR know, in reality, it was the Holy Land; and when would the Soviet Communist Party of the Soviet Union know the crusade was complete. Education was presumably (along with collectivization, electrification of the villages, and, of course, the party) a Holy Lance.

The concept of "the Holy Lance" is powerful in Christian history. In that history, "the Holy Lance" refers normally to the lance which was used in the final moments of the crucifixion of Jesus. One example among the complex history of several holy lances was the alleged discovery of the Holy Lance by a poor monk, Peter Bartholomew, in the Church of St Peter during the Siege of Antioch in 1098. This discovery so inspired the crusaders that they broke the siege of the city and the city was saved. Secular historians, and indeed the Catholic Church, have remained suspicious about Peter Bartholomew and what exactly was discovered.

Here, the point is that the juxtaposition (Holy Lance and the USSR) is disturbing because of the tension between the religious metaphor and a very secular revolutionary society, but historically we are accustomed to such crusading and messianic motifs. For example, during much of the nineteenth century, societies were remobilized around the idea of "the nation" – several "states" where people spoke German became Germany and Italy was redefined symbolically by Mazzini, diplomatically by Cavour, and militarily by Garibaldi and became "Italy" – nor are we unfamiliar with "holy lances": the US concept of "the frontier" focused on territorial expansion, and nineteenth-century European notions of "socialism" offered messianic visions of progress.

In our own times, with the vocabulary of crusade or Holy Grail, we can shock ourselves. This is not merely because the word "crusade" carries an automatic shock, partly through its use in terms of the current tragedies in the Middle East. It is also because there is (normally) an automatic shock when words about the sacred are juxtaposed with events which are secular and contemporary.

To put the point brutally: is the Holy Grail of our times the adaptation of our children (and our educational systems) to economic globalization? This question is raised despite the obvious caveat that Afghanistan and Syria, Honduras and Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela, Libya and several other countries in Africa both north and south of the Sahara, have more pressing problems than conventional anxieties about economic globalization.

That being said, clearly globalization is a historical and sociological fact. It would be strange if there were no university-based literature on feminism and globalization, or minority identities and globalization, or globalization and social cohesion. Academically, globalization, in several of the forms of it written about by Wallerstein (1974), by Held et al. (1999) or by Robertson (1992), is very much with us. However, it is also clear that the term "globalization" has passed into political discourse and, like forms of communism or some forms of anti-Semitism or some forms of Islam, has become – for many people some of the time and for a lot of politicians most of the time – a mobilizer of social and economic effort. Furthermore, a crusading tone can be heard not merely in domestic political discourses but also in the international and publicized rhetoric and formal publications of the World Bank, OECD, and (not least) PISA about the need for skills, for certain kinds of "quality" in educational systems.

Thus, it is not necessary to go to the nineteenth century to illuminate the themes of educational reform, "crusades," and holy grails.

The choice is wide – for example, the Catholic Church in colonial Latin America, the New England Puritans, the intervention of British religious missionaries in India, and Mao's Cultural Revolution – but the first educational crusade I wish to identify was the massive restructuring of educational systems after 1945. There were major tasks of educational reconstruction in Japan and the two Germanies and in Italy, but of course many of the educational systems of the "victors" in WW2 had also been recovered (e.g., Belgium and France). Even the relatively undamaged educational systems of the UK had already seen plans for their redefinition, plans that had been formulated during the war years. These reforms have been well documented (Poignant 1969), and perhaps the crucial point to make, here, is that in several other countries such as Hungary and Poland, there were equally strong visions of what good postwar societies should be like and the kind of educational systems they should have. These visions were also carefully specified and implemented.

Obviously there were different models of good educational systems in different parts of the world, and in some cases, the reform was powerfully influenced by foreigners. The geopolitical areas of greatest ambiguity and indecision were in what had been, and mostly still were immediately after 1945, colonies – India, Malaya, or countries in French Indo-China and the Maghreb, and in the multiple patterns of colonial Africa (which had British and French, Italian and German, as well as Portuguese and Spanish colonies). However, there were postwar versions of this. For example, the proposals by the Japanese, made during the war itself, for the expansion of their own educational system were taken up, taken over, and changed by the American Occupation Authorities (Shibata 2005). Similarly, indigenous thinking about the future of education in Eastern and Central Europe was interrupted by the imposition of Soviet-socialist models of educational systems. However, even if the reforms were very different in terms of defining the good human being, the reforms were remarkably similar to the strategic educational shifts in occupied Japan: they included redefinitions of either the correct gender base or the correct class base of educational systems (or both), the forms of knowledge to be taught in secondary schools, the changes in the provision of vocational-technical education (more in East Europe, less in Japan), the redefinition and expansion of higher-educational systems including universities, and the strong intervention on the ideological correctness of the teaching force. At the strategic level, echoed somewhat in patterns of educational governance, the biggest contradiction was probably in the different definitions of "democracy" which was to be provided in areas influenced by Soviet authorities and those influenced by "the Western Allies."

However, the leitmotif of the crusade (the different definitions of "democracy" notwithstanding) was equality of educational opportunity and the expansion of educational systems. What was the "best model" of a good secondary educational system? Perhaps the American, or the Swedish, or perhaps the Soviet common school stripped of their ideological baggage? The problem was to diminish the effects of class (the issue of gender became focused later) and the indirect effects of entrance examinations to academic secondary education traditionally offered in Europe at an early age. Hence, the considerable interest in the differences between – in the

vocabulary of R. H. Turner – "sponsored" and "contest" mobility, and the need to think up a new curriculum appropriate for mass secondary education that would produce democratic citizens, and not merely a literate labor force. The war had, after all, been won for democracy, by democracy, and was celebrated in the name of democracy (of one kind or another).

In other words, there was a very serious educational crusade in Europe: an effort to reform what, by the 1960s, were being termed "elite" educational systems that traditionally had not offered much sustained secondary education for large numbers of children and to change these "elite" systems into "mass" schooling systems of universal secondary education up to the age of, say, 15 years along with increasing efforts from the mid-1960 to provide university education to more than the traditional 5% or 10% of the age cohort (Halsey et al. 1965). Of course, there were variations. For example, there were especially sharp questions asked in England after the mid-1960s about the expansion of the university system and whether "more would mean worse." In counterpoint it became clear that the French regardless of a general expansion of university education were not going to reform in any major way their *grandes écoles*.

However, it is in counterpoint to these massive and messianic educational reform projects – "crusades" as it were – that I would like to ask about the field of study called "comparative education," obviously expecting that "the social sciences" will reflect their "context." The puzzle – because the word "context" gives about as much precision as the concept "dark energy" – is exactly what to look for (as well as how to keep the narrative brief).

Crusades and Holy Grails: Comparative Education

I choose therefore to ask: against the backdrop of such a pattern of educational reform, what kinds of changes were occurring, institutionally and epistemically, within comparative education and can generalizations be offered about its new priorities, its trajectories, and its silences after 1945 until about 1970?

Institutionally, comparative education was finding a place in major university centers (such as London and New York), and it began to be inserted into teacher education courses in a range of colleges. There is considerable evidence about this and later forms of institutionalization (Manzon 2011). There were also secondary but crucial forms of "institutionalization": the creation of specialist journals and academic societies and their associated conferences – such as the (American) Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) and later the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE), as well as a growing number of societies which self-defined as "national" or as language-based societies (Cowen 1990; Masemann et al. (2007)). A structural base was being laid for conventional careers and career success within a field of study that, up to about 1964, could be described in the last three chapters of a textbook aimed at the newish field of study (Bereday 1964).

Epistemically, some of the new thinking is worth spelling out in more detail because the shift shows the new priorities, concerns, and trajectories of the field of study and, by omission, the silences.

First, the literature (of the journals and in new books) gradually – and then with increasing speed – shifted from interwar concerns for international peace and understanding to addressing specific reform issues in the postwar educational systems – reconstruction, access, examination systems, curriculum, teacher education, vocational-technical education, universities, and so on. The *World Yearbook of Education* illustrates this point well. Normally they were edited by George Bereday (in Teachers College, Columbia) and Joseph Lauwerys (of the University of London Institute of Education) from the immediate postwar period up to about 1970. The yearbooks normally had one of the topics listed above (reconstruction, access, etc.) as the theme for a particular year.

Second, there was a shift away from earlier approaches to comparative education that had stressed the power of historical perspectives and interpretations. One such approach stressed "factors" such as language and race, geographic and economic circumstances, religions, and political philosophies as the major "causes" of the patterns of educational systems (Hans 1950). This version of understanding – a more or less historical version of knowing "the causes of things" – was beginning to be replaced, by the early 1960s.

The third strategic shift in *episteme* was an effort to know the future and not the past. Less cryptically, there was a new literature that was increasingly concerned to assist in the reform of educational systems and to shape the future with – either or both – a concern for policy and a concern for scientific precision. The new scholars of this period (broadly speaking the mid-1960s) confirmed their reputations by emphasizing the specific versions of "methodology" which they brought to the table (the word "science" was much used) (Noah and Eckstein 1969) and the need for scholars to be involved in "critical points of decision" (King 1968).

There was also a fascinating politics of knowledge on display in a cognate field, one with which in some countries, "comparative education" coexisted uneasily (Wilson 1994). In the postwar period in England, notably in the Institute of Education in the University of London – where the Department of Comparative Education had been created in 1947 – there was a separate and major department of education which had been concerned with "Education in the Colonies" (of the British Empire) since the interwar period. Postwar, the department relabeled itself "Education in Tropical Areas." Then there was another shift in vocabulary: the theme became "education and development," and (in the University of London in the Institute of Education) this department then took the title "Education in Developing Countries" (Parkyn 1977; Little 2000). In the University of Chicago, work on development was powerfully buttressed by a serious commitment to the academic perspectives of economics, in the University of Sussex in the UK by sociological theories of development, and in Teachers College, Columbia, by a powerful set of area-specific professorships (Africa, China, Latin America, etc.). Of course, much of this work was also influenced by the commitments of UNESCO and later various development agencies at the regional level. However, in the USA and in

Britain, there was a sharper politics: tension over the political roles of the USA and Britain and France (and the USSR) in what was becoming known as "the Third World." It is interesting that two of the most famous books of the period by Philip Altbach and Grace Kelly (1978) and by Martin Carnoy (1974) used the words "colonialism" and "imperialism" in their titles and did not tackle the theme of empire which has huge potential for academic comparative education (here understood as intellectual work to understand the shape-shifting of "education" as it moves transnationally amid the interplay of international political, cultural, and economic hierarchies as these interact with domestic politics and domestic forms of social power).

Certainly in both the USA and in the UK, scholars of education specializing in (what were variously known as low-income countries, Third-World countries, late industrializing countries, or) "developing" countries became more and more closely allied, as researchers and consultants, with their various national agencies at government level (such as the Agency for International Development in the USA or, within the British government, what was then known as the Overseas Development Agency).

These changes, between say, 1950 and 1970, illustrate a series of adjustments of two university fields of study to changing "readings of the global" (Cowen 2000). In one "reading of the global," the 1950 and 1960 specialists in comparative education picked up, in the northern hemisphere, the reformist motifs of the struggle to deliver equality of educational opportunity. The other "reading of the global" by those concerned with "tropical areas" (or the Third World, etc.) was the changing relation of old colonial powers with their former colonies amid a series of redefinitions of "the global" (such as the statistical and therefore political definition of *le tiers monde*) and new theorizations of international economic relations by international agencies, such as the World Bank.

And in these processes, what was new? The study of "comparative education" swung to analyze policy. It emphasized the theme of science. It sought out the possibilities of prediction in the name of methodology (in itself a "Holy Lance" within comparative education). New forms of "applied comparative education" (though not in that vocabulary) were being created for a new and useful policy science. Intellectual visions narrowed. Comparative education became structural-functionalist in its sociologies, uninterested in revolutions except as pathologies which had produced the Cold War. It became carefully and calmly "meliorist" within gradualist theories of social change.

Partly this happened because the Holy Grail of educational reform was well defined: it was equality of educational opportunity within a particular political universe of liberal democratic societies – the "Western" half of the Cold War. Thus within a predetermined model of change (liberal, gradualist reform), the "crusade" for equality of educational opportunity needed expertise, the social sciences of the universities, as its guide. In the vocabulary of Joseph Lauwerys, "educational statesmanship" was needed; but in the much more aggressive vocabulary of Brian Holmes (1965), "problem-solving" was needed, and as indicated earlier, Edmund King was also committed to a policy-relevant comparative education (Jones 1971). The shift,

by comparative educationists, away from the historical study of education began (Kazamias 2009).

The participants (which, as indicated, included scholars in the USA such as Noah and Eckstein) called their debate a debate about "methodologies." Of course it was, but it was also a redefinition of the political purposes of comparative education. With "equality of educational opportunity" as a "Holy Grail" within education – not merely a mobiliser for action but *the* mobilizer of a vision and its basic strategies – and with the international politics of the period precariously stabilized by the Cold War, comparative education could retreat into concentrating on domestic reform in education. Comparative education was also, within the context of the Cold War, becoming useful: it illuminated strange foreign places (such as Czechoslovakia or Poland for the postwar West German government or Latin America and Africa for the US government); and it began to commit itself to that mission also. It saw itself needing to be allied to makers of domestic (and international) governmental policy in education. Both CIES and what became the British variant on CIES increasingly sought closer links with governmental and development agencies at their conferences. And as comparative education swung to "read" and to intervene in this new world, it created a comparative education which was structural-functionalist, useful, applicable, and blinkered historically – overall, a policy-oriented science embedded in political assumptions about both the domestic and the international world. Older (Kandel 1933) and more internationalist visions of comparative education and its purposes (Ulich 1964) became almost invisible and certain forms of comparative education – say, Marxist ones – just about impossible. Fifty or more years later, we can grumble and say with implicit self-satisfaction that we would not have done that. Really?

The ambiguities are uncomfortable. At least out of respect to an earlier generation, we can ask: what is happening to us now? We, in our contemporary academic work, are faced with increasing public pressures (in university-based social sciences) to embrace a specific notion of "progress," to construct applied social "sciences" that will be useful, and to contribute to public policy in education. In England, academics are working under an injunction to have "impact"; in other words, we are being politically construed, by those who measure the quality of universities in England, as "holy lances" (even though the exact position of academics varies for all sorts of historical and political reasons between, say, Denmark and Italy, Argentina and Brazil, the USA and England, and – given the traditions of being "a professor" and constitutional law – between Germany and Australia). And of course we live within a different "crusade."

Crusades, Holy Lances, and Educational Reform After 1990

The second major educational crusade that I have in mind is the massive restructuring of educational systems (in many countries) after 1990. The *leitmotif* of the crusade is an ideology of effective and efficient education polities within a particular

interpretation of globalization. The first step involves the simplification of the historical and sociological and political complexities of globalization to mean *economic* globalization. Other simplifications are also very necessary.

Vocabularies (in the end, discourses) must change. Systems of education which have hitherto been termed, in the old vocabulary, "centralized" have to be "decentralized" so that they might be more flexible in their response to their economic environment. New vocabularies of persuasion ("choice," "diversity," "transparency") have to be invented and need to be absorbed into political discourse. New models of the school – new types of school, such as "academies" and "free schools" – have to be invented to expand choice. In other words, the pattern of schooling institutions is made more diverse. Schools need grading and those gradings need publicity – so that parents may choose schools in a market. In a paradoxical move, in England, the education of teachers (relabeled as "the training" of teachers) becomes more and more tightly controlled by the state – which insists on increasing the amount of practical work in teacher training programs, typically in the schools, within a discourse about new professions.

Universities, in particular, need to be "transparent," "responsive," and "responsible" because they are crucial for national survival – within the standard view of view of globalization. The discourse here is about "robust and relevant research," about (measurable) "quality," and the necessity for innovation within a world of knowledge economies. The "robust and relevant research" should of course be useful. Indeed in the UK, the most recent measures for the measurement of "quality" in universities by the Higher Education Funding Councils (which exist for England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland) have included attempts to measure "impact." Since its introduction into political discourse, the term has been broadened to mean short-term impact on society of a variety of kinds, but certainly including economic (Cowen 2012).

Obviously universities are being reconstructed in two ways: they themselves are being organized as a market in which they compete for scarce resources at high fees (students) and in which they will compete for scarce knowledge resources (research grants) which will cover the full economic costs of staff. Secondly, their output to the market will also be measured – universities are being reconstructed as economic institutions – and as institutions that will be managed (Sandgren 2012). They are being relocated within the economy.

The crucial point about these propositions (for the present analysis) is not that labels such as "neoliberal"[1] take different meanings in different places or that precise patterns of reform – the degree of emphasis on "skills" in curricula, the surveillance and measurement of quality of universities, and the direction of reform of

[1] An approximate meaning for this chapter is where "the market" is taken as a proper way to organize and to deliver education services, where the State becomes the measurer of the quality of the education service through complex managerial systems for profiling performance, where the State creates an educational quasi-market within which educational institutions compete with other educational institutions within rules decided by the State, and where the nature of "education" per se is deduced from models of skills and competencies which are expected to permit societies and individuals to survive in international and domestic economic markets.

teacher education – show considerable variation. (For example, Finland has not followed English models of teacher education. Unfortunately, we have not followed the Finns, either. Canada's systems of university surveillance are not as crude as those of Australia, and only recently have Spain and Italy begun to experience the international reform flood.) However, in addition to noting and acknowledging variations, there are two general points to be made.

First, more and more "the market" is taken as a proper way to organize and to deliver education services, where the state becomes the measurer of the quality of the education service through complex managerial systems for profiling performance; where the state creates an educational quasi-market within which educational institutions compete with other educational institutions within rules decided by the state; and where the nature of "education" per se is deduced from models of skills and competencies which are expected to permit societies and individuals to survive in international and domestic economic markets.

The second point is also another point of major importance and simplicity.

We are again (cf. "Learn from the workers, soldiers and peasants") in the presence of a "deductive rationality" (Cowen 2005): from a first axiom, educational policy can be strategically deduced, perhaps with tactical variations in different places. But currently the "crusade" is known – the mobilizers are clear: the necessity to avoid national collapse, to survive economically, and to compete "globally" in a world knowledge economy. The crusade can be organized. Here the Holy Grail is the adaptation of our children to economic globalization; and for this, education must be at the cutting edge – it must be "effective and efficient." (In a different vocabulary, education becomes a Holy Lance.) Educational reform is given coherence because it is embedded within "deductive rationalities" that flow from conventional (i.e., highly politicized) interpretations of economic globalization – even granting, as earlier, that there are considerable exceptions to this proposition. For example, North Korea and several countries in the Middle East are experiencing major political and cultural tensions about how to link their past to their future. ("Globalization" is not the only possible "deductive rationality" in the contemporary world.)

Crusades and Holy Grails: The Field of Study

In terms of institutionalization, much has been strengthened since the 1960s and 1970s. The range of universities and colleges in which comparative education is taught has grown (Manzon 2011). The societies, notably the World Council of Comparative Education, but also societies such as CIES and CESE continue to hold conferences, and their meetings grow larger and their publications, from those meetings, become more voluminous. The major journals grow more professional – not least because there is measurable international competition between journals which also celebrate Anniversaries or make other confirmations of their identity (Comparative Education 2014). The level of work now being published is often

impressive. In other words, a perfectly conventional "success" report can be filed in 2016 suggesting that the field of study – measured institutionally by journal publications, the universities and colleges which teach it, or conferences held – is doing very well.

Epistemically, there are certain continuities. The puzzle of what to call parts of the world remains: North and South carry political messages but under intellectual examination collapse almost as quickly as the nomenclature "East and West" (Cowen 2014a). The discussion about "comparative education" and "comparative and international education" continues (Epstein 2016) although it is clear that the work done on "international development" has sharpened, theoretically. The emphasis in university departments is shifting from economic models to more nuanced interpretations of the world offered by major figures such as Sen and Nussbaum who are rethinking notions of what counts as "capabilities" in a context of social justice and the aspirations of individuals about the nature of their own identity and that of their societies (Unterhalter 2009).

Secondly, the search for theoretical models for the field continues: there are efforts to reimagine it (Ninnes and Mehta 2004). The interest in the theoretical concept of "transfer" continues, notably in the work of David Phillips (2004) and Phillips and Ochs (2004) and also in several of the chapters in the very large volumes edited by Cowen and Kazamias (2009). An interest in a science of policy transfer has resurfaced (Steiner-Khamsi 2012).

More generally, among academics, there is an awareness that the world has changed and new ways to think about it are crucial. One relatively recent article even had the motif: "Reading the global: comparative education at the end of an era" (Carney 2010). The correlate, and it is a cheerful one, is that the theoretical work in the field is growing rapidly – notably in the *World Yearbook of Education* (e.g., Fenwick et al. 2014; Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow 2012) as well as in the work of individual scholars (Dale and Robertson 2012; Rappleye 2012; Schriewer 2014). My personal judgment is that we are achieving a higher level of quality in theoretical work than a couple of decades ago. The recognition that "comparative education" needs to do new theoretical work is also linked to the shift in the governance of educational systems (Beech 2009) as well as to the "invention" of Europe (Nóvoa and Lawn 2002; Lawn and Grek 2012). Overlapping these themes is a sense that the modes of governance of education – the specification of principles, policies, and some appropriate practices – slowly created at international level by the World Bank, OECD, and so on, have reinforced domestic versions of the "evaluative state" (a phrase I borrow from Guy Neave). This emerging international discourse about what counts as good education has been created within a particular logic of the relation between "globalization" and educational institutions.

That has begun to alter the definition of "education" itself and has begun to alter the ways in which "education" may be thought about. And that – because reforms in educational policy also included reforms to universities – has looped back onto ourselves. In the UK, what counts as research, what counts as originality, what is rewarded as research, and what is rewarded as originality follows definitions offered, outside of the university, in national agencies, which measure the quality of

universities, notably "world-class universities." In other words, an intimate relationship between modes of reflexivity and the world of recent reform action in education has developed.

This has altered the sociology of ambition for academics within "academic comparative education.' Its career lines (e.g., in the UK) mean that all ambitious academics must gain funded research; and positions and status honor have changed. Young academics initially may need to aspire to the job of "research officer" and then senior research officer, before becoming lecturers, although we have also seen the gradual disappearance of the word "teacher" as a label of honor. We are seeing other fracturings in the role of "the academic": some colleagues will make their reputations in "external consultancy" and others through their ability to attract very large funds for contract research, a tendency much strengthened by the availability of research funding from the European Union, particularly for research which is empirical and implicitly provides a means toward "evidence-based policy" reform. Thus the referent "comparative education" is no longer simple.

The final irony – for the moment – is perhaps PISA. The irony is that we were, in the 1960s, wishing for a science (Cowen 2014b). We now have one which defines educational quality in relation to skills that are (within the logic of a particular deductive rationality) necessary for success within economic globalization and we thus have a solution to the problem of educational success and economic achievement. In principle, PISA *becomes* "comparative education." It brilliantly fits itself: in other words, it is a paradigmatic model of excellence because the research is robust (i.e., it based on empirical work), it is relevant to skill formation systems, and – in principle – it provides "the scientific" base for reforms that make educational systems more efficient and effective (for knowledge economies). However, before we abolish ourselves, we might choose to note that PISA has attracted a certain amount of critical comment. Euan Auld and Paul Morris (2016) in a powerful article and Paul Morris (2016) in an incisive lecture have outlined the academic case for what I personally would wish to call "foolishness." This is not the "foolishness" of PISA per se but foolishness at the intersection of PISA results and the politicians that interpret PISA as a call to particular modes of educational reform.

Conclusion

Overall, then, one period of "educational reform" (more or less after 1945), with a clear crusading motif of equality of educational opportunity, occurred when political relations (those of the Cold War) framed agendas of attention and constructed agendas of action for comparative education. Comparative education began to embrace the theme of policy reform – but the mode of that reform was gradualist, meliorist, and "democratic," with the comparative educationist increasingly seeking the role of "expert" in critical points of decision. Interestingly, in this period, the claim on university resources (for the creation of departments, the attraction of staff and graduate students, and so on) was that comparative education – because of its

"methodologies" – was a science and a very relevant science for policy. Part of the claims (of that period) was that it was making steady progress, now that it was no longer concerned with "history." For example, it was already addressing difficult questions (of those times) about the collection of statistical data, the creation of neutral models for the naming of the parts (the sectors, the levels) of educational systems, and its specializations tended to be the boxes (elementary, secondary, vocational-technical, curriculum, and so on) of educational systems each of which could be fine-tuned by reform action.

A second period of "educational reform" (more or less after 1990) had a clear crusading motif of economic globalization and a mission to rethink educational systems within such an economic frame. This shaped agendas of attention and agendas of action for comparative education. The agenda of attention was economic globalization itself and the working out its correlates, for example, in terms of lifelong education, or vocational-technical education, or assessing actual and needed changes in curriculum, or university systems. However, at increasing speeds, claims on university resources could only be made by meeting – in the universities altered by the very processes of educational reform deduced from axioms of economic globalization – the criteria of external evaluative agencies about what kinds of research were indeed "research," then later by research that was delivered on a contractual basis, and then research which would have "impact." Thus, within agendas of action, "comparative education" began to fracture into strands which included "cosmopolitans" – here in the meaning of specialists in action (e.g., consultants) and specialists in "robust and relevant" research (e.g., contract research). In contrast, there are "locals" who spend a great deal of time on teaching, on supervising doctoral work, and on building the field by publishing conventional academic papers in the conventional academic journals. We are seeing the creation of an "applied" comparative education – here, from within the universities.

In other words, in both of these periods, the forms of comparative education (including a shift into comparative and international education) changed, as international, political, and economic relations – and the interpretation of those relations – changed. Thus currently, academic comparative education has been struggling to redefine what it can "see" and how it would like to rethink itself. This is very different from the new excitement by politicians about the happy expectation that from "comparative education" (e.g., PISA or World Bank notions of "world-class universities") policy may be deduced. With huge irony, the aspirations of 1960 comparative education (to be a science, to be close to policy makers, at a time of equality of educational opportunity) have come to fruition at a time when the "science of education" that we do have is little more than accumulations of empirical research and when the international example of successful practice has become Shanghai, rather than Finland or Japan or Sweden.

That is a peculiar form of progress, but its sociology could perhaps be understood by grasping, in much more detail than is possible in a short chapter, the ways some of our university educational styles of knowledge *change with the world they look at*, rather than sit as "disciplines" which permit us to inspect the world as if it was the "natural world" and we were an exact science and could experiment reliably on it.

However, the same point can be made in a different way, perhaps in a way which helps to get some degree of very temporary closure on a difficult theme.

First, what we have seen in the last two or three decades is the emergence of a new form of quite self-conscious "comparative education": it is a comparative education of solutions. PISA, as sketched above, is one such comparative education. OECD recommendations on what is a good teacher educational system are another example. Perhaps the simplest example is the writing out, by authors commissioned by the World Bank, of a concept of the "world-class university." That concept has entered into the public pronouncements of an amazing number of ministers of education from Argentina to Vietnam and has led to a plethora of well-known schemes for the measurement of the quality of universities: the game of rankings, which of course is publicized with enthusiasm by some university managers, if not all. (Clearly, however, a "ranking position" can be used, managerially, to insist on change, new staff hiring policies, and so on, within specific universities.)

That is the bad news: we have a comparative education of solutions. For example, a recommendation about what is good (e.g. a teacher educational system) from an international agency or the creation of a concept ("achievement" or "quality") which can be measured – and the juxtaposition of measurements of the performance of several countries – creates "comparisons" in the ordinary dictionary meaning of the word and also creates what I mean here by a comparative education of solutions.

The good news for oppressed peoples everywhere is that we have not created, in academic comparative education, a "geometry of insertion" – imagine if, in nineteenth-century empires, the British, the French, or the Spanish had possessed a social technology which, as a reliable set of techniques, permitted an educational idea such as "a curriculum" or "a teacher educational system" to be inserted into a dependent territory with unvarying success!

This cuts straight to the classical question at the center of comparative education: the politics of the international mobility and shape-shifting of educational phenomena as they travel. I tend to be over-succinct on this complex problem and assert: "as it move, it morphs." For the moment, as far as I am aware, none of the major international agencies, in which I include PISA, has addressed the question of "a geometry of insertion," partly no doubt for reasons of sovereignty but perhaps also because of a crucial puzzle. Are societies to be thought of (from "outside") as complex machines or as complex biological systems – with their own immunologies?

There are, as yet, no rules of morphology – no understanding of the codes of "as it moves, it morphs." Thus the irony is that we are – still – left with two classical questions (Sadler 1900; Nóvoa and Yariv-Mashal 2003) unanswered. To quote the first question: "how far may we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education?" And, to repeat, in paraphrase, the second question: is comparative education a mode of governance or an historical journey?

Clearly for some (i.e., some politicians and some university managers), it is becoming a mode of governance. However, for many academics it remains an intellectually exciting historical journey which poses remarkably intractable puzzles to the traveler.

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Chapter 3
Reforming Education: The Spaces and Places of Education Policy and Learning

Bob Lingard

Abstract This chapter deals with the multiple scales, spaces and places of contemporary education policy reforms. The focus is on new non-state policy actors, namely, international organizations such as the OECD, and edu-businesses such as Pearson. The first case of the OECD's PISA demonstrates the lack of policy learning in relation to international data and the processes of externalization associated with the usage of international performance data in national educational reforms. The second case illustrates the quasi-privatization of both education policy and the policy-producing community with its focus on Pearson's research-for-policy work as evidenced in *The Learning Curve*. The chapter documents issues associated with these developments, including democratic deficits in policy work today, set against the new spatialities of globalization.

Introduction

This chapter will analyse the spaces and places of learning in contemporary education policy as a backdrop to thinking about the multiple drivers, including non-national and non-state actors, of education reform today. Brennan (2006, p. 136) has argued that the emphasis on space and place in contemporary globalization theory is indicative of the apparent 'overcoming of temporality' with the new emphasis provoking a move from 'tempo to scale' and from 'the chronometric to the cartographic'. This is evident in the so-called spatial turn in social theory (Gulson and Symes 2007). Brennan elaborates on this space/place distinction, suggesting ''space' is more abstract and ubiquitous: it connotes capital, history, activity and gestures towards the meaningless of distance in the world of instantaneous communication'. He contrasts this with place, suggesting 'place' denotes and connotes 'the kernel or center of one's memory and experience – a dwelling, a familiar park or city street, one's family or community' (p. 136).

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With Fazal Rizvi (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 66), I have suggested that in today's globalized world, this space/place distinction is a useful one for thinking about the education policy cycle; it allows us to think of the *space o*f policy production, which is often manifested today in globalized educational policy discourses emanating from international organizations such as the OECD, World Bank and UNESCO, and the *place* of policy recontextualization and enactment in systems and schools. Here we can think of *policyscapes* (Carney 2009), part of the cultural flows of globalization. We can also think of the relationship between such policyscapes and national policy production in education and policy enactment in schools. As such, agendas for educational reform are set at various scales and in different places with ideas about such reform moving across the globe through various scales and spaces and eventually enacted in different places.

The new spatialities associated with globalization (Amin 2002) form one important context to the argument of the chapter. These include new scales of policy production beyond the nation, including new regional alliances and strengthened significance of international organizations. They also include topological spaces that constitute new relational connections across the globe that 'compose the spaces of which they are a part' (Allen 2011, p. 284). It is important to think about Amin's (2002) point that with this topological turn, the ontological distinction referred to above between space and place has been elided to some extent. Think, for example, of how school systems compare their performance on PISA with that of other nations (Finland) or global city systems (Shanghai). The nation-state is not less important in this context, but works in different ways and is central to the global. As Grek (2013, p. 697) argues, drawing on the spatial theorizing of Massey (2005), we have to 'acknowledge the extent to which the national is critical, if not *the* critical element, in the formation of global policy agendas'.

The second contextual backdrop and framing trope of educational reform is what we might see as the other to Bernstein's (2001) 'totally pedagogized society', the neo-liberal 'learning society'. I am thinking of the way in which this concept of a 'learning society' has been transformed in the context of neo-liberal ideology, manifest in different vernacular and path-dependent ways in different polities, and has dominated ideologically in the post-Cold War era on the global stage. At its extreme, as Yates (2012, p. 260) has asked, 'In the world of the information society is education better left as an unfettered relationship between a consenting individual and their smart phone?'

The concept of a learning society has had various manifestations, stretching from Robert Hutchins' (1968) *The Learning Society* through Ivan Illich's (1971) *Deschooling Society* to the present neo-liberal construction. Here as Nikolas Rose (1999, p. 161) has put it, 'The new citizen is required to engage in a ceaseless work of training and retraining, skilling and reskilling, enhancement of credentials and preparation for a life of incessant job seeking: life is to become a continuous economic capitalization of the self'. Education reform today is most often about responsibilizing individuals for their own learning. Deleuze (1995) and Rose (1999) also suggest that learning is no longer simply managed within educational institutions. Bernstein grasped this in his concept of the 'totally pedagogized society'. In

this context, the learning society takes on a new meaning; the individual has to continue to learn, to self-capitalize across the life cycle. Linked to the learning society is what Biesta (2012) calls 'learnification', for example, the construction of teachers as facilitators of learning and education as learning how to learn, often accompanied by an evacuation of a knowledge focus.

Related is the emphasis on measuring learning outcomes through standardized tests. This now occurs on a global scale through, for example, the OECD's PISA and also through complementary national testing of various kinds. Takayama (2012) has noted that since 2006, more than 80 % of developed nations and more than 50 % of developing nations have adopted national testing (p. 505), an indication of a globalized education policy discourse and global trend.

Learnification will be the focus of this paper in respect to the OECD's PISA and the lack of policy learning in relation to it. Another focus will be on the way this reconstruction of the learning society and learnification and testing, in the context of new spatialities, and of the restructured state and various kinds of privatization (Ball 2007) opens up spaces for edu-businesses. I will focus on the work of an edu-business, Pearson, in respect of these phenomena.[1] As Ball (2012, p. 128) notes, 'Pearson is a serious policy player, a key part of 'the new global geometry of power' (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 172) in education'. Both the cases also reflect the ways data have become central to contemporary education policy in the context of what Lyotard (1984) called the emergence of 'performativity' in the face of the collapse of meta-narratives as justification for political, and I would add, policy action. Data have also become central to new modes of governance in education helping to reconstitute educational systems as they take on a more 'systemless' form (Ozga 2009; Lingard 2011; Lawn 2013).

In what follows, I deal with two cases, the first policy learning in respect of globalized policy discourses and data and the second the partial privatization of aspects of the policy cycle in education. I consider the backdrop to each and adumbrate the specific case, first PISA and policy learning and second the case of the edu-business Pearson and their data report, *The Learning Curve* (hereafter *TLC*), a new privatized research-*for*-policy genre.

Case 1: Policy Learning

The Backdrop to the Case of Policy Learning

The first case deals with the idea of 'policy learning'. The specific focus is the impact of the OECD's PISA. These effects in different nations within the emergent global education policy field (Lingard and Rawolle 2011) have varying 'form, content, amplitude, and intensity' (Carvalho and Costa 2015, p. 670; Breakspear 2012).

[1] See Hogan et al. (2015, 2016). I draw here on the work I have done with colleagues Anna Hogan and Sam Sellar.

As Carvalho and Costa suggest (2015, p. 670), the 'circulation of PISA as part of multidirectional processes' 'involves' 'reinterpretation, decontextualization and recontextualization' and is 'where national, local, regional and international agencies intertwine'.

The concern then will be with the global field of education policy as a space of policy production and nations, systems and schools being places of global policy recontextualization and enactment, while acknowledging the space/place distinction has been to some extent elided. The increasing scope, scale and explanatory power of PISA, which the OECD is working assiduously on, strengthens its significance in constituting the global policy field, including the introduction of the Education GPS portal, which enables users to visualize patterns of performance on PISA and related tests. In turn, the strengthening of PISA and its growing significance within the OECD also enhances its impact within more nations.

There is a considerable literature within comparative education on policy attraction, borrowing, lending, mobilization and transfer (e.g. Phillips and Ochs 2004; Steiner-Khamsi 2004). There is more recent work in policy sociology in education (Ball 1998; Rizvi and Lingard 2010; Lingard and Rawolle 2011; Ball 2012; Ball and Junemann 2012). Put simply, those two bodies of literature deal with the interplay between global and national factors in policy development, giving varying emphasis to these factors and their interweaving.

In comparative education, the neo-institutionalist position proffered by Meyer, Ramirez and colleagues (e.g. Ramirez 2012) has argued there is isomorphism between the specificities of national educational systems in terms of structure and curricula as a result of the global diffusion of modernity. My position acknowledges some of that, but is wary of its apparent apolitical stance, neglect of power relations and conflict, denial of any agency for national policy actors and failure to acknowledge the policy/text/policy enactment distinction (Anderson-Levitt 2012 and the special number of *Comparative Education*, 48, 4 on neo-institutionalism), neglect of national path dependency (Takayama 2012), erasure of policy actors (Lingard et al. 2015), denial of colonization and the colonial present (Gregory 2004) and of related epistemological exclusions (Appadurai 2001). There is a complex interplay between world polity pressures, global and national actors and 'path dependency', that is, mediation of such pressures by national policy actors, organizational histories and cultures. Schriewer (2000, p. 417) points out 'the co-existence of Western-style isomorphic structures at the surface level of ministries, constitutions or management practices and, behind this front, a complex interplay of cultural deep structures, entrenched attitudes, specific meaning-processing schemata, and vested interests'. The global education policy field, constituted through the alignment of the habitus of global and national policy actors (Lingard et al. 2015), affects path-dependent national policy processes.

In considering the significance of PISA in the constitution of a global education policy field and its impact within national schooling systems, I will traverse the arguments of a number of scholars concerning the ways in which the OECD's usage of PISA gives emphasis to policy, structures and excellent schools, as opposed to history, culture and the extent of structural in/equality, in explanations of outstanding

national performance on the test. A range of literature on that point will be traversed (Meyer and Schiller 2013; Feniger and Lefstein 2014). I provide a case study of the policy responses of England, the USA and Australia to the outstanding performance of Shanghai-China on the 2009 PISA, precipitating a global PISA shock (Sellar and Lingard 2013). Here I would also note how the PISA shock in Germany following the 2000 PISA was a factor in strengthening the global significance and national policy impact of the test (Ertl 2006).

This case will demonstrate that nations often do not learn from international comparative performance. What we see instead is policy 'externalization' (Schriewer 1990). National policymakers tend to use external evidence such as comparative performance on PISA as an external justification of the necessity for national reform (Waldow et al. 2014). Waldow (2012, 418) has defined externalization as 'a discursive formation that can become relevant in the context of borrowing, and lends itself easily to the purpose of producing legitimacy' for national educational reforms. Morris (2012) has criticized this externalization, when national reforms attempt to emulate supposedly 'world class systems' and or 'good/best practice' from elsewhere, especially given that most people know so little about the external school system that is so referenced.

The Case: PISA and Policy Learning

PISA 2009: Shanghai's Performance and Impact in the USA, England and Australia[2]

Asian education systems in South Korea, Japan and Hong Kong have consistently performed well on PISA. However, Shanghai's entry into PISA 2009, and its outstanding performance across reading, mathematics and science, has drawn new levels of attention to its education system. I will focus on the USA, English and Australian responses to Shanghai's performance. Shanghai's education system is a top performer within China and a leader in terms of educational reforms, which are providing a basis for policy learning and reforms in other parts of the country – Shanghai as an internal reference system. It is the only region of mainland China that participated publicly in PISA 2009. However, a number of other provinces in China have been involved in PISA on the basis that they are exempted from making public their results (Chan and Seddon 2014). In one of my research projects, an interviewee explained that China is 'using PISA as a lever for improvement in other provinces, for the western provinces for example' and '[t]hey are going to ensure that they get things right before going fully into it. I think the plan is that more and more Chinese provinces come in as and when the infrastructure is there'. More schooling systems in China participated in 2012 PISA and more again in 2015. Shanghai's involvement has provided China with a comparison of its top

[2] See Sellar and Lingard (2013).

performing system against other systems internationally, and a benchmark for education reforms internally.

Shanghai substantially outperformed all other OECD countries, partner countries and economies in PISA 2009, scoring 556 in the reading assessment (Finland 536, Australia 515, USA 500, England 495, average 493), 600 in mathematics (Finland 541, Australia 514, average 496, England 493, USA 487) and 575 in science (Finland 554, Australia 527, England 515, USA 502, average 501). Further, 12.3 % of variation in reading performance in Shanghai can be explained by socio-economic background, compared with 12.7 % in Australia, 14 % in England and 16.8 % in the USA. This suggests that not only were Shanghai's students the top performers on the reading assessment but that Shanghai's schools are also comparatively successful at enabling students to overcome disadvantageous socio-economic backgrounds. There are, however, some reasons to be sceptical of the equity measure of the Shanghai system, given the exclusion of the poorest internal migrants from government schools and thus from the PISA sample.

The US Response

For most of the twentieth century, the USA was quite insular in terms of influences on its schooling systems. This changed when it looked to Japan in the1980s in the wake of the crisis talk of *A Nation at Risk* (Takayama 2007). Shanghai's performance on PISA 2009 challenged the insularity of US schooling even further.

President Obama has been an activist education president, strengthening the role of the national government *vis-à-vis* the states. He supported state governors in the development of a curriculum common core for mathematics, science and English. His *Race to the Top* also made demands of the states in terms of testing results and reform agendas. Here the states were placed in competition with each other for additional federal funding for schools. This competitive pressure aimed 'to push the USA ahead in the nation-versus-nation competition for jobs in the global economy' (Collin 2012, 163).

In policy and political terms, PISA had limited impact in the USA until 2010 (Breakspear 2012), despite its comparatively poor performance on PISA from its inception. This changed with Shanghai's outstanding performance on PISA 2009, when the results were released in December, 2010. Prior to the release of the 2009 PISA results, Andreas Schleicher, then director of PISA at the OECD and now Director of the Directorate for Education and Skills, spoke to the US Senate Education Committee and warned how the USA was falling behind many other nations on high school completion rates and also falling behind in PISA results.

There was much media coverage in the USA following the release of the PISA 2009 results in December 2010. For example, the headline in the *New York Times* (7 December 2010) read, 'Top Test Scores from Shanghai Stun Educators'. Quoted in the report, former Head of President Reagan's Department of Education, Chester E. Finn Jr. observed, 'Wow, I'm kind of stunned, I'm thinking of Sputnik'. He

continued, 'I've seen how relentless the Chinese are at accomplishing goals, and if they can do this in Shanghai in 2009, they can do it in ten cities in 2019, and 50 cities by 2029'. Arne Duncan, then Secretary of Education, said, 'We have to see this as a wake-up call'. He added, 'The United States came in 23rd or 24th in most subjects. We can quibble, or we can face the brutal truth that we're being out-educated'. The *New York Times* story also quoted Mark Schneider, a Commissioner of Research in the Department of Education during the George W. Bush Presidency: 'Shanghai students apparently were told the test was important for China's image and thus were motivated to do well'. He continued, 'Can you imagine the reaction if we told the students of Chicago that the PISA was an important international test and that America's reputation depended on them performing well?' President Obama was also quoted in the *New York Times* story from an earlier speech, noting how the 1957 launch by the Soviet Union had precipitated an educational shock in the USA, which led subsequently to increased investment in STEM in schools and universities. He suggested that with the stellar performance of Shanghai, the USA was facing another Sputnik moment. Furthermore, in his State of the Union Address on 25 January, 2011, the President observed, 'We know what it takes to compete for the jobs and industries of our time. We need to out-innovate, out-educate, and out-build the rest of the world'. In this media coverage and in the political responses to it, we see a PISA shock. In a Press Release dated December 7, 2010, Arne Duncan, then Secretary for Education, quoted the President as saying that the nation that 'out-educates us today will out-compete us tomorrow'.

The English Response

While the UK is the unit of analysis for the OECD's PISA and is one of the OECDs 34 members, each member country of the UK pays for oversampling so that PISA data can be disaggregated at the level of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Education as a policy domain has also been devolved to member countries. The case focused on here deals with the political and policy responses in England.

Across the period of New Labour government (1997–2010), England saw itself as a leader rather than follower of international educational trends, especially in use of data. During the New Labour era, there was confidence amongst both policymakers and politicians about the quality of national education data and its usefulness for policymaking and school reform. Related, there was some scepticism about the usefulness of international comparative tests like PISA for policy and reform purposes (Knodel and Walkenhurst 2010). A policymaker I interviewed in England, for example, noted, 'up until now we've been very focused on our national data, we are probably ahead of other countries in terms of data' and 'for the actual conduct of the [PISA] studies I don't think we get anything new because we are so far ahead in terms of data collection than most countries'. This neglect of PISA ended in the lead-up to the change of government in 2010 and following Shanghai's 2009 PISA performance.

After their election in 2010, the Coalition government used the decline in England's PISA performance between the 2000 and 2006 PISA to attack the educational achievements of the Blair and Brown New Labour governments. The Coalition government utilized these data to articulate a narrative of declining standards and to legitimize the need for yet more reform. This government juxtaposed the New Labour government's claims of ever-improving standards on GCSE targets and SATS against declining PISA performance and ranking. The Coalition government and subsequent Conservative government have increased the focus on and use of international performance data, manifest at one level in the greater number of people working on international matters in the Department.

Shortly after being elected, the Coalition released a White Paper, *The importance of teaching* (2010), which stressed the importance of international data and comparative performance. For example, 'what really matters is how we are doing compared with our international competitors. … The truth is, at the moment we are standing still while others race past' (DfE 2010, 1). We can see a similar discourse here to that used in the USA in relation to Shanghai. One gets the sense of an education race with international rankings being the prize. England's performance on PISA 2006 is then used to frame the policy positions set out in the White Paper, with the 'Far East' and Scandinavia identified as having top performing systems from which England must learn. One research interviewee explained that when the Conservative-led Coalition government was elected, 'the focus on international evidence sharpened hugely. While PISA had relatively circumspect impact on education policy under New Labour, as one interviewee explained, under the Coalition, '[t]hat has all changed. Ministers are absolutely clear that every policy that is developed they want to see underlying evidence not just from the national side, also the international level'.

This new emphasis on PISA results was very evident in speeches made by former Secretary for Education, Michael Gove. In an early speech soon after the election in May 2010, and before the release of 2009 PISA results in 2010, Gove spoke about the need to learn from other systems, particularly from countries such as Singapore, South Korea, Finland, Canada and Sweden, as well as from charter schools in the USA (Gove 2010). It is significant that the policy learnings taken from Sweden and the USA were manifested in free schools along the lines of the Swedish model and the creation of more academies, which like charter schools are publicly funded but privately managed.

Gove visited China in 2011 and subsequently wrote an article in *The Telegraph*, pointing out that '[s]chools in the Far East are turning out students who are working at an altogether higher level than our own'. He called for a 'Long March to reform our education system' and, arrogantly displaying a lack of understanding of the history of Chinese education under Mao during the Cultural Revolution, claimed England needed 'a cultural revolution just like the one they've had in China' (Gove 2010). This China visit was prior to the release of PISA 2009 results in December 2010, which showed students in Shanghai to be the world's top performers.

The Australian Response

PISA since its inception in 2000 has always held a more significant place in Australian education than in England and the USA. It is perhaps significant that two Australians have headed education at the OECD. There is an oversampling on PISA in Australia so that, while a national performance figure is important in policy terms, there is also disaggregation to allow comparison of the performance of the state and territory schooling systems. In the early rounds of PISA, Australia performed well across reading, mathematics and science. A new narrative of declining performance was set in train following the 2010 release of PISA 2009. Australia is now one of only four nations that have seen performance decline over time in reading and mathematics. The narrative of decline in recent debates has been fuelled by the fact that the top performing nations on both PISA 2010 and 2012, apart from Finland, have been in Asia. Australia is dependent economically on the strength of the Chinese economy and sees its future as dependent on Asia in the context of the twenty-first century being characterized as the 'Asian century'. Australia being outperformed by its Asian neighbours on PISA provoked a PISA shock in Australia.

Reports produced by the consultancy firm, the Nous Group, and another by the think tank, the Grattan Institute, highlighted Australia's declining PISA performance, directing attention to Asian schooling systems. They generated much media coverage. The Nous Group's *Schooling Challenges and Opportunities*: *A report for the Review of Funding for Schooling Panel* (2011) was framed in terms of Australia's comparative performance globally. The report opens with an analysis of PISA performance, focusing on Australia's declining reading and mathematics scores. The risk of Australia 'falling behind' Asian systems such as Shanghai, Korea, Hong Kong and Japan was stressed (Nous Group 2011, p. 7). The federal government's 2012 White Paper on *Australia in the Asian Century* drew on this argument to press for school reform in response to Australia's declining comparative PISA performance.

Catching Up: *Learning from the best school systems in East Asia* report (Jensen et al. 2012), a research-for-policy report released by the Grattan Institute, also emphasizes the rise of Asian systems: 'Today's centre of high performance in school education is East Asia'. The influence of spending and cultural factors—'Confucianism, rote learning or Tiger Mothers'—on this test performance is significantly downplayed. Rather, the importance of education reform agendas and policies in countries such as Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore is stressed. The report was derived from a 2011 roundtable, titled *Learning from the best*. This round table, convened by Grattan, included amongst its participants the Australian Prime Minister and Federal Education Minister; education academics from Shanghai, Singapore, Hong Kong and Korea; and, interestingly, Andreas Schleicher from the OECD. The author of the report also wrote an op-ed piece for the national newspaper, *The Australian* (February 18, 2012) entitled, 'Shanghai success a lesson in delivery' (*The Australian*, February 18, 2012). The report received a lot of media coverage.

It was subsequent activity around PISA 2009 and the 'rise' of Asian systems, along with the media coverage generated by these reports in 2011 and early 2012, which precipitated the PISA shock in Australia. The then Prime Minister entered the debate asserting that Australia needed to 'win the education race' in Asia (*The Australian*, January 24, 2012). We see here again the notion of a global education race. The Prime Minister also observed: 'four of the top five performing school systems in the world are in our region and they are getting better and better'. The Prime Minister did not want Australian students to become 'workers in an economy where we are kind of the runt of the litter in our region and we've slipped behind the standards and the high-skill, high wage jobs are elsewhere in our region' (*The Australian*, January 24, 2012).

Case 1: Policy Learning and Externalization (Analysis)

The three national responses to Shanghai's stellar performance on PISA 2009 demonstrate externalization, rather than policy learning at work. As Waldow (2012) suggests, this mode of externalization sees the evidence of the higher performance of other systems used as a form of legitimacy for a national government's own educational reform agendas. This has been the case in Australia in relation to Shanghai 2009 PISA performance, with then Prime Minister Gillard establishing a legislated target of Australia being back in the top 5 on PISA by 2025. The subsequent Conservative federal government elected in 2013 has continued the rhetoric of Australia's declining PISA performance (also using PISA 2012 results). This has been used to drive a conservative agenda, focusing on teacher quality and school autonomy to the neglect of funding issues and an equity focus.

The analysis of the three national responses also demonstrates how Shanghai has become an important 'reference system', because of their 2009 PISA performance, which was repeated on PISA 2012. Talk here of a 'reference system', rather than 'reference society', is indicative of the new spatialities of globalization and comparison across multiple scales (including topological relationships). It is also indicative of the careful management of the release of PISA results by the Chinese government.

It was not only Shanghai's performance that resulted in this 2009 PISA shock in the USA, England and Australia. Rather, a number of significant contextual factors also contributed. One is the changing global context, including importantly the so-called Asian century and specifically China's rising economic and geo-political standing. National politics also mediated the way externalization played out in the three cases. Prime Minister Gillard used Shanghai's performance to justify her national reforms, namely, the introduction of national testing and the first stages of a national curriculum. In England, the Coalition government used England's declining PISA performance and the performance of Shanghai to criticize the educational reforms of its New Labour predecessors and also to drive their own reforms around the need for better performance. The same occurred in the USA, strengthening the

President's human capital argument around education policy and supporting the *Race to the Top* as a way of improving national performance on PISA. The President observed, 'Fifty years later, our Generation's Sputnik moment is back. With billions of people in India and China suddenly plunged into the world economy, nations with the most educated workers will prevail' (*New York Times*, 7 December, 2010).

Mention has been made of how the OECD over-attributes equitable and high-quality performance on PISA to policy and excellent schools and teachers and denies to a large extent the historical, contextual and cultural factors involved in producing top-quality performance (Meyer and Schiller 2013; Feniger and Lefstein 2014). We know that context and history cannot be borrowed; consequently the political readings of PISA performance are usually context indifferent. As Meyer and Schiller show (2013, p. 210), 'In the official representation of PISA data, non-educational factors are typically ignored or, at best, treated as 'residual noise'. Media, governments and school officials rush to praise a country's schools for good PISA outcomes or to blame its curriculum or policies for bad ones.

It is the case that the value of comparative PISA results as an evidence base for national policy learning depends to some extent on performance being attributable to policy. Feniger and Lefstein (2014) argue that there is an assumption built into PISA that differences in national performance are due to national policies. Their challenge to this reasoning is structured around data that demonstrate that Chinese born, but Australian and New Zealand educated students, who migrated before they were 5, who participated in PISA 2009, performed more like students in Shanghai than native-born Australians and New Zealanders. They thus reject the 'Policies and Structures Assumption' and accept instead the 'Cultural-Historical Assumption' to explain differential national PISA performance. Condron (2011) proffers an argument about the neglect of inequality by the OECD and nations in two senses in explanations of national PISA performance; these are structural inequality and inequality in respect of funding schools. He compares Finland and the USA in relation to PISA performance and shows how the low Gini coefficient of inequality in Finland is central to that nation's PISA performance but is never commented on in the USA.

Case 2: Pearson and Edu-business

The Backdrop to the Enhanced Role of Edu-businesses

The second case provides a critical policy analysis of *The Learning Curve* (hereafter *TLC*), a 50-page report and associated website and data bank produced by Pearson, the world's leading edu-business (Hogan et al. 2016). The TLC attempts to provide a meta-analysis using a range of data, including PISA, data from the IEA's TIMSS and PIRLS and UN and national data. *TLC* functions as a point of data articulation between national policymaking, the work of international organizations and the

interests of edu-business. Pearson explains that it is 'committed to playing an active role in helping shape and inform global debate around education and learning policy' (Pearson plc 2012, p. 39). Pearson's involvement is one example of a global explosion of edu-businesses over the past decade seeking to capitalize on a burgeoning industry with high profitability (Burch 2009). Rupert Murdoch (2010) is also seeking to transform his business in this way (quoted in Hogan 2014): 'When it comes to K through 12 education, we see a $500 billion sector in the US alone that is waiting desperately to be transformed by big breakthroughs'. It is not surprising that these edu-businesses have supported test-based modes of accountability in education. The need for data infrastructures that enable these accountabilities and that help construct schooling systems also provide lucrative opportunities for edu-businesses.

TLC is an example of the new 'philanthrocapitalism' (Bishop and Green 2008), insofar as it is an integral part of Pearson's present strategic transformation, which involved funding international education policy projects through its philanthropic arm, the Pearson Foundation, and presenting its education policy analysis work as a positive benefit to national policy debates. The Foundation was abolished in late 2014 as Pearson sought to 'mainstream' its corporate social responsibility.

TLC must be understood against Pearson's new business strategy outlined in their 2012 Annual Report. The Annual Report notes, 'As the world's leading learning company, Pearson has a once-in-a-generation opportunity. To seize it, we must transform the company again' (Pearson plc 2012, p. 6). *TLC* is an integral part of Pearson's present strategic transformation, which focuses on a shift from education inputs (e.g. textbooks, assessment, courses and qualifications) to education outcomes, data and analytical services.

Pearson's *TLC* is located within the 'learnification' of schooling and the centrality today of data to policymaking. Think of Pearson speaking of its desire to inform 'learning policy' and its self-description as the 'world's leading learning company'. Biesta (2012, p. 583) suggests 'learnification':

> …denotes the fairly recent tendency to refer to anything educational in terms of a language of learning. Thus teachers have become known as facilitators of learning, teaching has been redefined as the creation of learning opportunities, schools are seen as learning environments, students are called learners, adult education has been branded as lifelong learning, and the process of education is described as that of teaching—and–learning.

Learnification includes the correlative stress on measurement of learning – 'visible learning', usually through tests of the application of knowledge as with the OECD's PISA. In the conclusion to a recent book, which is very critical of learnification, Michael Young et al. (2014, p. 191) criticize Andreas Schleicher, now the Director of the Education and Skills Directorate at the OECD, who they quote as saying: 'The past was about delivered wisdom, the future is about user-generated wisdom…the past was curriculum-centred, the future is learner-centred'.

Standardized testing as part of this learnification phenomenon is linked to new modes of educational accountability (Ranson 2003; Webb 2011). In the USA, George W. Bush's *No Child Left Behind* was a catalyst for enhanced testing in

school systems, while Barrack Obama's *Race to the Top* has entrenched the significance of such testing as central to new modes of accountability and in some parts of the USA to teacher evaluation, tenure, remuneration and promotion. The step towards a Common Core in maths, science and literacy has also strengthened the arm of testing. Pearson has been heavily involved in this changed policy context in the USA in test construction, data management and data analysis. In Australia, the most recent move towards a national curriculum began in earnest in 2008 and was accompanied by the introduction of the National Assessment Plan – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), which consists of literacy and numeracy tests taken every year by every student in every Australian school in years, 3, 5, 7 and 9 (Lingard 2010). NAPLAN is used for system, school, principal and teacher accountability purposes. Pearson is involved in managing this testing regime for some systems in Australia and is also involved in the analysis of these data for these systems. They have also been involved in the trialling of the online delivery of the tests and are working through their researchers on developments in computer-adaptive learning. Pearson's business motto is 'Always Learning', which plays well with the contemporary moment of learnification.

Learnification, testing and related policy developments within a restructured state have enabled the enhanced role of edu-businesses in education policy (Ball 2012). Ozga (2009, p. 150) argues that 'data production and management' have become central to the new governance turn. Stressing the centrality of comparison to new modes of governance in education, Novoa and Yariv-Mashal (2003) suggest that the global eye and the national eye together make the globe legible for governing through comparative performance measures of systems and schools.

Network governance, which combines vertical, vertebrate, bureaucratic approaches with horizontal, cellular networks across sectors and in the context of globalization across scales and spaces (Ball and Junemann 2012), opens up multiple spaces to edu-businesses. With privatizations of multiple kinds (Ball 2007), governments and the state become facilitators and cocreators of policy agendas, policy texts and their delivery, as well as creators of education markets (Ball 2012). As Koppenjan and Klijn (2004, p. 25) observe, 'In the world of network governance, government is understood to be located alongside business and civil society actors in a complex game of public policy formation, decision-making and implementation'.

This context has witnessed edu-businesses like Pearson playing a much larger role in the policy cycle in education; what Mahony et al. (2004) refer to as the 'privatization of education policy', as the 'policy creating community' has extended to take in players beyond the state and beyond the nation, stretching globally to policymakers in international organizations like the OECD and including edu-businesses such as Pearson. The second case of learning then which I will focus on is that of Pearson.

Case 2: Learnification and Pearson's The Learning Curve

Always Learning: The Education Policy Work of Pearson

As noted, *TLC* must be understood in the context of Pearson's new business strategy outlined in their 2012 Annual Report (Pearson plc 2012). *TLC* is a high-profile public initiative, demonstrating Pearson's recent development of an efficacy framework to structure all of their service delivery and to quantify outcomes. Pearson is creating a global market for their goods and services and is seeking such markets in the nations of the Global South as criticisms of their role in nations such as the USA grows; for example, Ravitch speaks of 'the USA of Pearson' to indicate their fulsome role in schooling in the USA.

As with the policy genre, *TLC* seeks to construct particular policy problems through data analysis and subsequently provide nations, or rather sell them, solutions. *TLC* is thus a branding device for Pearson. It reflects their focus on outcomes and as an evidence base demonstrating return on investment for its 'customers', here national and provincial governments, education systems and individual institutions ('Pearson Inside'), in developed and, particularly, developing countries. Indeed, Pearson explains that it is 'committed to playing an active role in helping shape and inform global debate around education and learning policy' (Pearson plc 2012, p. 39). There is a significant democratic deficit here.

TLC was produced by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), then a subsidiary of Pearson, which has now been sold. *TLC* makes recommendations for the reform of national schooling systems, utilizing publicly available (and publicly funded) data relating to education and other social measures. It draws on educational performance data collected by the OECD and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) to compare the performance of national schooling systems. The generation of these data is publicly funded, and they are made available under arguments about the necessity of transparency in the work of governments and international organizations. Yet, with TLC, these data are being used by a private company in a consultancy research-for-policy manner and as market research for Pearson to shape policy production and debates in commercially advantageous ways. In Ball's (2012, p. 116) terms, such data analysis and *TLC* are part of the 'soft capital' of Pearson.

TLC will be attractive to policymakers because it simplifies complex policy problems in education, perhaps a characteristic of all policy production. Furthermore, its creation of policy problems opens a commercial space for Pearson to generate profit through the provision of policy solutions. The bottom line for Pearson is undoubtedly the pursuit of profit. Yet, exemplary of 'corporate social responsibility', they are also clear that their 'commercial goals and social purpose are mutually reinforcing' (Pearson plc 2012, p. 34). Pearson defines its purposes as 'to help people make progress in their lives through learning', where they argue they have a responsibility as the world's leading learning company, 'to support educational improvement and to actively share our experience on models that work and those

that do not' (p. 38). This philanthrocapitalism is the new form of corporate social responsibility that is driven by 'the belief that doing good is profitable, or at least boosts the firm's reputation'.

Pearson launched *TLC* in November 2012, pooling international comparative performance data and analysis in the context of the rise of 'evidence-based', or more properly 'evidence-informed', policymaking (Wiseman 2010; Lingard 2013). Inter alia, the report draws on interviews that were conducted with 16 'experts in education' and input received from an advisory panel. In the foreword, Sir Michael Barber, Pearson's Chief Education Officer, outlines the need for *TLC* analyses, arguing that in an era of evidenced-based policymaking, PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS data are not sufficient 'to ensure a country is on track for economic and social success in the 21st Century' (p. 2). He references his previous involvement with the McKinsey reports, as well as Pearson's previous publication *Oceans of Innovation* (*2012*), as examples of how international benchmarking can show 'what works in education'. We see here the pragmatic 'what works' discourse, redolent of all research *for* policy (Lingard 2013). Barber constructs the argument for the development of *TLC* by arguing that '[Pearson] have assembled in one place a wide range of data sets which will enable researchers and policymakers to correlate education outcomes with wider social and economic outcomes more easily than ever before' (p. 3).

In policy usage terms, we can see the rationale for generating the concise 50-page *TLC* report that condenses well-established data sets into an easy-to-read format with clear policy prescriptions. We can also see how it plays on the anxieties of national policymakers. Compared with the six volumes, 1200+ page, triennial PISA report produced by the OECD, *TLC* sets a new standard for accessible 'policy-relevant' data analysis. *TLC* forms part of the genre of research *for* policy (see Lingard 2013).

The broader TLC initiative has complied data from 14 different sources on education inputs and outputs from 50 countries to produce over 2500 individual data points and 65 comparative indicators. Pearson claims that this 'has enabled a wide-ranging correlation analysis, conducted to test the strength of relationships between inputs, outputs and various socio-economic outcomes'. TLC nonetheless outlines a number of 'definite signposts' for educational policymakers.

The key findings of the report include the observation that strong relationships are few between education inputs and outputs, that income matters but culture matters more, that there is no substitute for good teachers, that good information is critical for school choice, that there is no one path to better labour market outcomes and that a global index can help highlight both educational strengths and weaknesses (Pearson 2012, p. 8). The report adumbrates five key lessons for educational policymakers in terms of reform:

1. There are no magic bullets.
2. Respect teachers.
3. Culture can be changed.

4. Parents are neither impediments to nor saviours of education.
5. Educate for the future, not just the present (Pearson 2012, p. 11).

Paradoxically, these five lessons might be seen as magic bullets of a kind.

Case 2: Pearson and the TLC (Analysis)

The case of the TLC is more indicative of what is emerging with the move to big data and the need for data analytics than a settled case. The very patchy data in TLC is evidence of this. This move will strengthen. What the case of TLC shows is the interweaving between the rescaling and new spatialities of globalization played out across the spaces and places of education policy cycle in the restructured state, and network mode of governance as policy is increasingly evidence informed. This is a case of capitalism becoming a project of itself, what Thrift (2005) calls 'knowing capitalism'. The case of the TLC, though, shows that the state does not have the capacity to 'know capitalism' in this way; private interests come in to fill this opportunity space.

There are two major concerns with the enhanced role of Pearson and other edu-businesses in this moment of learnification and the neo-liberal learning society. These have been expressed to me in research interviews I have conducted with a number of policymakers in the UK, Australia and at the OECD. Pearson clearly has substantial analytical capacity when it comes to big data, along with particular research capacities, but we need to ask if there is a democratic deficit operating when they take on such a substantial role in the setting of policy agendas and providing the solutions to the policy problem, making profits through doing good and their corporate social responsibility. Pearson has not been elected by any democratic constituency. There is also the potential here for an edu-business to monopolize the research-for-policy domain, resulting in its commercialisation.

Conclusion

Globalization at one level can be seen as simply, as Sassen (2007) suggests, the creation of global infrastructures, specifically data infrastructures, which facilitate the circuits of data flowing through our globalized world. These infrastructures create multiple, yet interconnected, centres of calculation, at the same time as the globe is made a commensurate space for measurement of comparative school system performance.

The analysis provided in this chapter has shown how the spaces and places of policy production and enactment have changed. The nation-state nonetheless remains central and is important in the construction of the global. What we see in education policy is the interweaving between the effects of the global diffusion of

modernity and the nascent global education policy field, mediated by the path dependency of national cultures and histories, as manifested in national schooling systems. Non-state actors have become more significant policy players in education in this context.

It is very evident in the case of the responses of the USA, England and Australia to Shanghai's stellar performance on PISA 2009 that (path-dependent) national politics and policymaking still mediate and express global educational policy discourses. The analysis has shown that externalization – the use of comparative international performance to justify reforms already under way – is the usual response, rather than what we might see as policy learning. This case also reinforces the conception of public policy articulated by Head (2008) that policy is always an admixture of values, ideologies, discourses, plus evidence, research and data, plus professional knowledges. Both cases have demonstrated the potential for real democratic deficits in education policymaking, especially given the role of data and that of an edu-business such as Pearson in agenda setting and the offering of policy solutions.

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Part II
Educational Reforms and Transnationalization

Chapter 4
Education Governance by Results? On Communication in a Performative Turn in Swedish Education

Sverker Lindblad

Abstract This chapter is dealing with transitions in the governing of schooling in Sweden. Referring to uses of different dominating governing models, four periods were identified since the WW2, first a centralizing reformation period (1950–1980), followed by decentralizing realization period (1980–1990), and then a deregulating restructuration period (1990–2000) including marketization, a voucher system, and privatization. This governing model was since the 2000 complemented by governing of school performances of different kinds. The focus is on this last period; what were the reasons for such a performative turn? What are the premises and what are the instruments in such a governing by results? How does this model work? To answer these questions, a combination of analyses of policy documents, an intensive study of a school community, and an analysis of the evolution of school performances were carried out. The results show a governing model whose realization is somewhat problematic in relation to what was expected from it: decreasing performances in combination with a communicative inability to use the achieved results for altering school designs and work procedures. These results are partly considered to be implications of the premises in the governing model, and partly due to preconditions that is given in the current school regime. An overarching conclusion within the current framework is that the irritation with governing by education outcomes presumably will be followed by a strengthened governing and control of educational processes from "within" or from "the outside" of welfare state education.

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Introduction

Educational governance in Sweden has changed in radical but sequentially consistent ways since WW2. I will here do a periodization of this process lasting for more than 50 years. My main interest is in the performative turn taken at the turn of the millennium, where the governing should be based on the results of schooling – by means of student performances on tests and other kinds of indicators of how well schools are performing. What are the rationales for and expectations on this kind of governing? What are the premises for its functioning and what are the results of governing by results? I will try to answer these questions by a set of inquiries, starting with an identification of predominant governing models and their different characteristic features. Then I will do an analysis of the premises of governing by results in a communicative education system (cf. Luhmann 1995; Luhmann and Schorr 2000) and identify important results of schooling during the last two decades. Do results matter in the governing of education by results?

A Periodization of Governing Models

The history of welfare state education is full of references to governing, due to the simple fact that education governing is a recurrent irritation for politicians, administrators, as well as education professionals. Education governing is a way to talk about education – its scope and limits – and to put forward hopes in how a political system might penetrate the education system and to implement desirable changes. In the discourses on education, it is possible to identify different governing models. In Table 4.1 I present that as ideal types. The actual dates in this periodization are broadly defined, due to the complexities in the establishing and decisions concerning changes in governing.

A short note about context at work in relation to the periodization: It is constructed in order to make different emphases in governing model visible, but it is as such also indicating changes in the context of – and at work in – education. Thus,

Table 4.1 A periodization in different governing modes in the trajectory of Swedish welfare state primary and secondary education 1950–2016

Years	Governing period	Governing model
1950–1979	Centralized reformation	Governing by parliamentary decision, directives, and detailed state regulation
1980–1992	Decentralizing realization	Governing by goals in a deconcentrated system
1993–2000	Deregulating restructuration	Governing by markets, choice and information systems
2001 and forward	Performative re-regulation	Governing by the comparisons of school performances in a restructured system

the centralized welfare reformation period is part of an expansive phase in Swedish welfare education carried out during a "golden financial period under the reign of socialist governments." The following period is in a way characterized by a stabilization of the reformation period – decentralizing or deconcentration in governing. Here, governing by goals in combination with trust in policy-makers and professionals is a characteristic context. The context of the movements into a deregulating restructuring is a combination of allusions to an ongoing financial crisis and a growing international competition and references to globalization in policy-making including transnational organizations and policy traveling. This is further accentuated during the latest period where we note the vital importance of transnational networks and actors giving the politics of education a technical-administrative face – which does not mean that education policy-making has stepped back. Instead we note the introduction of new regulating technologies and fields of governance in education.

Centralized Reformation and Governing by Detailed State Regulation

The first three decades after WW2 were considered to be golden years for the Scandinavian welfare state model in governing social progress. Education was here given special attention – as "a spearhead towards the future" (stated by the former social democratic prime minister Olof Palme in a much quoted speech from 1962). The Swedish model in education was based on centralized decision-making in consensus and standardized solutions to social problem. It was formed by the idea that the state was able to conduct (or conduct the conduct of) organized activities in desired directions. Directives and procedures were produced by the center, where the then National Board of Education played a central role, e.g., in the voluminous production of syllabi by civil servants (often former teachers) or working groups. Notions of consensus and careful preparation of political decisions were conceived of as characteristic for this period (cf. Lindblad and Wallin 1993).

Decentralizing Realization and Governing by Goals

The governing of primary and secondary education turned out to be a recurrent irritation during the 1970s and resulted in a number of state commissions such as "The School, the State, and the Local Communities." The period of centralized governing from behind came to an end around 1980, when a new national curriculum for the comprehensive school was implemented, asking for local work plans on how to realize the national goals under local preconditions and involving actors at local levels in the making of education in order to increase "school democracy."

(Governing by goals was further developed in the next national curriculum, but then in another context.) In this decentralization the existence of common national goals was regarded as a way to preserve the direction of the primary and secondary education in Sweden (Lindblad and Wallin 1993).

Deregulating Restructuration and Governing by Markets and Evaluation

As presented by, e.g., the Swedish Commission of Power, the clients of welfare state institutions were conceived of as having too little of influence on their own situation in these institutions (according to the state commission Democracy and Power in Sweden, c.f. Petersson, 1991). This kind of irritation was related to different discourses on governance of schools – to what extent and in what ways should consumers or citizens or clients and users of education – and different ways of dealing with this financial deficit. In conjunction with an increasingly problematic financial situation, economical issues war conceived of as being essential in education considered as a cost rather than a resource. Different ways of calculating the efficiency of education were the outcomes were in focus.

Given this, a radical break in the governing of welfare state schooling turned up in the early 1990s. Presumable inspired by the Thatcherite restructuring of education in England, a new model for governing was introduced by means of deregulation, privatization, and marketization in combination with a voucher system. The introduction of this model was, according to our studies (Lindblad and Popkewitz 2001), presented by the finance department who told the education people what was needed to be done. In a word, economy took very visibly the lead. The expectations were that such a governing system should increase the creativity and efficiency of the school system, where boundaries for school design were taken away and where informed customers should pick the best schools (Gov. Bill 1992/1993:230 "Freedom of Choice"). These ideas were put forward in a parliamentary decision on a development plan for the Swedish school (Gov. Paper 1993/1994; 183 "Development plan for education").

Performative Regulation and Governing by the Politics of Comparisons

This governing by the market model is still at work in Swedish welfare state education. But an irritation in policy discourses were notions considering questions on quality and the validity of school merits. Thus, the model was complemented by a further development of the governing from the front, where measurements of results were given a vital position. Around the turn of the millennium, developments of

networks and governance fields including data technologies dealing with large-scale assessments turned out to be very important: firstly, international study assessments like the TIMSS and PISA as tools for governance; secondly, ranking lists – more or less valid – are regarded as highly interesting news by mass media, presenting rankings of "best schools" and "most popular programs"; and thirdly, the quantitative instruments for school educators such as the Swedish databases SIRIS and SALSA were constructed as instruments for decision-making on different levels but not to be used as an instrument for ranking – which they however turned out to be. Stated otherwise a set of instruments produced to inform the governing of education are developed during the last decade. These instruments have been very successful in developing policy agendas in recent years.

Comments on the Transition of Governing Models

This history presents a series of governance models that are to a large extent overlapping and are using governing practices that are partially contradictory and partly overlapping (see, e.g., Englund (2005) on equity issues). But how are these models and practices functioning in terms of communication – or rather as a system of senders and receivers – where it is uncertain if information presented has a communicative significance (Luhmann 1995)? How significant are they in their work on governing education and what are the implications of this?

What we note is firstly recurrent irritations considering the models. Their realization is not consistent with the expectations put forward when they were implemented (as could be expected (cf., Lindensjö and Lundgren 2000). Secondly, we note an increasing complexity in the models – from a centralized to a decentralized or rather deconcentrated one with similar ideas on policy-making "inside the state" but in changing levels for decision-making.

The big break with the educational restructuring was a governing model assumed to reflect the surroundings of the welfare state institution as a combination of deregulating and marketization including a voucher system. The well-informed actors on the education market would inform schools and policy-makers about which schools that were functioning in accordance with their preferences which then the education system could act upon in order to design schools and their ways to cultivating students. The performative turn is based on a model of governing (see Ozga 2012) by means of transnational networking among an increasing amount of agents, developments of often large databases, and putting part of the decision-making outside the formal organization (Ahrne and Brunsson 2009). This governing model is in many ways a prolongation of the restructuring period, but it is using networks and technologies for comparisons that are affecting policy agendas as well as policy decisions.

On the Premises for Performative Regulation in Education

During the reformative period, education was to a large extent governed by regulated resource allocation plus directives from the center on how work should be done and procedures to follow in decision-making as well as in schoolwork. This "push model" was evaluated in relation to the directives, and sometimes the directives were evaluated themselves – their internal consistency and value in relation to the functioning of the institution pull (Hagel et al. 2010). Governing by goals or results – sometimes labeled as a "pull model" – was assumed to open up for an increased creativity among those who design education and to be sensitive for differences in context as well as for complex interaction in the process of governing and designing of education. Given the information about goals, educational activities and structures should be designed to pull in desired direction in a way that was impossible to prescribe in a general way. Governing by results is in turn based on the premises that the goals are possible to translate into valid and reliable instruments and that these measurements will show to what extent the goals are reached in a transparent way. Results achieved should then not only inform to what extent the goals are realized but also serve as a basis for analysis of reworking the design developed and to eventually revise this design.

Thus, we get a set of interrelated issues to deal within governing by results. Highly simplified these issues are assumed to constitute sets of communicative relations in different steps:

(a) The formulation of goals in policy documents and curricula.
(b) The design of schools and schoolwork that are expected to realize the set of goals.
(c) The achieved results are indicated by means of certain measurements.
(d) The measurements of results assumed to be valid relative to the formulated goals.

Governing by school performances is based on the assumption that each step is a valid translation of the previous step. However, from a communication point of view (Luhmann 1995), a valid translation is as such unlikely to occur in each step. For instance, information about goals are unlikely to be significant in designing schools. Thus, there is generally a need to reduce the complexity in communication, e.g., by training of school designers and teachers and by repetitive exchanges of information such as formative evaluations. Of specific interest when governing by results is how goals are translated into measurements. Is the eventual communication resulting in valid measurements of the realization of the goals that are expected to be fulfilled – what goals are eventually communicated and how valid are their translation? To measure educational outcomes is by no means a trivial action and so is the interpretation of results, for instance, in policy-making and in work to redesign education.

In sum, these relations present complex demands for communication in governing by results. To my understanding what is crucial here is that results matter during

performative regulation of education. Thus, I will focus on (c) achieved results and their significance. Firstly, what meaning is made of these results in relation to (a) goals and (b) designs? Secondly, are these results implying actionable knowledge (McLaughlin and London 2013). The second point is most important when dealing with governing by results, since such a governing implies that information of results is of significance when preserving or altering goals or design.

The idea with this study is not to accept or reject governing by results as a workable model in the governing of education. Instead I will put forward questions about how it is governing. How, and in what ways – are school results, as displayed and analyzed by different performance indicators, significant in communication about education matters – e.g., in terms of revision of the design of education. Thus, the main question is: How do school results and performance indicators work as actionable knowledge in Swedish education?

Governing by Results During a Re-regulating Period?

First a snapshot of organizing principles is presented in models for governing by results: Part of governance by results is decentralized decision-making and responsibility to evaluate school qualities to the national authorities (cf. Quennerstedt 2006). This is based on a rationalistic model of governing, where the politicians formulate the goals and administrators decide on how to reach these goals by means of subgoals and distribution of tasks and resources. In turn, the results achieved should be collected and conceptualized by the administrators and delivered to the policy-makers (cf. Sundström 2004; Jarl 2012). In Sweden at the state level, the Swedish School Inspectorate is responsible for supervision of local authorities and schools in relation to laws and regulations, while the National Agency for Education is responsible for evaluation and aggregation of statistical data. The municipalities are producing "evaluation of quality" – reports to the NAE (Jarl 2012). The schools – in turn – are responsible to plan and evaluate their performances, including to follow up student performances. This is the responsibility of the principal in accordance with the implementation of principles of New Public Management in Swedish education.

We have noted a special twist of the performative turn, where international and supranational organizations are at work. This twist is somewhat in contrast to our conception of education as a project closely related to the national state and national policies in education. It is not only governing by results, but in doing so plays active part in policy-making in technical and administrative networks collecting and analyzing different kinds of performance and quality indicators, often derived from the OECD and the EU.

This way of doing policy is now being studied in different ways over national boundaries pointing to transitions from professional and political to a technological accountability regime (e.g., Ozga 2013) arguing that:

> … accountability in education is increasingly defined as technical accountability through national and international comparative measures of performance. (p. 292)

This research portrays a regime getting a hard grip on education management and performance at all levels of education in governing through different networks of new actors and partners in education. Such a regime built on contracts and measurements of results steered by transnational organizations such as OECD and EU.

We get a technological accountability that is combined with policy-making where performances in the politics of comparisons are vital (cf. Ozga 2012). The policy-making in education is translated into administrative turns. Thus, for instance, education policy-making in Sweden is to a high extent framed by results on PISA and TIMSS – in the last election in cooperation with the McKinsey reports, which present strategies to improve educational systems as defined by success in PISA – comparisons (Lindblad 2011). See Coffield (2012) for a critical analysis of the validity of the McKinsey reports. The debate on education in mass media is dominated by a similar framing of educational performances in combination with school inspection reports presenting quality problems in certain schools and decisions to turn down schools (see Segerholm 2009, on the decision by the school inspection to close down one of the few Swedish boarding schools).

How Does Governing by Results Matter in the Context of Educational Policy-Making

In one way the results in Swedish schools are improving as well as deteriorating according to available statistics. We find that the average grades are getting higher – indicating improved education performance – especially in private schools – during the last 15 years (Skolverket: Beskrivande Data 2012, p 38). However, during the same period, the results are going in the opposite direction when analyzing international student assessment exercises such as PISA and TIMSS. In accordance with the current policy agenda, educational policy statements to a large extent are referring to results from international assessment exercises – on low performances on, e.g., PISA – and demand to improve the situation. According to international and national statistics, the progress is not alarming (Skolverket: Beskrivande Data 2015, especially p. 168 ff). Instead, results based on international comparisons have a dominant downhill tendency. In international ranking lists, Sweden is sinking.

Table 4.2 gives a short overview of the development of results considering such performances during the last 10–15 years. This picture of school results is somewhat ironic in a period where governing by results is at work and especially when international comparisons are setting the agenda for Swedish educational policy. (The interpretation of the sinking results is not infrequently – e.g., by the current government – assumed to be a result of a domination of progressive school ideologies still at work in schools and in teacher education. An alternative interpretation is that they present consequences of mistakes in current education policy-making.)

Table 4.2 Broad tendencies in comparing comprehensive school performances 1998–2012

Type of performance	Comparison	Result 2012	Tendency
Percent of lower secondary school students eligible for upper secondary education	1998–2015	91.4–85.6 %	Somewhat down
Average study qualifications (grades) when leaving comprehensive school	1998–2012	201–211 in average	Up
Program for Individual Study Assessment (PISA) Science and Math plus Reading Comprehension	2003–2012	International rank	Down
PIRLS (Reading and Literacy)	2001–2011	International rank	Down
Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)	1995–2011	International rank	Down
Differences between schools in terms of test performances in PISA	2003–2012	National comparisons	Increasing

Sources: National Agency for Education (2008): Descriptive Data 2008. Report 320. National Agency for Education: Descriptive Data 2015. Report 434 OECD (2015)

Given the current reception of results from the OECD and the IEA, the following conclusions are made:

1. High visibility of international performance comparisons in Swedish educational policy discourse
2. Low visibility of policy reflections about reasons behind these results
3. High number of educational policy measures in order to improve the results

The combination of (1) and (2) is interesting: less of reflections and more of activity in measures to improve performances in international comparisons. Such measures concern more distinct governing and control of students, to strengthen the competences of school professionals and to reinforce school inspections.

Education policy discourses are increasingly focusing on school results as measured by different kinds of testing. This is further underlined by the current analysis of education policy measures since 2007. It is argued that what matters are improved school results, which is limited by the capacity to measure these results. Given this, the point is very simple – what matters most is improvement – e.g., in terms of position in international comparisons, not the results as such. How to achieve this is, according to the commission, to get more competent teachers and school leadership – in line with current education system analyses such as the McKinsey reports (Barber and Mourshed, 2007, Mourshed et al. 2010).

How Does Governing by Results Matter in School Organizing?

How is governing by results functioning – how is the communication working at the school level – what is the significance of school performances in the organizing of school activities and programs? In our research we tried to answer such questions by means of a ten-school study. Here, Jarl (2012) made an intensive study – based on document (forms, plans etc. used to document student performances) analyses and interviews – of four schools with different merit scores but with other characteristics kept as constant as possible.

In this study it was concluded that most documents concerned identification of problems and deficits and little about good performances. Consistent with this finding is the fact that "poor-performing" schools had much more documentation. From the interviews it was concluded that the principals were more or less undetectable – they are not taking the lead in this work – and the school results are not having an impact – at least in the formal organizing of the school. These findings are consistent with other research showing that the principals cannot manage to carry out pedagogical leadership under the pressure of current constraints. Jarl points to the fact that this was a prerequisite for the governing system in Sweden and that the lack of pedagogical leadership is a huge problematic in current education: school results does not matter much in the organizing of Swedish schools. What matters instead for the principals is to keep the economy in order. Otherwise they will be replaced or the school is in danger to be closed down.

To this I would like to add the notion of triage presented by Youdell (2004) stating that in a marketized context "…practices of educational triage becomes both acceptable and necessary." (p. 407). A triage (a concept from emergency medicine) differentiates students in the safe cases, the suitable cases for treatment, and the hopeless cases. To identify the cases that can be treated within current constraints and affordances is then a way to increase school performances at the cost of resources to the hopeless cases according to Youdell (op cit). To my understanding the concept of triage can be used to pinpoint practices of inclusion/exclusion in schooling as an institution, where an important aspects concern the saving of souls in danger – diminishing the number of dropouts.

Students' School Performances and School Choice

What is the significance of school results for students in their identity development and choice of school careers? Several studies point to differences among students in ways of dealing with schoolwork and to respond to demands of schooling. We also learn how different youth cultures display themselves in relation to each other inside as well as outside classrooms. Here we assume that scores on tests in combination with teachers' responses on student answers are vital not only for students'

understanding about their knowledge status but also about their understanding of themselves and their position – e.g., in the school class as a social system.

Much attention is given to student performances and how to supervise and correct students in order to improve school results during the last decade. What significance does this have from a student point of view?

Firstly, going to classroom interaction, it has to be noted that this is highly complex today with less of simple IRE triptychs (teacher interrogation – student response – teacher evaluation) in formative evaluation of student performances (cf. Mehan 1979; Hoetker and Ahlbrandt 1969). In our research we made a set of detailed analyses based on recordings of classroom interaction showing that the teachers are still in control but participating in more extended sequences with more of student responses and less teacher evaluation indicating problems to identify straightforward right/wrong responses in current classroom discourses (Hansen et al. 2015). Other studies have shown increasing classroom governmentality where students are to choose their tasks and plan their ways to manage these tasks (Österlind 2010).

Secondly, a very important stage in school careers is the transition from lower secondary to upper secondary school. This implies that students and parents have to select school as well as school program. A large set of information sources and guidance activities are provided to the students in order to support their "informed and rational choice." Hansen and Lindblad (2011) identified a set of student identities, based on information about their school efforts, homework, etc., and choice rationalities. Given this he analyzed the significance of different kinds of information for their school choice. Irrespective of identity as well as rationality, what matters are personal and informal contacts, firstly parents and siblings and secondly "shorter work experience programs" plus face-to-face communication in an annual education fair, where upper secondary schools present themselves and try to get applications to their alternatives. What seems to be of less significance is guidance talk, teacher conversations, websites, and visits to schools.

A preliminary conclusion is that students are to less extent "pushed" through the school by teachers and teaching learning materials. They are to a larger extent expected to "pull" themselves through their school life by motivation to improve their grades and build their future. According to our studies, there is a number of students that are not part in this pulling machinery. Firstly, they are not at present engaged in the future offered by schooling. And secondly, they are not engaged in classroom discourses. The concept of triage can be used here as well, having striking similarities to the identification of so-called steering groups by Dahllöf (1967) in the Swedish school during the 1960s. This is interpreted that schooling as an institution in Swedish has a focus to push students "at risk" into more safe positions since long. It also means that a significant share of students is more or less outside the working of classroom pedagogy.

Concluding Remarks: What Matters Most in Governing by Results?

As a point of departure, a periodization based on governing models in Swedish education since the WW2 was presented. It was argued that a restructuring period since the early 1990s was moving over into a period of performative regulation where education policy-making was increasingly based on the politics of comparisons – where local, national, and international ranking lists (such as PISA and TIMSS) are of vital concern. Given other research (such as Ozga 2012), contexts for policy-making seem to be in change – toward the working of transnational fields with different partners and networks – with changes in accountability and expertise.

However, this performative turn has not been connected with flourishing results according to measurements that are considered as vital – e.g., international comparisons. The measures taken by the government point to development of the work of teachers and the control of student performances to be vital to improve the situation. Our findings from ongoing research on lived curricula and school results point in a somewhat other direction:

- The organizing of schools and communities seem to focus on the financial situation – in making and keeping the budget. There is little room for analysis of the pedagogical situation and to develop theoretically based development strategies to pull the schools forward.
- The schoolwork does not fit a pull model for all students. A substantial number of students show little of interest to pull themselves into a desired future. Actually the current policy measures seem to work in the opposite direction – to correct and to push these students.
- This is combined with a somewhat diffuse accountability picture. Transnational organizations are defining the goals, while teachers and students seem to be accountable for realizing these results.
- There is little educational analysis on the ongoing turns and their implications. Actually, governing by results is – at least in theory – inviting to retrodictions, to analyze why the current outcomes had to be in this way (see, e.g., Von Wright 1983). But actually little seems to be done of this kind of intellectual work!

Given these conclusions – governing by results is a problem that is demanding an expertise in analyzing education, in comprehending why these results occur. This is not about measurements as such – it is about putting things right in educational analysis.

Stated otherwise, there seems not to be a lack of measurements in Swedish education of today. What is missing – given the conceptual framework used here – are analyses of the working of the education system, e.g. its curricula, pedagogy, and evaluation, referring to Bernstein (2000) and its meaning in societal and cultural contexts. Current ways of dealing with school performances do not seem to be very meaningful in that respect. Given this it is today of vital importance to analyze the

working and functioning of current and emerging expertise in education under a performative turn.

Based on these conclusions, it seems to be reasonable to expect an increasing irritation considering governing by results, first in terms of new measurements and analyses of patterns of school outcomes (see, e.g., the OECD report 2015) and second by analyses of schooling processes in order to capture causal mechanisms and not only patterns or correlations. And what is regarded as valid directives for action – from the inside or outside welfare state education – is presumably a matter of trust in the teaching profession or in national or international governing expertise. Or in other words – a matter of politics of knowledge.

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Chapter 5
Educational Restructuring and Social Boundaries: School Choice and Consumers of Education

Elisabeth Hultqvist

Abstract The chapter focuses on the implementation of the school choice reform in Swedish schools during the 1990s. The success of school choice, which is shown in the rapid expansion of the number of charter schools, is seen as a response to a "monopolistic policy", i.e. a school policy that is not aligned with the expectations of certain social groups' expectations of schools and education. This chapter contextualises the effects structural changes have on families' possibilities of realising their future through education investments. It is related to the complex interplay between heightened levels of education, grade inflation and thereby an increasing difficulty of converting education and degrees into stable social positions. In addition, interviews of families are presented regarding their school choice, motives and expectations, as well as how they define themselves: "we" in relation to other social groups "them", and the strategies they develop to in order to maintain or surpass the boundaries between "us" and "them". It should be noted that the parents in the study all had university degrees, though one or both parents came from a working-class family. Their social position rested on an accumulated cultural capital. What expectations of school and education does this social mobility give rise to? Educational strategies, which "engine" the creation of boundaries between different schools, should be analysed from the perspective of the families' social history in relation to structural changes.

Introduction

In Sweden, as in many other countries, education is a key policy area. Prior to the 2014 parliamentary election, the ruling coalition parties, as well as the opposition, declared that education was going to be one of the most important issues in

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the election. International assessments, especially the PISA assessment, have a major impact, and due to a negative development in Swedish students' results (OECD and PISA 2012), it has drawn considerable attention. The deregulation and transition to municipal control in the early 1990s are often identified as the causes, both by politicians and teachers' unions (SOU 2014: 5). A school choice reform was introduced in 1992, abolishing the rule of referring pupils to the nearest public-sector school. This meant that each pupil was given the opportunity to choose a school within the municipality. Furthermore, the system of funding changed: instead of the state and the municipality allocating a specific amount to each school, each pupil was allocated a so-called school voucher. This financial reform led to the emergence of so-called charter schools, which provided pupils with alternatives to the public-sector schools. This has led to the emergence of a competitive and segregated school system, with increasing frequency, cited by researchers as the dominant explanation of the development of student's results (Englund 2014; Lundahl et al. 2014).

The main focus of this discussion is not on the performance of pupils but on one of the individual reforms, the so-called school choice, which has had a restructuring effect on the Swedish school system. In educational research, school choice is considered one of the changes that are commonly referred to as *the restructuring movement*, which incorporates concepts such as decentralisation, privatisation, marketisation and New Public Management (Lindblad and Popkewitz 2004; Lindblad et al. 2002; Lindblad 2010; Goodson and Lindblad 2011; Le Donné 2014).

The following discussion, thus, takes place in the context of educational change and restructuring. The aim is to problematise the way in which the restructuring, particularly the opportunity to choose schools, has met different social groups' demands and expectations concerning schools and education. In addition, this chapter will focus on the structural changes of the educational system and the opportunities created by educational investments, as well as the impact that the experience of these changes has on expectations and strategies. It is, thus, the "users", or, to use the market-liberal term, the "consumers of education" that are the focus of this chapter (Van Zanten 2009). School choice has been the subject of extensive research that clearly demonstrates how the effects have led to an increasingly marketisised and segregated school system, especially in the major cities (Englund 2012; Bunar 2009; Palme 2008; Larsson 2013). Within this broad field of research, in-depth statistical analyses of pupils' choice of public-sector or charter schools have been carried out. Meanwhile, few qualitative analyses of the reasoning and decision-making process behind the school choice of families from different social groups have been carried out in the Swedish national context (Skawonius 2005; Kallstenius 2010).

Education and Social Boundaries

The focus of the international research project *Éducation et frontières sociales* (De Saint-Martin and Dinu Gheorghui 2010), in which I, together with researchers from France, Brazil and Romania, studied families from different social groups and their

relation to social boundaries, is relevant to this discussion about the incentives and motives for different types of school choices. The concept of "boundaries" is, thus, interesting for the continued discussion. First, a few words about the international research project:

The project's empirical data consisted of interviews with families from different social strata in France, Brazil, Romania and Sweden. The focus of the research was on the families' relations to social boundaries and how they defined their social affiliation. Here, *éducation* should be understood as both education and upbringing. The focus of the project was on how the families defined and perceived a "we" in relation to other social groups ("they") and the paths and strategies they used to either maintain or transcend these boundaries. The Swedish study concentrated on the families' choice of schools and education, while the studies from France, Brazil and Romania also contributed information about the families' views on child-raising as well as housing and migration strategies. In the interviews with families from different socio-economic strata, the families were categorised (by the families themselves, in addition to the researchers) as immigrant, working-class, middle-class, and upper-middle-class (*la bourgeoisie)* families. In the analysis of middle-class families, *stability* gained special significance through Bernstein's meaning of *new* and *old middle class* (Bernstein 1975).

The aim is to gain an understanding of how boundaries are created and maintained. To the Swedish families, the norms, rules, habits, etc., that the parents developed and conveyed to their children had more to do with educational strategies than child-raising principles, which does not mean that the strategies relating to schools and education were not part of the families' child-raising.

In the analysis of changes in the school system, particularly the effect of school choice, the aim is to problematise different social groups' relationship to schools and education. The question is if the restructuring, which here concerns the opportunity to choose a school, can be analysed as a demand for change that corresponds to the demands and expectations of different social groups. In other words, should the response to the school choice reform, as reflected in the sharp increase in charter schools, be perceived as strategies for "social closure" with the families' self-interest in focus (Ball 2003; Van Zanten 2009), or does the reform itself encourage pupils and parents to become co-producers of an increasingly segregated school system? The question may appear simplified, as it places the impetus on either the social groups or the system. While Ball (2003) and Van Zanten (2009) in their respective studies present the educational strategies of middle-class families in terms of "social closure", they also highlight the awareness and conflict that some families express about what it means to choose a school: to reinforce school segregation or strive towards a more equal and integrated school. However, the task here is to put the analysis of the families' considerations and strategies in a historical perspective of social and educational change.

School choice is a part of the "freedom of choice" ideology that gained a foothold in the 1990s with the aim of breaking the "state monopoly" (Blomqvist and Rothstein 2000). Hence, it is interesting to examine to what extent school choice can be seen as a response to a "monopolistic policy", i.e. an education policy that

has not been in tune with the expectations that certain social groups have on schools and education. It is a complex issue that partially covers two separate fields of research: one is the field of educational policy, which requires an analysis of previous reforms and changes, and the other is close to social psychology and focuses on the demands and expectations of social groups – when and under what circumstances these are formed and take root (Lindblad et al. 2002).

This is a complex, and difficult to examine, interplay between a heightened level of education among the population, grade inflation accompanied by increased difficulty converting education and degrees into social positions and the individual (and familiar) experience of acquired diplomas and degrees (Lindblad et al. 2002). This interplay might be described as two diverging time axes. This "divergence" between widening participation, and personal experience of acquired grades and degrees, appears as demands and expectations placed on the educational system by different social groups (Boltanski and Bourdieu 1975; Dubet 2010). The significance of the change involving widening participation – what is frequently called the transition from elite to mass education – is, according to Dubet (2008), severely underestimated. This is no longer the same educational system, and it no longer has the same opportunities to convert education capital into social positions. The conditions for social reproduction have changed. The transition from an elite school to a more inclusive and democratised school system, where both the external differentiation (parallel school types) and internal differentiation (programme division, alternative courses) have disappeared or been abolished, raises interesting questions. The significance of these integration efforts, where the boundaries between different school types, divisions, options, etc., have been abolished or erased, is interesting in relation to the changes we refer to here as educational restructuring.

The focus of the Swedish contribution was on middle-class families. In a study of how boundaries are created and maintained, the "class in-between" is particularly interesting, but it is also problematic. According to which criteria were the families categorised as part of the middle class or, rather, the middle classes? Were they objective criteria, i.e. based on the level of education and professional status, or subjective criteria based on ambitions and educational plans for their children? A key criterion was the parents' level of education. All of them had a university education of 3 years or more. At the same time, family practices, expressed as demands and expectations of schools and education, were the focus of the project. There are relatively few studies of Swedish middle-class families in this area (Skawonius 2005; Kallstenius 2010). This is also where we find the largest "consumers" of charter schools (Siris and Skolverket 2014).

The boundary problem touches on what Ball (2003) and Van Zanten (2009) analyse as "social closure" in their respective studies on the educational strategies of middle-class families, i.e. the strategies that social groups develop in order to maximise their rewards and preserve their status by restricting the access to certain assets to a select few (Robert 2010). Similar to Van Zanten (2009), it is interesting to reflect on the families' considerations in terms of "personal" and "impersonal" choices: that is, in what respect the families (specifically, the parents) reflected on

the tension between individual, "selfish" interests and their consequences for collective interests.

Clarification of the Boundary Concept

The strategies developed by the families concerning the choice of schools and education raise questions about identity, about who "I/we" are in relation to "them". How do I/we define ourselves in relation to other social groups? The social order is maintained by boundaries between groups and classes, which creates identities. Social boundaries have dual meaning: they separate and create distance while allowing for the protection and maintenance of a common identity. Norwegian ethnologist Fredrik Barth (1969) emphasises that while the boundaries separate people, they also allow for exchanges between groups who mutually recognise each other as being different. Boundaries are flexible rather than absolute. Barth argues that the boundary separating members from non-members (us from them) is the definition of their identity, which controls a set of "dos" and "don'ts". A boundary is primarily a demarcation that makes inclusion and exclusion possible. It is important to note that boundaries are also subject to social conflict. Tilly (2004, p. 219) argues that the concept of social boundaries enables explanations of mobility and change. Tilly defines a social boundary "… minimally as any contiguous zone of contrasting density, rapid transition, or separation between internally connected clusters of population and/or activity". Boundaries help define the characteristics of groups on each side of the separating line. Bourdieu (1979) uses the concept as a tool to analyse changes in the educational system; the previous, strictly drawn boundaries between different educational paths have later developed into a "system of vague and confused classification" with unclear hierarchies and boundaries (Bourdieu 1984, p. 15).

School Choice and Social Boundaries

Seen from a boundary perspective, it is important to remember certain historical changes. In 1962, the so-called parallel school system was replaced by a comprehensive compulsory school. However, an internal division with study paths remained, which determined the focus of continued studies (mainly theoretical or practical). In 1969, this division was replaced by a model of alternative courses in English and mathematics. Similarly, these became differentiating for continued studies in upper-secondary school, i.e. for theoretical academic or vocational programmes. When these courses were abolished in 1994, compulsory school became an integrated school form without inherent differentiation. The internal and external boundaries were dissolved, and, from a historical perspective, the integrated compulsory school constituted a departure from the previous system of separate study

paths and groups of pupils (which is not to say that the social and cultural inequalities that were present before and in school ceased to exist). These types of integration efforts can also be seen in the upper secondary school reform of 1991, when all practical and theoretical study programmes were made the same length and given a number of common courses (Hultqvist 2001). Compared to the school systems in other countries, the Swedish school system of the early 1990s was characterised by a very low degree of differentiation, which was also visible in the fact that the pupils did not receive grades until the penultimate year of compulsory school, i.e. the eighth grade. It is thus interesting to reflect on these concurrent reforms: a far-reaching integration of compulsory and upper secondary school and the introduction of school choice (Petersson 2014). Should school choice be seen as a response to an increasingly integrated school system that provides opportunities for different social groups to freely choose a school and thereby (re-)establish social boundaries?

A statistical analysis of the choice between public-sector and charter schools shows that pupils whose parents have a university education are more likely to choose a charter school. This pattern becomes more pronounced over time, especially in the major cities. However, this development needs to be put into perspective; most of the pupils who choose charter schools are concentrated in major cities with a more affluent population. In municipalities with a more mixed socio-economic population, the proportion is about the same as in other rural municipalities (Siris and Skolverket 2014). What is interesting is that the proportion of pupils with highly educated parents is larger in charter schools at the compulsory-school level than at the upper-secondary-school level, which could be interpreted to mean that there is greater demand for charter schools among pupils from these social strata when it comes to a school type without any kind of differentiation compared to a school type characterised by a division into study programmes.

Since the school choice reform in 1992, there has been a rapid increase in the number of charter schools. Preschools and upper secondary schools have seen the biggest increase. Looking only at the Stockholm region, the number of upper secondary schools has quadrupled over the past 15 years (Larsson 2013). As part of the growing criticism against the centralised control and public monopoly of the late 1970s and the 1980s, the school choice reform and the introduction of the so-called school voucher were welcomed as ways to allow for alternatives to the public schools. The initial response to the reform was weak in terms of establishing new charter schools. It mainly involved a recognition of previous operations with an alternative specialisation, such as schools inspired by Rudolf Steiner or Maria Montessori. There was no major establishment of new schools of any type until the 2000s (Skolverket 2012). Through school choice and the funding system, both public-sector and charter schools are subject to open competition. What we are seeing now, particularly in the major cities, is the emergence of a segregated school map (Bunar 2009).

This change, which has fundamentally restructured the Swedish school system, raises a number of questions. In the research and analysis that followed as a result of the PISA assessment in 2013, school choice appears to be a significant factor in

the decline of the pupils' performance. It has been argued that the school choice reform has failed to achieve its purpose (Holmlund et al. 2014; Englund 2014). Instead of a vision of allowing "a thousand flowers bloom", we now speak of "good" and "bad" schools as a matter of course; some schools are identified as being successful, while others are described as being neglected. This consequence of school choice almost appears to be above reproach as the result of individual free choice.

The Families' School Choice

The analysis of Swedish families' strategies and considerations regarding school choice can, to some degree, be described as three different choices, although the attempt to simplify some choices – in this case, the choice of a specific school type (public-sector or charter) or school (varied focus or profile) – can be discussed. School choice is based on the idea of distinct options and that the families have the opportunity to make a choice based on market principles. However, the difficulty to distinguish between the options persists, along with a great deal of uncertainty; the families do not really know what they are choosing, or what they are taking a stand for or against (the parents generally know less than the children, although their choice is often decisive), which makes it difficult for the parents to evaluate the choice of schools once their children are there (Ball 2003).

In the same way that I view the boundary concept as a useful tool for analysis, it is essential to view the families' choices in relation to the political history and the previously mentioned school reforms and to relate the families' social histories to certain structural and educational changes.

As I have pointed out earlier, the studied families' social affiliation is with the middle class, while one or both parents come from a working-class background. These are groups whose social status rests on cultural capital and that can be described as *new middle class* (Bernstein 1975). Thus, they have experienced upward social mobility, mainly through higher education. What is interesting is how the parents relate to their children's education and an educational system that has made social mobility possible, even if the mobility can be characterised as relatively unstable for some of them; that is, they have at times been unemployed and/or had fixed-term employment. What strategies do the families develop as they are given the opportunity to choose a school and education? What is their reasoning, how do they weigh the options and, not least, how do they relate to "us" and "them"?

First of all, it is important to note that the parents included in the Swedish study are part of the generation that took advantage of the expansion of education and pursued a higher education in the 1960s and 1970s, which enabled many to reach reputable positions. The expansion of education and widening participation give cause to remember Boltanski and Bourdieu's (1975) discussion on the *classification struggle*, i.e. the battles "fought" about the value of grades and degrees in relation to the expected title and position (Duru-Bellat 2006).

In the interviews, the parents' personal experiences of schools and education emerge as a defence of a meritocratic school system (Dubet et al. 2010; Duru-Bellat and Tenret 2012). Everyone has the same opportunities and will be rewarded based on merit. While both parents and children voice satisfaction about the opportunity to choose a school, they are not certain how to relate to the school choice; above all, they reflect on how they define themselves, where they belong and how they ultimately define "them". As is likely the case with any other family, school choice is a matter of finding the school that offers the best opportunities. However, the analysis of the families' views still provides a variety of definitions regarding what the "best opportunities" entail, which reflect the families' relationship to "us" and "them" in an interesting way.

First, I will provide some family-biographical data, followed by excerpts from the interviews. The parents of the first family have been given the pseudonyms Per and Eva. They were born in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Eva grew up in poor conditions with a single mother. Per comes from a middle-class environment. The father was a pilot and the mother was a housewife. Both Per and Eva have a university degree. Eva is a journalist. Per runs a small consulting firm that specialises in sustainable development. The family has two daughters, who were 11 and 13 years old at the time of the interview. Here they describe their process of choosing a preschool:

> Then we really did our research. I think we visited 17 different preschools. We wanted to know how many children there were in each group, about the teaching, if they cooked the food themselves, etc. We finally found a preschool in Södermalm (in a gentrified part of Stockholm), a preschool with a Montessori approach. We were very satisfied, but it required dedication and took a long time. It was very good for the girls. They still see friends from those days.

The way the parents "research" the preschool that best meets their expectations, by visiting as many as 17 of them, provides a clear example of the importance the parents place on the preschool's pedagogy, food, level of parental involvement, etc. When they finally make a decision, they are happy with their choice. The choice falls on a charter preschool in central Stockholm, which involves some travel time. The preschool's requirement for parental involvement requires some level of consensus in order to work. The tasks assigned to the parents can also be interpreted as an invitation and an effort to consolidate a "we". The "research" of comparing and evaluating different preschools indicates that the parents have generally high standards but also that the preschool they eventually chose for their daughters corresponds to their view of themselves in relation to the preschools they rejected. In addition, the extent of the "research" suggests that, unlike those who live in more attractive areas, the family has not been able to use the existing information in their local network (meetings with other parents at playgrounds, medical centres, etc.) when making their choice. Similar to what Ball (2003) points out, the choice of charter/private schools differs for different sections of the middle class. The preschool's approach to education, inspired by Maria Montessori, met the expectations of this family, who comes from what we might call the *ecological middle class*.

The second family is Helene and her husband Jan, both of whom grew up in a working-class environment. Helene describes her background as typically "social democratic". Both have a university degree and now have well-paying jobs, but they have experienced periods of unemployment. They live with their two children, daughter Josefin and son Victor. The daughter is now faced with the choice of which upper secondary school to attend. Based on her grades from compulsory school, she can choose any upper secondary school in Stockholm. At the same time, she is aware that the competition for school places has created a social and cultural distinction between schools (Bunar 2009; Larsson 2013). Helene explains her daughter's choice of school:

> Josefin had no problems choosing a programme; that was pretty easy. The issue was rather which school to choose, and we have probably influenced her, but she made the choice herself. (…) There is complete hysteria surrounding the choice of schools now; if you have the grades, you *have to* choose the popular schools in the inner city. But I told her: first, you will have the long trips to the city … and then you have to keep in mind that you will be with other students who are just as good as or even better than you. Josefin plays several sports, so she needs time for that, but she was also afraid that the atmosphere in those schools would be too stressful. So, in the end, she chose the natural-science programme at Djupvik.

The daughter and the parents' reflections on the choice of upper secondary schools illustrate the problem of boundaries. Josefin is reluctant to choose one of the more attractive inner-city schools. The family is aware of the social competition that the school choice entails and warns the daughter about the high demands and competition. Helene is concerned that, had Josefin chosen one of the inner-city schools, a boundary would have been created between "us" and "them". She is concerned that Josefin would have met students from other social backgrounds and learning conditions and find that she is not part of the kind of "we" that dominates in these schools. The daughter thus chose the natural-science programme (where the most qualified students go) at "Djupvik", a school closer to home in both the physical and the social sense. The family is aware that, as a "school consumer", the daughter should have made full use of her freedom of choice, i.e. used her grades to get into the school that was expected to bring the greatest rewards. However, Helene advised her daughter against choosing such a school, partially due to considering her leisure interests as important to her well-being. She is critical of the school choice, which she considers to be *completely hysterical*; however, this should not be interpreted as calling into question school choice as a whole.

The third family is Anna and her daughter Mikaela. Anna grew up in a working-class environment in the mid-1950s. As the only child of a single mother, she describes how the mother supported the family as a "lunch lady" in a school: *she had respect for teachers and the school world.* Anna later received teacher training: *to us, it was a fine profession.* Her mother dreamed of gaining an education as well, but the circumstances did not allow it. Anna's husband is also a teacher, and he too is the first generation in his family to gain a higher education. They have four adopted children, but only one of the daughters, Mikaela, now lives with her mother. When we meet, Anna has recently separated from her husband and left the teaching

profession for a job at an educational authority, albeit with insecure terms of employment. Mikaela was born in Colombia. She is 18 years old and attends the second year of the Child Care and Recreation Programme, one of the vocational upper-secondary-school programmes in which most students, particularly the girls, have low or very low grades from compulsory school (Broady et al. 2002). Mikaela is happy with her choice of school: *Mom has always said that Child Care and Recreation suits me best, and dad has always been positive as well.* In her spare time, she does a little bit of everything: … *I do street dance (…) playing instruments and such* does not interest her. Thus, she makes it clear that she does not partake in the cultural practices of the middle class. Anna is aware of the social implications of her daughter's school choice. The social and cultural boundaries between different upper-secondary-school programmes have become clearer over the years ("exclusion within") (Ball 2010). There is no clear strategy of "using one's freedom of choice"; instead, both Anna and Mikaela emphasise the value of going to the local public-sector school and attending an upper-secondary-school programme where Mikaela has the opportunity to focus on her personal development. The dialogue between mother and daughter appears to be more equal than in the previous families. However, the choice to reject other schools or more "elite" study programmes can also be interpreted as a way to hide a school failure, where other options are in fact more or less closed.

School choice forces the three families presented here to reflect on "us" and how "we" define ourselves in relation to others, thus making them "co-producers" of social boundaries. School choice not only causes this type of self-reflection; in most cases, it also leads to active work and "evaluation" of all possible options, whether they relate to preschools or upper secondary schools. The school as a whole, i.e. the other children/pupils, activities/teaching, food, etc., is given a social charge that is evaluated in relation to certain demands and expectations but also certain rejections. In the case of Helene and her daughter Josefin, the choice of upper secondary school clearly demonstrates how they define themselves in relation to other schools and pupils. The contemplation of "we" makes Helene advise her daughter against choosing a school where competition is high and she may not feel included. The advice concerning school choice demonstrates an awareness of the social charge represented by different schools and thus signals the family's social affiliation. Each family makes active and carefully considered choices or non-choices, but on a different sociological basis. The last two families express, in different ways, a level of gratitude towards an educational system that has allowed for paths and positions other than those available to their parents, which may explain the reluctance to make a choice. The opportunity to review and evaluate (pre-)schools in relation to a set of requirements and preferences, such as the first family's "research", is perceived less as a welcome offer to optimise the boundaries between schools and groups of pupils and more as "complete hysteria" that divides different social groups and reinforces the differences between them.

Changing Reproduction Strategies

The project *Éducation et frontières sociales* is subtitled *Un grand bricolage*, where the term "bricolage" refers to changing strategies due to new or changing boundaries (De Saint-Martin and Dinu Gheorghui 2010). All of the Swedish families in the project had a family history of upward social mobility, from working- or lower-middle-class status to a more or less stable middle-class status. Using the project's terminology, these families constitute one (or rather several) "classe-frontière" having boundaries with the working and upper classes at each end of the spectrum. Heterogeneity and the fact that different social positions, such as craftsmen, technicians, civil servants and teachers, move up and down throughout history also demonstrates the difficulty to define and, for its members, identify with the middle class. The previously dominant discourse of a widespread "middle classification" is increasingly giving way to the discourse of the "return of social classes" which, for the middle class, comes with increasing instability and, above all, a risk of professional and generational degradation (Ball 2003; Lojkine 2005; Chauvel 2006).

In the analysis of the interviews with the middle-class families from the countries included in the international project, spatial mobility (e.g. moving away from a neighbourhood) and upward social mobility through successful educational investments constituted an intergenerational study of weakened or erased social boundaries as well as boundaries that have been restored or reinforced – a process of accumulating cultural capital that, to previous generations, served as an instrument for mobility. For a long time, public confidence in education has been strong, but there has also been an adaptation to the norms of the educational system, which has strengthened the meritocratic model, particularly in countries such as France and Sweden (De Saint-Martin and Dinu Gheorghui 2010). Alongside increased difficulties to convert cultural capital into stable social positions, a critique of the educational system has been formulated, which has nurtured the idea that grades and degrees have decreased in value. Complex social changes – redistribution of assets, increased competition for available social positions, the emergence of new positions and degradation of others – have led to economic capital becoming the main criterion for social differentiation and thereby weakened the importance of grades and degrees (Dubet 2010; Standing 2011).

From this perspective of profound social and educational change, it is thus interesting to analyse the importance of school choice for educational restructuring, i.e. the significance of the school choice reform and changes in the families' capital assets for a school system with previously weakened or abolished boundaries – both between and within schools – which now looks increasingly like a differentiated school system.

Conclusion

The reform policy that was implemented at the end of the twentieth century constituted a departure from the state-regulated school system. School operations were delegated to those locally responsible, and opportunities were given to choose something other than the nearest public-sector school. The discussion above is not primarily an analysis of this reform policy, however. The aim is rather to reflect on how school choice relates to different social groups' demands and expectations of schools and education. The issue is extremely complex and involves more profound social and structural changes that would, of course, require much more room to analyse. However, I would still like to focus on the structural changes and discuss in what way the opportunities to realise future plans through educational investments have actually changed, and what impact the experience of these changes have had on expectations and strategies. This is thus an aspect that I believe needs to be added to the analysis of educational restructuring.

The democratisation of education, that is, the widening participation and opportunities for further education, has fundamentally changed the educational system, and the impact of these changes is underestimated, according to Dubet (2002, 2010). The transition from what is usually described as elite education to mass education has led to increased competition and does not automatically grant access to the desired jobs and positions. The expansion of the educational system in the 1960s and 1970s, along with more "macro-social" changes, such as a reduction of professions in the agricultural and manufacturing sector, was paralleled by an expansion of the civil-service sector and so-called "white collar" professions, which laid the foundation for many groups' experiences of a relationship between successful educational investments and social mobility (Dubet 2010).

All the parents I interviewed for the project *Éducation et frontières sociales* were from the middle class. All of them had a university education; at least one parent in each family came from a working-class background. Their social position thus rested on accumulated cultural capital. I cannot, of course, comment on whether or not they achieved these positions exclusively through successful educational efforts. What I find interesting is what social mobility has led to in terms of expectations concerning schools and education. The families express, in different ways, an awareness of a school system divided by boundaries. To the first family, there seem to be unlimited options when choosing a preschool. They spend a long time rejecting schools that do not meet the requirements. The second family also has unlimited options with respect to the daughter's grades. However, the family has doubts about the most attractive schools and the type of culture that has developed in the schools with the highest merit ratings. In order to avoid experiencing a sense of not being one of "them", the daughter chose a school that is closer to home in both the physical and the social sense. The third family shares a different set of values with the public-sector school sector and does not consider charter schools as an option.

Educational restructuring – a complex change in a social context of neoliberalism, municipalisation and market control – has led to increased segregation in the

Swedish school system, especially in the major cities (which also have the highest concentration of secure middle-class people). An analysis of families' educational strategies as the "engine" in the creation of boundaries between different schools and different courses of study should thus be seen from the perspective of the families' social history in relation to structural changes in society.

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Chapter 6
Becoming Fit for Transnational Comparability

Exploring Challenges in Danish and Swedish Teacher Education Reforms

John Benedicto Krejsler, Ulf Olsson, and Kenneth Petersson

Abstract This chapter traces how national teacher education policy discourse in Denmark and Sweden is being transformed by opaque, albeit often inclusive, processes in transnational policy forums, such as the Bologna Process, OECD, and EU. This is facilitated by "soft law" surrounding the imagined needs of modern nations, if they are to succeed in "an increasingly competitive global race among knowledge economies." In the case of the Bologna Process, the transformative effects are often rather direct. More often, however, effects touch upon national educational agendas in indirect ways, in terms of an emerging, overarching logic and governance technologies like comparisons, stocktaking, standards, performance indicators, benchmarking, and best practice. These transnational templates make national teacher education programs comparable. They are fueled by mutual peer pressure among competing nations. Consequently, Danish teacher education discourse has emerged from a distinctly national vocational seminary (teacher training) tradition, into a modernized university college discourse that increasingly fits the transnational templates of comparability, albeit at a slower pace than her Swedish neighbor. It is often difficult to notice the pervasive impact of transnational policy, as reforms of culturally sensitive school and teacher education areas are often discursively reinscribed in heated national debates. The EU and OECD are not popular

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figures to pull out in public political debate, in either Denmark or Sweden. The Bologna Process is largely unknown to the broader public. Theoretically, this chapter draws on post-Foucauldian *governmentality* studies. Empirically, it draws on discourse analysis of European (EU), Danish and Swedish national documents, and literature on policy reform.

Introduction

Education rises on the policy agenda as knowledge economy concerns demand higher-quality human capital. Transnational forums like the OECD and EU, which mainly focus on bettering conditions for economic growth, increasingly gather forces with the Bologna Process. The aim is to advance education and lifelong learning as key factors to ensure a competitive Europe of lifelong learners possessing knowledge, skills, and competences that make them continuously employable in a dynamically changing world among competitive workfare states in global knowledge economy (e.g., Drucker 1969; Lawn and Grek 2012; Nóvoa and Lawn 2002; Meyer and Benavot 2013; Rizvi and Lingard 2010; OECD 1996).

Policy, market, and education players thus interact in new ways that profoundly reconfigure how higher education (including teacher education) can be thought of, talked about, and organized. By means of *the open method of coordination* (OMC) technology, policy processes in transnational forums produce an expanding panoply of truths and technologies that aim at facilitating the production of mobile, lifelong learning and employable subjects. The OMC acquires its smooth efficiency by gradually advancing consensus in continuous policy processes among participating countries and not by voting decisions (Gornitzka 2006; Moutsios 2010; Schäfer 2004; Krejsler et al. 2012). The guiding telos consists in ensuring that Europe becomes "the most dynamic and competitive region among global knowledge economies" as stipulated in the Lisbon Agenda (European Commission 2000) or develops into "smart, inclusive and sustainable" economies (Europe 2020: European Commission 2010). The Bologna Process and the EU converge in transforming education discourse into concerns of "employability" and "competence development" (Keeling 2006) in the context of what is in the social sciences increasingly called the competition or workfare state (Cerny 2005; Jessop 1993).

With reference to this overarching narrative, this chapter aims at explicating how national teacher education as a policy phenomenon acquires new forms of visibility as national policies are reworked in transnational collaborative exercises. We shall demonstrate a complex of the so-called soft governance where new forms of knowledge emerge as dominant and make new political and social technologies proliferate, which ultimately points to new possible teacher subjectivities. These transformations take form as a general movement from a diversity of different national models toward a model of comparability that claims to respect diversity albeit making, so it seems, teacher education programs more similar.

We shall show how Danish and Swedish teacher education reform policies have been aligned with the emergence of a broader framework of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), which is part of the Bologna Process, which is itself part of grander global policy tendencies driven by the EU, the OECD (the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), the IEA (the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement), and others (e.g., Krejsler 2013b; Lawn and Grek 2012; Nóvoa and Lawn 2002; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). Scandinavian teacher education programs are increasingly formatted according to standardized templates that issue from the consensus-producing transnational policy processes in the form of comparative studies, standards, performance indicators, best practices, and so forth (e.g., Olsson et al. 2011; Krejsler et al. 2012). Genealogically, teacher education programs in Scandinavian countries have developed according to different trajectories. Nevertheless, they do become increasingly similar in light of the transnational turn in policy-making (e.g., "Comparative study of Nordic teacher education programs" Danish Evaluation Institute and the Danish School of Education 2009; Skagen 2006).

The chapter thus reflects how a new discursive community arises that transcends national contexts by inciting national players to assiduously transforming themselves according to mutually agreed formats. A new logic for producing truths is in place, which is inclusive but opaque, consensus-producing but often distant from the contexts that the knowledge produced is aimed at improving.

Theoretical Section

Theoretically, this chapter is grounded in post-Foucauldian conceptions of *governmentality* (Dean 1999; Foucault 2001; Popkewitz and Brennan 1998; Popkewitz et al. 2006; Rose 1999). This approach makes it possible to extract perspectives on how new formats for construing teacher education and legitimate teacher subjects emerge from the ongoing production of truths in transnational and national policy forums. The governmentality perspective emphasizes that politics is concerned with governance and that contemporary governance rests on different forms of knowledge production that make individuals governable by offering to them formats and technologies by which they are required to govern themselves, *in casu* within Swedish and Danish teacher education contexts within a compelling European Higher Education Area.

We draw inspiration from Mitchell Dean's sociological approach to governmental analyses and its framing of four elements that can fruitfully be applied to analyses of practice regimes (Dean 1999), *in casu* the making of higher education/teacher education: A practice regime implies (1) certain ways of making a particular field *visible* and making it an object of knowledge. This is closely intertwined with (2) particular ways of conceptualizing and agreed-upon procedures for arriving at *the proper production of truths.* From this follows (3) *forms of power*, i.e., certain mechanisms and technologies to act upon, intervene into, and govern the field in

question, in order that (4) fitting *subject positions* are construed as the obvious ways for individuals to conceive of legitimate subjectivities.

Thus, our focus is to identify, at a policy level, how teacher education is made visible as a particular practice regime. We demonstrate that endless policy processes produce a proliferating canopy of truths and technologies serving to frame the conduct of subjects involved in teacher education and their governance of themselves. In order to make visible this new strategic space for maneuver within which teacher education reform can be legitimately thought of, we draw on discourse analysis of relevant Danish and Swedish national documents; European (EU), OECD, and Bologna Process documents, reports, and studies; as well as literature on policy reform.

Danish and Swedish Teacher Education Reforms: A Primer

From rather different outsets, teacher education programs in Denmark and Sweden have become objects of knowledge to be worked upon by the challenges of the transnational turn in education policy. Hence, within two to three decades, Danish and Swedish teacher education programs have gone through large-scale transformations (Skagen 2006; Danish Evaluation Insitute and the Danish School of Education 2009; Nordin 2012; Waldow 2009).

In Denmark education of social educators (preschool teachers) takes place in a so-called bachelor of social education program, which has developed its own distinct features as opposed to primary and lower secondary school teachers that attend the teacher education program. As an adaptation to the Bologna Process, both education programs have been "upgraded" from training-oriented vocational seminary education programs, which did not qualify for enrolling at master's level university studies, to professional bachelor education programs (first cycle). This takes place at recently established university colleges, which have gathered within the same unified leadership structure a number previously independent profession studies (e.g., teachers, preschool teachers, nurses, occupational and physiotherapists). These education programs are meant to qualify for university studies at master's level. In 2000 it was specified that these teacher education programs should be linked to research, i.e., mandatory collaboration should be established between university colleges that are in need of research-based knowledge and universities that carry out this research. Studies to become teachers at the upper secondary level require, however, a second cycle master level education in Bologna terms. This is done at the university as regular studies in academic disciplines – a major and a minor discipline – with a subsequent 1-year educational superstructure in the form of the so-called postgraduate (*pædagogikum*) offered by the university while the candidate is employed at a high school. It was not until the change of government in October 2011 that teacher education programs for preschool and school teachers were transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Science, Innovation, and Higher Education. Consequently, they are now within the same

ministry as university education programs, although they still operate according to their own and very itemized legal frameworks.

Since 1977 Swedish universities and university colleges (*högskolor*) have been placed under the jurisdiction of the same ministry and legal framework. University colleges traditionally offer the bulk of preschool and school teacher education programs up till the lower secondary level. Universities and university colleges traditionally share education programs concerning the lower secondary level, and universities take the bulk of disciplinary courses concerning the upper secondary level. University colleges conduct active research, and a sizable number of lecturers have a PhD degree, way beyond what is the case in Denmark. However, only universities have the right to offer PhD degrees. And the government decides which university colleges have the right to call themselves universities. Depending on the educational level or the subject specialization that the student teachers choose, their focus will be on broader or more specific disciplinary competences. In Sweden a new Teacher Education Act was put into effect at the fall term of 2011. This act provides for the award of one of the following diplomas: (1) Bachelor of Arts/Science in Early Years Education, (2) Bachelor/Master of Arts in Primary Education for teachers in the grades 0–6 or pre- or after-school activities, (3) Master of Arts/Science in Secondary Education for grades 7–9 and the upper secondary school, or (4) Higher Education Diploma in Vocational Education (Swedish National Agency for Higher Education 2012b). These programs are of different lengths, first or second cycle in Bologna terms, have different requirements, and are offered at universities and university colleges.

In Denmark and Sweden, this organizational restructuring makes the training of different professional groups the object of knowledge and social technologies within the same conceptual frame of higher education. It subjects them to national and transnational standards and templates that make them sufficiently compatible with each other as well as with homologues within other EHEA countries. A higher education/teacher education practice regime develops which simultaneously sets a direction for what counts as desirable or non-desirable. According to Bologna and OECD standards, Denmark tends to find itself placed as a country whose teacher education programs lag behind those of Sweden, as the new standards and technologies favor academic models and disfavor seminary (teacher training) models, which were abandoned in Sweden considerably earlier than in Denmark.

The Bologna Process: Denmark and Sweden as Largely Compliant Frontrunner States

The Bologna Process and the efforts to build a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) is probably the transnational process which has exerted most influence in transforming how we conceptualize higher education, including teacher education (Krejsler et al. 2012). Thus, more than a decade's painstaking OMC collaboration

has led to a binding consensus concerning a set of political technologies within three main areas: mutual recognition of diplomas and grades including the so-called European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), the development of standards for quality assurance in education and of education systems (see ESG and ENQA later), and the implementation of the so-called 3 +2 +3 model for degree structure (bachelor, master, PhD). Ten performance indicators designed to compare levels of national compliance with Bologna consensus concerning these areas have been developed.

In practice, there is plenty of evidence that national education programs adapt to these common standards. As described in the previous section, the 3 +2 +3 model as well as other requirements for comparability across borders has contributed greatly to put pressure on the adjustment of teacher education programs in Denmark and Sweden (Krejsler et al. 2012). Danish teacher education is not yet so far in this adaptation as Sweden or the other Nordic countries. However, the transition from the vocational (teacher training) seminaries over loosely organized Centers for Continued Education in 2000 (so-called CVUs) to the current University Colleges (2007) with unified strategic leadership all signify comprehensive adaptations to the Bologna Process, i.e., the European standard for making national systems comparable. In Sweden, teacher education programs have long been organized in modules. This will also be implemented in Denmark with the Teacher Education Act of 2012 with the clear Bologna Process reference that student teachers through this "will get much better opportunities to study abroad and bring in international experience in their education. Likewise their education will be better connected with the rest of the education system in order to ensure higher quality and greater ability to meet labor market demands for a diversity of competences" (Ministry of Science, Innovation and Higher Education 2012).

All Nordic countries have adopted the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) to rate in a point system the work needed to complete a given education program as well as the individual courses that a given education program consists of. This is seen as important steps in the direction of making the national teacher education programs comparable with each other across borders and thus encourage mobility of students and workers (Krejsler et al. 2012). Similarly, the formulations make explicit references to employability and lifelong learning, which is central to EU's Lisbon Agenda, and Europe 2020 aims to encourage member states' work to become more competitive in a so-called global knowledge economy. In total, this constitutes a set of fundamental templates aimed at advancing reform technologies and installing new subject positions that professionals are required to adopt.

When the Bologna Process and EU Join Forces (Bologna Cycles and EQF)

The transnational policy grasp on the higher education practice regime intensifies as dominant players join forces and bring together their productions of truths and technologies (e.g., Keeling 2006). A particularly compelling example is constituted by the Bologna Process and its linkage to the development of EU's European Qualification Framework for Lifelong Learning (EQF), which is now being implemented at national levels as National Qualification Frameworks for Lifelong Learning (NQF) (European Commission 2008). These frameworks consist of eight levels describing lifelong learning in terms of learning outcomes classified in three categories, knowledge, skills, and competences. A learning outcome is a statement of what the lifelong learning citizen is expected to know, understand, and be able to do at each level in the EQF. With reference to the Bologna Process, the teacher education programs in Denmark and Sweden are placed at first or second cycle in the qualification framework of higher education which corresponds to the sixth or seventh level of EQF for lifelong learning.

With the 2007 Teacher Education Act, Sweden aligned with the Bologna Process focuses on formulating expected learning outcomes in competence terms. In Denmark, this requirement has only been formalized with the 2012 Teacher Education Act. The Danish categorization is consistent with the EQF and Bologna frameworks in terms of knowledge, skills, and competences, whereas the Swedish categories are labeled (1) knowledge and understanding, (2) competence and skills, and (3) judgment and approach. Among many similarities, there are thus noticeable differences, not least in relation to the competences chosen. This signifies – one could argue – that there is room for at least some national diversity within the transnational unity framework.

Denmark and Sweden adapt, furthermore, to EQF and Bologna requirements not just to think in terms of formal qualifications but also in terms of informal and prior learning. In 2008 Denmark established a shortcut to getting a teacher diploma (*meritlæreruddannelsen*) that allows students with appropriate educational and professional backgrounds the opportunity to complete a teacher education program in only 2 years instead of the usual 4 years. In a similar fashion, Swedish students may acquire their teacher education degree in alternative ways by having previous studies validated as similar to courses offered at regular teacher education programs.

Complying or Not Complying with Bologna Process Quality Assurance (ESG and ENQA)

The Bologna Process has led to the formulation of an overarching template or political technology to making national approaches to higher education quality assurance comparable across very different national contexts, namely, the "European Standards

and Guidelines (ESG) for Quality Assurance" (European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education 2005). Simultaneously, mutual adaptation has taken place among national evaluation agencies through membership of ENQA (European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education) to ensure mutual comparability and inspiration. ENQA is coined as the OMC forum that gradually expands consensus that members must comply with based on ESG in order to remain full members of the same standard-setting collective subject. ENQA regulations require member agencies to subject themselves to external review at least once every 5 years (e.g., Swedish National Agency for Higher Education 2012a).

The Danish and Swedish national quality assurance agencies were founding member of ENQA and have been among its most compliant members since 2000, with one "grave" exception. Recently, Sweden was put under observation due to noncompliant behavior in several essential aspects (see below). As ENQA members, individual institutions in both countries are required to have a quality policy and an internal quality assurance system that provides the opportunity to monitor and ensure that desired educational goals are attained. In addition, legislation has been introduced in Denmark and Sweden that all existing teacher education programs must be accredited positive according to preestablished criteria for quality and relevance in order to continue or start up.

The Danish Evaluation Institute (EVA), which was formed in 1999 at the government's request, evaluates activities throughout the Danish educational system from early childhood to higher education. EVA is the largest producer of reports and evaluations about Danish school and teacher education and produces the kinds of truth that get public and ministerial attention, i.e., so-called evidence about *what works* in education. This position is underscored by the fact that EVA is approved by ENQA and sits with its board and has since been registered in EQAR (European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education) which has been developed within ENQA as an accreditation body of quality assurance agencies. Christian Thune, EVA's previous president, served as the first president of ENQA from 2000 till 2005. EVA used to be responsible for accrediting teacher and preschool teacher education programs. But now the Danish Accreditation Institution, another independent body within state administration, which is itself a member of ENQA and EQAR, has taken over responsibility for the accreditation of the quality assurance work of all higher education institutions. All higher education programs are thus conceptually aligned to be made comparable to transnational formats and hereby more malleable to standardized political technologies. In the language of policy reform, barriers have been removed.

In Sweden the school inspectorate is responsible for quality assurance concerning preschool and school up till the upper secondary education. The previous Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (Högskoleverket, (HSV)), established in 1995, was merged into the newly established Swedish Higher Education Authority (Universitetskanslerämbetet, (UKÄ)) in 2013 and is responsible for quality assurance of higher education, including school and preschool teacher education. The latter has established quality control of teacher education programs and developed standard procedures for the evaluation of courses. In June 2010, however,

the Swedish government introduced a new quality assurance system against the recommendations of the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education. The government demanded that the new system focus on the assessment of educational results, understood as students' degree projects. Previously, assessment considered more broadly the conditions and processes that form results (Ministry of Education and Research 2010). According to the ENQA review, the new Swedish system is "fundamentally at odds" with ESG principles because the government "prescribed very far-reaching changes to the methods and principles of external quality assurance" (Swedish National Agency for Higher Education 2012a, p. 23 and p. 4). The first ESG principle states that external quality assurance should build on the results of internal quality assurance carried out by the university departments themselves, which the Swedish system takes account of only "at the very margins," according to the reviewers. Another ESG principle states that quality assurance systems should focus on tasks oriented toward improvement. The Swedish system, however, according to the reviewers, is more about control as "there are no recommendations for improvement" (ibid., 2012a, p. 24). More seriously, the reviewers question whether the national agency is independent from political interference, which is considered a "fundamental requirement" for becoming a member of ENQA: "HSV cannot be considered 'independent', due to the extent to which their procedures and methods, as well as overall aims and objectives have been dictated by Government" (ibid., 2012a, p. 24).

This review led the ENQA board to the decision of not confirming the Swedish Higher Education Authority as a full member of ENQA: "HSV will thus be designated as 'ENQA Full member under review' for a period of two years from the 14th September and will need to undergo a new review process at the end of this period, or sooner, if HSV wishes" (Hopbach 2012, p. 1). In 2014 the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education was suspended as sufficient compliance with ESG principles had not been undertaken.

The Swedish case clearly demonstrates how the Bologna Process and the rationalities of the *open method of coordination* operate as governmental technology putting pressure on excluded member states to take measures making (re)inclusion in a desired transnational space possible (e.g., Olsson et al. 2015).

OECD: How PISA Gave Shocks and Country Reports Made a Difference

Without doubt the OECD has been the single most important transnational player in setting, formulating, and disseminating the agenda of the economy as a knowledge economy and thus bringing education and lifelong learning into orbit close to the key concerns of economic growth (OECD 1996; Henry et al. 2001). OECD and EU work closely together, and the ruling EU Lisbon and Europe 2020 agendas about making Europe a leading competitive knowledge economy fundamentally echo the

policy advice that OECD has issued for years in the forms of comparative statistics (e.g., "Education at a Glance"), country reports, and, not the least, the unbeatable agenda-setting triennial PISA tests (e.g., Meyer and Benavot 2013; Hopmann 2008). The point being that driving forces in reforming teacher education must be sought in knowledge economy rationalities and their persistent critique that school – and by implication teacher education – do not deliver lifelong learners that perform in relation to what is expected in twenty-first-century knowledge economies.

PISA

The past decade of education policy debates and policy development related to students' competences in reading, mathematics, and science can hardly be understood without reference to OECD's PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) and – to a lesser extent – IEA's PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study) and TIMSS studies (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study). Understood as governmental technologies, these studies have contributed strongly to produce a new dominant template for how we can produce "evidence for what works in education." They have in many ways changed the priorities for what needs to be done to school and, by consequence, to teacher education (Meyer and Benavot 2013; Hopmann 2008): greater emphasis on reading, writing, arithmetic/mathematics, and science in school and ongoing testing thereof and reform of teacher education to ensure that these disciplines are prioritized and that educational research is more explicitly geared to develop evaluation tools and approaches that will help Danish and Swedish teachers to help their students to perform better in transnational comparative studies (e.g., Ekholm et al. 2004; OECD/CERI 2004; Krejsler 2013a). Consequently, it has now become a necessity to think national school and its performance in a transnational comparative context. This has given impetus to continuous public, political, and academic debates on how, e.g., Danish and Swedish, results and positions in international comparisons can be improved.

The results of various PISA surveys have been discussed in most countries since the early 2000s. Denmark was with, say, Germany and Poland, one of the first countries where the results struck the political system as a shock and was taken as evidence of the need for strong measures to reform school and teacher education (Hopmann 2008). The Swedish PISA shock came later (Swedish National Agency for Education 2010). The shocking results of PISA 2012 thus produced the truths that average Swedish student performances in reading, mathematics, and science have declined over the past decade from a level around or above the OECD average to a level below the average (OECD 2014). According to the Swedish National Agency for Education [Skolverket] (2013), only Chile and Mexico score lower among OECD countries in all three core subjects. Consequently, all Swedish political parties now put various reforms of school and teacher education high on the political agenda. And, not surprisingly, the government asked the OECD for advice

and assistance. A school commission headed by the OECD and consisting of international researchers and experts is being set up, and a scientific council composed of Swedish researchers from various disciplines shall assist the government in school matters (Ministry of Education and Research 2014).

In a Nordic context, Finland has come to occupy a particular role due to PISA and IEA comparisons as the country of excellence that the other Nordic countries look to with envy. The neighboring countries are going to Finland in droves to find out what they are doing so well in hopes that they themselves may improve national results in transnational rankings that are increasingly perceived as signs of future success or failure among competitive global knowledge economies (e.g., Sahlberg 2011; Simola 2005).

Country Reports and "The Silent Europeanization"

The OECD issues the annual "Education at a Glance" reports that sum up and rank member countries. They issue country reports, one of which was the report on the evaluation culture in Danish primary school, which OECD published in 2004 (Ekholm et al. 2004). This report contributed to breaking a number of entrenched traditions around Danish school by delivering arguments for considerably increased external evaluation and testing in school. Ten mandatory tests, annual student plans, and written municipal quality reports were introduced. In public debate this process appeared very much as a particular Danish national process that was highly identified with the conservative-liberal education reform agenda of Bertel Haarder, the very visible and agenda-setting minister of education at the time (e.g., Moos et al. 2009). The OECD was only dimly visible, being apparently of little utility when it came to gathering political momentum for change of an institution so intimately linked to national identity as the Danish school.

The implementation of these measures started earlier in Denmark than in Sweden (Swedish National Agency for Education 2010). However, even in Sweden the debate and implementation of similar transnationally generated ideas have mainly appeared as seemingly national processes heavily promoted by Jan Björklund, the agenda-setting conservative-liberal minister of education. For instance, a government report suggesting clearer goals and stronger demands of disciplinary knowledge in elementary school only made minor references to the OECD reports (Ministry of Education and Research 2007). In his PhD thesis, Nordin (2012) scrutinized how EU educational policy and Swedish national policy were related and came to a similar conclusion. He speaks about "a silent Europeanization" implying both a more direct impact and an increased discursive influence, "but without explicit references to the EU-documents or its institutions" (Nordin 2012, p. 209). According to Waldow (2009), a silent Swedish borrowing of educational policies has been going on for decades.

In addition, the OECD/CERI report on Danish educational R&D has had considerable impact upon policy views on what constitutes relevant educational research

(OECD/CERI 2004). This report's main conclusions emphasized two issues: Danish educational research supposedly has too little capacity in focused areas of importance, and, more importantly, this research is of too little use to practitioners and policy-makers. The report and its findings were commented on by the Ministry of Education as well as the Ministry of Science, Technology & Innovation. It contributed greatly to change the agenda for what counts as worthwhile research. It called for the need to develop an infrastructure to produce more evidence-based (evidence-informed) knowledge about what works. According to the arguments, this kind of knowledge is useful for practitioners to qualify decisions about teaching and to policy-makers to qualify arguments for prioritizing limited fiscal resources. Institutionally, the report was instrumental in the creation of the Danish Clearinghouse for Educational Research (2006), whose mission is to develop reviews on what research says about what works in education (e.g., Krejsler 2013a). Even though the OECD initially played such a strong role, its impact has since then been largely forgotten. In Sweden a National School Research Institute is currently under preparation due to very similar concerns.

Conclusion

Altogether, we can observe that national teacher education is getting well integrated into a new higher education practice regime, as national policy-makers increasingly gather in transnational policy forums. Starting with overarching very general statements that can gather consensus across very different systems and educational models, we can observe how the *open method of coordination* works in smoothly efficient ways that gradually produce more and more binding templates. Mutual peer pressure to develop standards that make different education models comparable albeit not identical serve to gradually deepen consensus.

The European Higher Education Area, as stipulated by the Bologna Process, has become the prime site for setting the templates within which national truth and technology production of teacher education may take place. In Denmark teacher education up till lower secondary level is turned into a so-called professional bachelor, giving access to master's level programs and later possibly PhD programs, in accordance with the 3 +2 +3 model (bachelor, master, PhD) in the Bologna Process. Some Swedish and all Finnish teacher education is already at a master's level, which, in another form, also applies to Danish teacher education for the upper secondary level.

Moreover national teacher education programs are subject to the master template for producing quality assurance technologies, i.e., the European Standards and Guidelines (ESG) for Quality Assurance, which follow from Denmark and Sweden's participation in the Bologna Process. This includes the accreditation of higher education programs in Denmark, which is taken care of by the Danish Accreditation Institution, and similar quality assurance measures in Sweden, as well as the redescriptions of education purposes along learning outcomes and competence

terminology lines (EQF) and new grading systems. This is supposed to help make national teacher education programs more compatible with those of other Bologna countries and thus promote opportunities for student and teacher mobility. Mutual recognition of diplomas should also be able to increase labor mobility across national borders in line with EU ambitions to become a leading global knowledge economy region as the single market, the Lisbon Agenda and Europe 2020 all yearn to contributing to achieve.

The Danish Evaluation Institute (EVA), the Danish Accreditation Institution, and the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education today take care of accreditation and the production of substantial parts of the evaluations of "what works" in education. They are members of ENQA, an *open method of coordination* association that grew out of the Bologna Process to increase transnational collaboration on developing quality assurance standards that may operate as tools for improvement. Although Sweden is currently suspended for noncompliance, this probably shows more how transnational peer pressure to comply functions than signify a permanent exclusion of a founding key member state.

The OECD works in ways that resonate well with the workings of the Bologna Process and the EU and vice versa in setting the overarching agenda for how teacher education can be made legitimately visible as a field for intervention and in producing the templates for how such intervention can be envisioned. By means of the far-reaching governmental technologies of PISA studies of ninth graders, statistics, and country reports, the OECD has contributed greatly to strengthening an agenda focusing on reading, writing, math, and science in formats that all supposedly focus on determining whether students acquire the problem-solving competences that they need in a (working) life in a modern knowledge economy/society. The debates surrounding the past decade's extensive school and teacher education reform efforts in Denmark and Sweden have thus been thoroughly influenced by the primacy of reading, writing, numeracy, and science, the issues of teacher education's research base, its adaptation to the Bologna Process, and EU recommendations that it should be a second cycle (master level) or a first cycle (bachelor) education program. The OECD attempted to launch AHELO (Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes), a template similar to many aspects of PISA, for understanding teaching and learning in higher education, which would eventually had included teacher education programs. In 2015, however, it was discontinued due to critique of its feasibility as well as the potential costs involved. IEA's PIRLS and TIMSS studies of literacy, numeracy, and science skills have in many ways had similar effects on public debate and policy-making as PISA.

The EU and the OECD explicitly employ a vocabulary that links education and research to a language of fierce competition in emerging knowledge economies that supposedly require considerable upgrading of citizens' competences. *Excellence*, *learning outcomes*, and *employability* appear all over OECD, EU, and Bologna Process documents as keywords that make education visible as a field aimed at ensuring a glorious future among global knowledge economies and preventing the failure of a Europe lagging behind. The ensuing production of truth creates clear

expectations of the kinds of teacher and student subjectivities that are desired (Meyer and Benavot 2013; Hopmann 2008; Henry et al. 2001).

National Debates in Denmark and Sweden with Transnational Silencers

These transformations of transnational governance never claim to transgress the diversity of national sensibilities and models. They rather talk of 'unity in diversity', i.e., a discourse of respecting national differences while simultaneously making this diversity comparable. Supposedly, this supplies each and every national participant in this transnational caucus with a wealth of inspiration in the forms of "knowledge that works" and "best practices" that can be applied – more or less – as all countries increasingly adapt to the same templates and standards when submitting knowledge and numbers about each of their national systems. This complex contains an inherent ambiguity. On the one hand, the *open method of coordination* requires each participating nation to abide by the consensus that has been arrived at by painstaking and lengthy collaborative efforts among diverse stakeholders. On the other hand, this consensus appears to be difficult to present to the national public – in Denmark as well as Sweden – as something that is imposed by transnational forums. In order to secure legitimacy and gather political momentum in national debates, it must be transformed into the political substrate of diverse and distinct stakeholders that signify each individual national context and its political debates (e.g., Waldow 2009; Nordin 2012).

By following national debates, it is – with the notable exception of PISA – often difficult to notice the pervasiveness of transnational impact, as reforms in relation to the culturally sensitive education area are often discursively reinscribed in more or less heated national debates. EU and OECD are not popular figures to pull out in public political debate, neither in Denmark nor in Sweden. They are often perceived as threats to national sovereignty. The Bologna Process and IEA are largely unknown in the broader public, as are ENQA end ESG. Therefore, school and teacher education reforms are often discursively reconfigured in ways that personify the compelling requirements that follow from participating in a new transnational discursive community. This personification of transnational processes has been particularly visible in the cases of highly profiled ministers of education, such as Bertel Haarder in Denmark and Jan Björklund in Sweden.

In a move to follow up on EU's Lisbon Agenda, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the first prime minister in the Danish liberal-conservative government from 2001 to 2011, established the Globalization Council (Danish Government 2006) to reflect upon preparing Denmark for a future in the global knowledge economy. This council's final report points to education as essential to secure that Denmark remains among the world's richest countries. Lars Løkke Rasmussen, the same government's second prime minister, established the Growth Forum (2009), which sets up

the School's Flying Squad (Skolens Rejsehold 2010). This unit initiates the so-called 360-degree service overhaul of the school, which comes up with a number of recommendations aimed at raising Danish school standards from "being one of the world's most expensive schools to also being one of the world's best." To appreciate how deeply this key policy initiative was integrated into the dominant transnational regime of truth described in this chapter, one needs only to take a look at its extensive final report. This report refers to PISA 63 times, to TIMSS 17 times, and to PIRLS 15 times (School's Flying Squad 2010). In addition, it refers explicitly to ten evaluation reports from the Danish Evaluation Institute (EVA), a compliant ENQA member. When a social democratic-led government took office in October 2011, similar compliance with the transnational regime continued under the new overarching theme of "New Nordic School" as well as the Danish Productivity Commission and the Committee for Quality and Relevance in Higher Education (2013).

In Sweden, the ambiguity in bringing transnational policy agreements into national political debates becomes resoundingly visible in the apparent paradox that although a discussion of the significance of the Bologna Process for Swedish teacher education is largely lacking in a key governmental reports on teacher education (Ministry of Education and Research 2008), the minister of education vividly argues in an article that Swedish teachers must learn more about EU (Björklund and Malmström 2009).

Altogether, these new forms of soft governance by proxy of transnational collaborations appear to create a serious democratic deficit. Templates, standards, and performance indicators appear to be negotiated in transnational forums in ways and forms that do not translate well and make sense in terms of national democratic procedures and traditions.

Epilogue: Reflections Upon Consequences for National Teacher Education

A new set of transnational themes now sets the agenda for what is appropriate to reflect upon concerning school and teacher education. Reading, writing, mathematics, and science have acquired primacy. Danish and Swedish students have been situated as lifelong learners within a particular comparative context, bordered by a set of power technologies that point to the production of subjectivities that are fit for a competition-oriented global knowledge economy. When transnational comparative studies enter the policy game, nations are ranked, even though OECD and IEA researchers claim that the studies can be used only for inspiration not for ranking. Here Danish and Swedish teachers and students are defined as being at the top on certain parameters and way further down on others. This impacts demands made on teacher education, as teachers are the ones supposed to make the wishes of the transnational narrative come true. This is underscored by meta-analysis reviews of international research that apparently gives evidence to the claim that the quality of the

teacher and his/her ability to create productive learning environments is the single most important factor to improve student outcomes (e.g., Meyer 2004; Hattie 2009).

An effect of the dominance of OECD and IEA studies in making the templates for providing *evidence* for *what works* in education has been a revival of a neopositivist largely quantitative paradigm for producing research that matters in policy terms. This regime continues the building of an extensive base of knowledge across national contexts, which can, at best, give mutual inspiration to develop school and teacher training across the world. This regime does, however, harbor a number of hazards: The diverse strains of professional knowledge that have evolved over time nationally and locally (*in casu* in Danish and Swedish teacher education and professional practice/research) are in risk of being devalued. For often they do not comply in concept and methodology with the new dominant *evidence* for *what works'* regime. Valuable knowledge developed within other theoretical and methodological research paradigms risks being marginalized with a loss of collective memory as a result. In addition, the fact that external stakeholders in relation to teacher education and school increasingly produce the legitimate knowledge about what works may well cause a loss of ownership to daily practice among professionals. This may lead to a more manual-like approach to one's daily practice (Krejsler 2013a).

The entire situation is still highly context-dependent and offers room for different interpretations in the game of 'unity in diversity' as shown by the cases of Denmark and Sweden. The opaque smoothness of transnational policy processes seems to produce dangers of a severe democratic deficit while simultaneously offering a wealth of inspiration among participating countries. Which scenario will prevail is an empirical question that deserves much attention in the years to come.

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Chapter 7
Killing Two Birds with One Stone: Globalizing Switzerland by Harmonizing the Cantonal Systems of Education in the Aftermath of PISA

Daniel Tröhler

Abstract Taking the example of the current educational reforms, that is, the harmonization of the Swiss education systems, this chapter engages with the paradoxical character of modern education policy that believes it enhances its agency by referring to the unshakeable basis of their policy, the "crystal-clear" facts or "data," incorruptibly portraying – in a comparative way – the state of the art of schooling in the respective education systems. It is argued that this enhancement of agency represents more an "illusion of control" rather than real agency, for it assigns de facto decision-taking to the normative theories that are embedded (and hidden) in the instruments designed to provide the "crystal-clear" facts. It also points out that this policy model represents thorough mistrust toward the major bearers of the education systems, the teachers, on two levels: mistrust in teachers' policy expertise as professionals and mistrust in their teaching. And it argues that the Swiss attempt to harmonize the education systems of the individual cantons is, in fact, an attempt to adjust Swiss education to globally dominant models.

Introduction

As is the case in other federal countries, such as Germany or the United States, Switzerland's education system is organized in a decentralized way. The basis of the Swiss cantons' (states') sovereignty in education policy is guaranteed by Article 62 of the Swiss Federal Constitution, declaring: "The cantons are responsible for the system of school education."

Each Swiss canton has its own constitution, in which the (limited) sovereignty, the cultural mission, and the overall aims of the social order are declared. The

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Canton of Solothurn, for instance, states in the preamble of its constitution: "The people of the Canton of Solothurn, aware of their responsibility before God to man, community and environment, committed to the goal of preserving the canton in its cultural and regional diversity and as a canton in the Swiss Confederation, dedicated to freedom and justice in the framework of a democratic order and to protect peace in the interior and the cohesion of the people to preserve, to promote the welfare of all, to strive for a society that serves the development and social security of the people, gives itself the following constitution." Based on the assumption that the future citizens of this political, cultural, and social order are not born, but made, the articles in the constitution concerning education are revealing. As in any other canton of Switzerland, the cantonal constitution declares compulsory education (with the exception of special needs education) to be a communal affair (communes are the smallest political unit in Switzerland) but supervised by the cantonal authorities (Article 105). The citizens of the Canton of Solothurn, like citizens in other cantons, are in their basics locally "made," and with religious morals, they are sustainable, peaceful, and oriented toward the common good; in other words, they are modern descendants of a Christian republic.

The traditional educational historiography in Switzerland has assumed again and again that the Swiss education systems were thoroughly reorganized by following plans designed from scratch after the French Revolution of 1830 (July Revolution). However, cultural and mental continuities in the (re-)organization of schooling with century-old roots have since become much more evident (Tröhler 2011a, 2016a, b, c). It is these cultural and mental continuities that are nourished and sustained by the institutionalized organization of schooling (similar to the United States, Switzerland has locally elected school boards made up of laymen), by curricula, by cross-curricular rituals like school festivals or school trips, and not least by cultivated stereotypes of inclusion and exclusion that have perpetuated centuries-old idiosyncrasies in defining the social order and the curricular design of the future citizens. Even though these cantonal peculiarities (and stereotypes) enjoy, as a rule, sympathy among the Swiss people, the cultivated Swiss provincialism has also been increasingly criticized, not least with regard to the education systems. It was only in 1985 that the Swiss voters accepted a somewhat uniform start of the school year all over Switzerland – namely, between the middle of August and the middle of September. But the organization of the education system in terms of school levels, tracks, curricula, and transition regulations remained highly diverse; not even the number of years of compulsory education was identical across the cantons.

Even though the Swiss cantonal authorities were rather reluctant to participate in the education policies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), some stakeholders successfully brought Switzerland to its agenda (Bürgi 2011); the first Swiss OECD country report dates, presumably by chance, to 1989, when the Iron Curtain fell (EDK 1989a, b). In the wake of the PISA results after the year 2000, the vision grew to harmonize the cantonal education systems in order to enhance the general quality and permeability and to reduce obstacles of geographic mobility (one may bear in mind that Switzerland with its 26 education systems has the geographical size of one-tenth of Sweden or of the state

of California or not even of half of the state of Indiana). Hence, the Swiss people voted in May 2006 to partly harmonize the cantonal education systems, and based on this vote in 2007, the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK)[1] formed a memorandum of understanding, called a "concordat" with the acronym HarmoS (*Harmo*nizing *S*witzerland).[2] In accordance with mainstream education policies abroad, it aimed at expanding compulsory education to 11 years by transforming kindergarten into preschool, by agreeing on overall aims of compulsory schooling and its structures (developing a more or less common curriculum), and by defining the instruments of quality assurance and quality development, for instance by implementing national educational standards.

From its very beginning, HarmoS was exposed to criticism, foremost from the conservative right-wing parties, which were suspiciously against both the formal integration of kindergarten into compulsory schooling, which was understood as intervention in the sovereignty of the family, and the delocalization of policy, which was seen as intervention in local or cantonal sovereignty. Scholars raised criticisms, too, lamenting the enhanced standardization and technocratization of policy. And in 2011 a group of concerned scholars published a corresponding, *Memorandum: More Education and Fewer Reforms*.[3] However, much broader upset about HarmoS began, when the first drafts of the new curriculum, known as *Lehrplan 21* (Curriculum 21[4]), became public after 4 years of development from 2010 to 2014. Whereas the policy was and still is determined to implement Curriculum 21, conservative right-wing parties and critics with a more intellectual background oppose(d) it. The critique by the latter differs essentially from that by the former and objects to – among many details – the focus of Curriculum 21 on "competences." They argue that, whereas the Swiss had indeed approved harmonization of the cantonal education systems, including some curricular coordination, the curriculum makers of Curriculum 21 had autocratically initiated a "paradigm shift" in the Swiss education system(s) by incorporating central OECD policy suggestions into the Swiss curriculum through the back door. Accordingly, concerned citizens claimed that they had indeed voted "yes" to HarmoS but certainly never "yes" to the ideology implemented in Curriculum 21.[5]

This chapter engages less with the validity of the arguments of the reformers or the right-wing or intellectual (and often also leftist) critics. Instead, it takes HarmoS and Curriculum 21 as Swiss examples of the paradoxical character of modern education policy that believes it enhances its agency by referring to the unshakeable basis of their policy, the "crystal-clear" facts or "data," incorruptibly portraying – in a comparative way – the state of the art of schooling in the respective education systems. It is argued that this enhancement of agency represents more an "illusion of control" rather than real agency, for it assigns de facto decision-taking to the

[1] http://www.edk.ch/dyn/11553.php

[2] http://edudoc.ch/record/24711/files/HarmoS_d.pdf?ln=deversion=1

[3] See http://www.walterherzog.ch/politik/

[4] Refers to the 21 German-speaking cantons (or parts of bilingual cantons) participating in HarmoS.

[5] For instance: http://pro-101674.novatrend.ws/argumentarium

normative theories that are embedded (and hidden) in the instruments designed to provide the "crystal-clear" facts. It also points out that this policy model represents thorough mistrust toward the major bearers of the education systems, the teachers, on two levels: mistrust in teachers' policy expertise as professionals and mistrust in their teaching. This thesis is developed in four steps. First, it shows that the internationally dominant education policy is trapped in a particular epistemology, which is identified as "medicalized," that is, following parameters valid in medical research (1). It then focuses on the core concept of Curriculum 21, the competences, which aim at integrating knowledge and skills and turn out to be a simple performance (2). It then reconstructs the political "illusions of control" that characterize current policy not only of schooling but also of research funding (3). This chapter closes with the analysis that the reform idea of HarmoS in fact turned out to be a contribution to the globalization of the Swiss education policy through the back door, having only weak democratic legitimation (4).

Medicalization of Policy and Research

On the occasion of the publication of the first draft of Curriculum 21 in 2014, Regine Aeppli, education minister of the economically strongest Swiss canton, the Canton of Zurich, gave an interview to the most prestigious Swiss newspaper, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. In the interview, Aeppli contests the public perception according to which Curriculum 21 represents a fundamental rather than incremental reform and emphasizes that Curriculum 21 has to be predominantly interpreted as a project aiming to harmonize all cantons following "up-to-date insights from the educational sciences" (Aeppli 2014, p. 19). A curriculum, Aeppli argues, has to be understood as an "educational instrument for the schools," and its development belongs to "experts" rather than to "correspondence columns" in newspapers or to "blogs" (p. 19). And, to underline her plea for experts in curriculum making, Aeppli draws a parallel to medicine: "About the use of drugs there are no polls; a specialized body decides what it allows and what not" (p. 19). In other words, as it is the case in medicine, curriculum development is a matter for experts rather than for democratic deliberation.

Only few statements by education policy makers reveal the medicalized discourse that is now dominating research in the field of education globally, not so much in the educational sciences, as Aeppli seems to think, but in (test) psychology related to the field of education. As I argued elsewhere (Tröhler 2015), this medicalized "paradigm" arose out of a technocratic governance model that is rooted in the Second World War and characterized by tight cooperation between government, army, and scientists (working interdisciplinarily). In the first 15–20 years after the war, a mechanical-physical model dominated this technocratic vision (leading, among others, to programs for expanding the secondary school and reforming its curriculum to include more mathematics, physics, and technology). But particular crises (for instance, alarming effects of pollution) and discoveries (for instance,

DNA) around 1960 led to a shift within this technocratic governance model from a mechanical-physical to a medical-biological system of reasoning. In this epistemological context, the analysis of the education systems was to follow the model of medical doctors analyzing the bodies of the patients, as stated by the economist Philip H. Coombs, the former program director for education at the Ford Foundation and first assistant secretary of the State for Education and Culture in the United States, in his role as (the first) director of the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning in Paris in his 1968 published book, *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis* (Coombs 1968).

Practically all important concepts in today's dominant education policy and (policy-supported) research are derived from the close interconnection between the two social fields policy and research, and in this alliance, they praise the medical model. Manfred Prenzel, one of the most prominent German spokesmen for a medicalized epistemology in the service of politics, declared that today's politicians were following an "evidence-based educational policy" (Prenzel 2009, p. 33) and that, accordingly, there was an urgent need for "technological knowledge" for "political decisions." The most promising model for research providing this knowledge, Prenzel argued, could be found in the "health sector," whereby "educational research is still a long way away from medical research in its scope and magnitude of funding" (p. 33): "In order to obtain this type of technological knowledge, systematic experiments in the laboratory and in the field are necessary, together with cleverly planned intervention studies" (p. 33).

In fact, the persuasive idea of evidence-based policy goes back to a medical scandal – namely, to the devastating effects of the drug thalidomide, marketed in Germany under the trade name Contergan, which was used in 1958 and 1959 to alleviate morning sickness in pregnant women. The negative effects of thalidomide resulted in the 1962 "Drug Efficacy Amendments" to the US Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, requiring drug manufacturers to provide proof of the effectiveness and safety of their drugs before they could be approved. This "proof-of-efficacy" requirement had not existed before, and it introduced an imperative of medical research that was called "evidence based." Evidence-based medicine – the term seems to have been coined in 1968 – is seen as "the conscientious, explicit and judicious use of current best evidence in making decisions about the care of individual patients" (Sackett et al. 1996).

It is important to note that "evidence" in the "evidence-based model" is not derived from insight or understanding or negotiation between different opinions but from statistical evidence resulting from clinical trials and intervention studies. Clinical trials and intervention studies are in principle not designed to create understanding, quite the contrary: Statistical evidence replaces the quest for understanding by correlating indicators to each other. Statistical evidence is therefore based on large-scale research designs that, ideally, are organized in a longitudinal way. Because the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) is longitudinal only in a very limited way, new large-scale research programs in education were and are being developed under the catchword "monitoring," a concept unquestionably borrowed from hospital emergency units. In the wake of this epistemology, a new

approach to education arose, the educational neurosciences, which assume that only precise knowledge of the material processes in the human brain would allow us to shape learning environments efficiently and effectively. This indicates a kind remarriage of cognitive psychology and behaviorism, which are said to have separated after Sputnik around 1960. It is on this basis that the international large-scale assessments in education policy and research operate, causing multiple and most often unintended effects (Lewis and Linard 2015).

Competence? Measurable Performance!

To produce statistical evidence in education that allows comparison, it is of crucial importance that tests like PISA or like the law No Child Left Behind (NCLB) do not measure what is actually taught at school, the taught and experienced curriculum (Labaree 2014), for curricula have the "unpleasant flaw" to differ from each other, at least between countries, and in more federal states also between regions (cantons, states, *Bundesländer*), or in strongly localized political cultures even between communes (municipalities, towns). The solution to this problem in large-scale comparative research is to abstain from examining mastery of the contents of specific curricula and to focus on measuring cross-cultural skills or "competences." Precisely because PISA in its global aspirations is not (and cannot be) interested in the student's mastery of particular curricula, it aims to look at something called "young people's ability to use their knowledge and skills in order to meet real-life challenges" (OECD 2001, p. 16).

Hence, the PISA focus is not on curriculum and textbook-based contents that students learn at school: "Assessments that test only mastery of the school curriculum can offer a measure of the internal efficiency of school systems. They do not reveal how effectively schools prepare students for life after they have completed their formal education" (OECD 2001, p. 27). In the intellectual horizon of the OECD, this "life" is not culturally and empirically framed but is, allegedly, universal or global: "PISA offers a new approach to considering school outcomes, using as its evidence base the experiences of students across the world rather than in the specific cultural context of a single country" (OECD 2001, p. 27). Accordingly, PISA aims at having close links to policy, for its "main features" have exactly been "its policy orientation, with testing and reporting methods determined by the need of governments to draw policy lessons" (OECD 2001, p. 17). Education policy, hitherto responsible for making the future loyal citizens of the respective political entities, should now switch to making an allegedly global world citizen indifferent to particular value systems and cultures but always prepared "to meet real-life challenges" (OECD 2001, p. 16).

The first PISA report was titled *Knowledge and Skills for Life* (OECD 2001). "Life," in the realm of PISA, is not the real life of students who have to learn the curriculum and pass tests at school and who are exposed to placement among their peers and decisions affecting their further educational careers. By "life" PISA

means challenges that today's students will encounter much later, "after they have completed their formal education" (OECD 2001, p. 27). Due to the confidentiality of the PISA tests, we know little about PISA's vision of the future challenges, but from what we do know, these challenges do not cover the whole array of challenges that a future citizen will encounter but rather some limited aspects of life, which in turn are labeled by the critics as "purely economic." In any case, it is regrettable that PISA does not reveal what these "real-life challenges" (OECD 2001, p. 16) of the future citizens are in concrete terms, despite the fact that the designers of the PISA seem to be very confident that they not only know these challenges but also can derive from them test scenarios that can assess in a prognostic way the future life chances of 15-year-old students.

In the German realm, the problem becomes even more severe, and the very reason for this has not only led to incomparably and extremely heated PISA debates in Germany (see Tröhler 2011b) but also is partly the reason for the contentious debate in Switzerland on HarmoS and Curriculum 21. Due to its global aspiration, PISA has understandably not paid attention to different cultural semantics and languages or discourses. But there is a problem that already becomes evident in the different languages' titling of the first PISA report. In the English version, PISA talks in an unproblematic and rather pragmatic way of *Knowledge and Skills for Life* (OECD 2001); the French version is titled *Connaissances et compétences: Des atouts pour la vie* (in English, knowledge and skills: assets/trumps for life) and the Spanish version *La medida de los conocimientos y destrezas de los alumnus* (in English: the extent of the knowledge and skills of students). But the German translation of the title of the report, shortened and less differentiated, is *Lernen für das Leben* (in English: learning for life). In German, "learning" seems to include both knowledge and skills, and the question is why the Germans felt compelled to summarize "knowledge" and "skills" as "learning."

The problem behind this merger of *knowledge and skills* is that in the German culture, the concept of knowledge (*Wissen*) has always had a hard time being appreciated as really valuable. For more than 200 years, the guiding concept in the German reflection on education has always been *Bildung*. At approximately the same time as when, for instance, Thomas Jefferson drafted his *Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge* in 1779 (Jefferson 1984) for the Commonwealth of Virginia in order to defend the basics of this Commonwealth from "degeneracy" and "tyranny" (p. 365) by organizing a thorough system of schooling, the German concerns were directed much less at knowledge and much more at *Bildung* (Horlacher 2016a), which is an immaterial and aestheticized vision of a holistically harmonized human soul, a soul that precisely does not depend on knowledge. The Germans' distrust of knowledge has proven to be extremely sustainable, and one of the most celebrated slogans (of contested origin) is the definition according to which *Bildung* is "that which remains when you have forgotten everything that you ever learned at school."

Whatever *Bildung* "is," it expresses the German skepticism toward the modern sciences and knowledge. In this tradition, "knowledge" has always been read as "*only* knowledge" or "*mere* knowledge," which is not actually of "real" value and

may be even immoral; it certainly represents only an "outer" realm of life that, compared to the "inner" values of a person, is of comparatively little importance. The paradox situation in Germany (and to a lesser degree in other parts of German-speaking Europe) was and is that advocates of *Bildung* claiming that "*Bildung* is unmeasurable" in principle (Sieburg 2007, p. 186), and German advocates of PISA, believing in measuring education, both share a skepticism toward knowledge that is deeply anchored in the culture. Hence, *Knowledge and Skills for Life* (OECD 2001) could not be translated as *Wissen und Können für das Leben*; the German title had to "hide" knowledge. However, this strategy would have left the "skills," properly translated into German as *Können* or *Fertigkeit,* and both of those words have the problem of referring to manual or material skills only. The solution found was to use a Latinized concept of skills, *Kompetenz* (competence), which claims to *include* knowledge (D-EDK 2013, p. 5). It is this idea of *Kompetenz*, as a synthesized concept of knowledge and skills, that is used as the key concept in German policy, which aims to participate in international school assessments like PISA as well as reform schools at home, without being suspected of promoting *only* knowledge or *mere* (manual or material) skills.

The problem was, and still is, that at the start no one ever defined *Kompetenz* (competence). This forced reformers in the realm of PISA to define it *post evento*. The only existing definition was formulated in 2001 by the psychologist Franz E. Weinert and has been repeated like a mantra ever since. According to Weinert, "competences" are "the cognitive capabilities (*Fähigkeiten*) and proficiencies (*Fertigkeiten*) available to or learnable by individuals to solve specific problems, and also the associated motivational, volitional, and social willingness and capabilities (*Fähigkeiten*) to benefit successfully and responsibly from the problem solving in variable situations" (Weinert 2001, pp. 27–28). The crucial element of this definition is not so much its low comprehensibility but its rhetoric legitimizing the measurement of learning outcomes or performance – rather than what Noam Chomsky defined as competence, namely, idealized knowledge or capacity, precisely in contrast to performance (Herzog 2015, p. 22; Horlacher 2016a, b) – thus legitimizing the production of data for policy makers following the motto: "without data, you're just another person with an opinion."[6]

How this language "defining" "competence" is to be translated into concrete curriculum making is hardly conceivable, and it is no coincidence that a large part of the critics of Curriculum 21 take issue with this. How lost and disturbed the advocates of Curriculum 21 are in this respect may be seen from a newspaper interview with the education minister of the largest Swiss canton, the Canton of Bern, Bernhard Pulver. Trying to explain what the competence orientation in the new Curriculum 21 actually means, Pulver offered the example of the Second World War as a topic in the school subject history. If we wanted to teach "only knowledge," he said, the students "would learn that the Second World War lasted from 1939 to 1945." But teaching in the new, competence-orientated way would mean teaching

[6] This popular phrase is of contested origin, too. It is often attributed to the statistician W. Edwards Deming. https://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/310261.W_Edwards_Deming

students "to understand the causes of this war" (Pulver 2014, p. 15) – as if up to now all history teachers had reduced Second World War to teaching the pure dates of the war! "Knowledge" would still remain important, minister Pulver reassured readers, but "in addition, the students must have the ability (*Fähigkeit*) to apply this knowledge" (p. 15). In Pulver's example, knowledge about the Second World War is the simple reproduction of purely formal dates, whereas an understanding of the reasons leading to the Second World War indicates the application of this knowledge as the essence of the new "competence." It is not surprising that critics reacted harshly to this ministerial interpretation of today's school (Herzog and Pichard 2015).

Cold War, Educational Aspirations, and the Illusion of Control

Obviously, the situation is entirely paradoxical. Leading proponents of cross-national testing assure the public that they are creating data to help politicians to pursue a policy that is evidence based. However, the interviews with the two dominant Swiss education ministers, Aeppli in Zurich and Pulver in Bern, show how pitiful their situation is. Minister Aeppli follows the expertocratic, medicalized epistemology in curriculum making and with that excludes democratic deliberation, and Minister Pulver ridicules teachers by implying that they had been reduced to teaching "mere" knowledge of formal facts and that from now on they should be aiming for "understanding," which is defined, in fact, as application of knowledge, that is, as "competence."

Education policy has evidently become a victim of both boundless aspirations and false promises. The boundless aspirations with regard to education grew out of a Western, more precisely Protestant, cultural peculiarity, a notion according to which not only all kinds of social problems should be solved by educational means but also according to which the whole future, and the modern self as bearer of the future, is defined in an educational language. This thorough "educationalization of the world" has its roots in Protestant circles of the early eighteenth century. It was formulated in two different theories around 1800, reflecting the two dominant Protestant denominations – namely, the theory of *Bildung* in the Lutheran context and the theory of the virtuous citizen in the Swiss Reformation (Tröhler 2016a, b, c). Within this discourse, the European nation-states, founded around the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815), trusted in public mass education to integrate inhabitants of a constitutionally defined territory and to transform them, via the curriculum, into loyal citizens as bearers of national unity and uniqueness (Tröhler et al. 2011).

The tragic experiences of the two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century may have discredited the national claims for uniqueness and respective superiority, at least for some six to seven decades – given that in recent years Europe has witnessed numerous phenomena indicating a revival of national or nationalist sentiments, expressed, for instance, in the increasing electoral successes of

right-wing populist parties in different countries, the erection of border fences preventing refugees from war zones to proceed on their flight, or in the UK European Union membership referendum ("Brexit") on June 23, 2016. Be it as it is with regard to the persuasiveness of the nation, the two world wars certainly did not put an end to the educationalized discourse, quite on the contrary: The United States reacted to the alleged technological superiority of the Soviet Union, seen in the launch of Sputnik 1957, by passing the very first national education law, the *National Defense Education Act* (NDEA) in 1958. And the response to the missing, or unclear, or in any case unsatisfactory effects of the NDEA was the founding of the National Assessment of Educational Progress program in 1964, which developed tools for comparative testing that were used at a global level in the PISA program 35 years later (Tröhler 2011c). When in the United States, the national crisis after the Vietnam War, the oil crises in the 1970s, and the near collapse of the automobile industry in the early 1980s led to the perception of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983), and the conclusion was not to reform car manufacturing but to issue an *Imperative For Educational Reform*, which expressed the educationalization of economy and economic policy.

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, the whole Cold War became to a large degree educationalized, and in the West, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) and the OECD played a crucial role in translating claims of global power into education reforms and programs, in educationalizing "development," and in shifting policy from input to output steering – that is, in basing policy on measured student performance ("data") (Tröhler 2010). The educational pillar of the desire to exert global power did not disappear with the end of the Cold War – again, quite the contrary. Only 3 years later, the first OECD *Education at a Glance* comparative education report was published in 1992, and the publication turned out to be a highly attractive instrument for policy makers indeed (Weymann and Martens 2005, p. 79). This project of analyzing indicators was the cradle of PISA, which was launched only a couple of years later, and the first PISA results report was published in 2001 (Tröhler 2013), allegedly serving policy makers in their heavy duty of creating the future based on enhanced and reformed education.

The boundless aspirations toward education are one aspect of the deplorable situation that educational policy makers find themselves in and false promises the other. Today, the official rhetoric of the dominant discourse is that research creates data to be used by politicians in their "evidence-based" policies. The rhetoric suggests that politicians are in fact assigned an agency, a suggestion that is, of course, received with pleasure. However, by being (or having to be) committed to the boundless educationalized aspirations, policy makers cannot help but rely on alleged guarantees in the form of "evidence-based" facts provided by research. Policy then turns out to be the application of the normative theories that are embedded in the research methods of the technocratic aspirations (Popkewitz 2015), having now found their most persuading shape in medical discourse and its epistemology. Politicians then turn out in fact to have hardly any agency at all and rather to be victims of what is called in social psychology "illusions of control" (Langer 1975; Thompson 2004).

The concept of illusions of control describes human beings' inclination to believe that they control certain processes, which in turns leads them to increase their motivation and endurance (Taylor and Brown 1988), for, as Bandura argued, realistic assessments could have self-limiting effects (Bandura 1989, p. 1177), which in fact would be incompatible with the boundless aspirations that characterizes education.

It is obvious that education policy makers are not empowered to do what normal people (the electorate) would expect them to do when thinking of policy, for the policy makers obviously do not trust in professional experience, opinion, and deliberation but instead follow normative guidelines that are implied in the testing agenda. Respect for democracy has never been, in fact, a fundamental feature of expertocratic technocrats, as we may see in a report of a conversation between Alexander King, the most important education actor in the OECD, and Vannevar Bush, who was the head of the US Office of Scientific Research and Development during Second World War and also initiator and administrator of the Manhattan Project and author of *Science, the Endless Frontier* (Bush 1945) and who envisioned "a technologically advanced America governed by the masters of science and technology" (Zachary 1997, p. 224). King reported on this meeting in Bush's office: "On our first meeting, I sat opposite him [Bush] at his large desk. He asked me to turn round and look at the wall behind me, where there was a black-framed mock heraldic coat of arms with a retort superimposed on a benzene ring, with a scroll beneath, with the words *illigitimus non carborundum*. He explained that he had to spend too much time talking to senators, congressmen and other pretentious people, and the emblem comforted him. It reminded him, 'don't let the bastards wear you down" (King 2006, p. 132 f.).

There was and is a deep expertocratic distrust in democracy and democratically elected people, as it was expressed not only in Bush's characterizing of elected parliamentarians as "bastards" but also was shared in general in the climate that characterized technocracy very sustainably: "That democracy is best, in which people participate least" was the general assumption of the expertise-driven democracy in the 1950s (quoted in Gilman 2003, p. 48). The *Trust in Numbers* (Porter 1995) generated in large-scale research designs includes distrust in professional experience and in the idea that different experience can be interpreted differently and that deliberation is a royal road to arrive at decisions.

Globalization of Switzerland Through the Back Door

The mistrust in opinion and deliberation affects the educational professionals the most. Their knowledge about schooling, derived from their experience, has greatly lost its authority in policy, similar to the authority of family doctors – both are victims of the medicalized epistemology erected on large-scale data (Porter 1995, p. 205). But not only their policy authority has largely disappeared but also the traditional definition of what a teacher is meant to do. Traditionally, teachers have had

the task of teaching the contents of the curriculum (*horribile dictu*: knowledge!), but the emphasis on "competences" calls this task into question to a large degree. It is no coincidence that Curriculum 21 in Switzerland starts with the following declarations: "Whereas so far curricula described what contents teachers had to teach, Curriculum 21 describes what students, at the end of the instruction cycles, should be able to master. The learning goals and substantial guidelines are replaced by subject-related, personal, social, and methodological competences that the students acquire in the curricular areas" (D-EDK 2013, p. 4). There is a shift from the teacher to the student and from curriculum to mastery.

Hence, the distrust in teachers is not limited to policy advice that they may have. There is also distrust in their profession as teachers, which includes "teaching." In the same way that curricular contents have been made more or less indifferent as compared to the students' development competences, teachers have lost authority in instruction: Instead of viewing them as negotiators between societal expectations of learning and the future citizens, they are now supposed to facilitate the learners' acquisition of the competences defined and evaluated by the experts. Despite the rhetoric on the importance of good teachers, confirmed with wide resonance by John Hattie ("Teachers make a difference") (Hattie 2003, 2008), mistrust in teachers has prevailed ever since the world started to define itself in an educationalized language. The prime example of a distrustful scholar was B. F. Skinner, the creator of the conditioned and monitored community of *Walden Two* and the "father" of programmed instruction (Tröhler 2016a, b, c). That Skinner meant to operate in the name of freedom and democracy is one of the core paradoxes of a part of modern psychology, as it addressed education with the aim of serving policy making.

Experiences in Switzerland with HarmoS and Curriculum 21 mirror the multilayered paradoxes that characterize today's education policy. The first paradox is that the sound distinction between policy and research is becoming blurred, the second paradox is that democratic deliberation based on experience is being discredited in favor of technocratic expertise, and the third paradox is that this educationalized technocratic system arose out of aspirations of the "free world" (Bürgi 2016). This system is not, as it claims to be, culturally neutral, as little as one of its early expressions, Daniel Bell's (1960) *End of Ideology*, was free of ideology itself. To accuse others (in Bell's case, the Soviets) of being ideological and to claim for oneself that having technologies at one's disposal to solve any problem is to be unideological are in itself an ideology that is not necessarily a wolf in sheep's clothing but an expression of lacking intellectual responsibility (and extremely meager historical awareness of the history of the present).

The technocratic model with its emphasis on evidence-based policy is in itself an ideology that, as it was explicitly formulated, aims at producing the "right kind of people" (Bürgi and Tröhler in press). It is an ideology that was largely generated in the Second World War and perpetuated in the Cold War, exerting – the next paradox – its rule based on a medicalized epistemology, more tangibly after the end of the Cold War. Against the imperative of a thoroughly educationalized world, defining its future in the language of education, the imagined fear of backwardness coerces national policies to trust international agencies that determine this back-

wardness. Legitimized by the Swiss electorate to harmonize the cantonal education systems (HarmoS), the policy makers could not help but to interpret the plebiscite as carte blanche to implement globally dominating models of schooling or curriculum, models that are designed not necessarily to make schooling or students better or to contribute to the ideals of social order and culture but to better measure performance in a comparative way.

By opening the back door to a concept of schooling that allows international or inter-cantonal comparison of student performance, policy has abandoned deliberation on the question as to what kind of social order a cantonal or the national society aspires to and what the educational means to implement this envisioned social order by making the future citizens should be. Not the question of what the "best" citizen in a given political community should look like dominates policy but how to be on top of comparative testing that focuses on "competences" in selected curricular eras. Opening the policy back door widely to the logics of large-scale testing has – ironically or not – locked policy out of policy making, understood as an arena of deliberation and sense making.

In the German-speaking realm, education policy is paying now for the circumstance that there has never existed a solid tradition in curriculum research and that those engaged in curriculum research have been rather marginalized; small centers of research exist outside of Germany and Switzerland. Internationally operating researchers in curriculum[7] might have been able to inform policy makers that curriculum is (also) a guideline that expresses visions of social order and is not a recipe and explain that teachers do not always follow the curricular guidelines and that this "disobedience" is not necessarily and in any case bad. And they could have reminded policy makers that incremental reforms are more successful than fundamental ones (for a summary, see Cuban 2013) and that throwing the baby out with the bath water may satisfy a discourse that is characterized by boundless aspirations and that produces policy makers with illusions of control but hardly enhances the quality of schooling embedded in a democracy.

The results are unsatisfactory. On the federal level, a professional interest group made up of left and left-liberal citizens formed a movement called "objection" [*Einspruch*], writing letters to the editors, giving interviews to different journals, and publishing a very successful brochure containing a compilation of critical statements (Pichard and Kissling 2016). The brochure is in the meantime now being promoted by the conservative right-wing critics of HarmoS and Curriculum 21, too.[8] In the cantons, citizens' initiatives have demanded public votes on the implementation of Curriculum 21 and some cantons, such as in the Canton of Schwyz, the parliament declared the initiatives for a referendum over Curriculum 21 as invalid,[9] which led the agents of Curriculum 21 to suddenly reassure the public that the

[7] There is indeed international expertise, in Switzerland; see http://www.lehrplanforschung.ch

[8] http://www.bildungs-kompass.ch/news/einspruch-kritische-gedanken-zu-bologna-harmos-und-lehrplan-21_24

[9] The initiators have taken this decision to the Swiss Supreme Court, fighting for the right to have a public vote.

reform is not a real reform but more of a necessary adjustment. Both the secrecy in developing Curriculum 21 and the sudden assertion that Curriculum 21 is not at all a fundamental but more of an incremental reform[10] has led to large public mistrust, as curriculum expert Rudolf Künzli has noted (Künzli 2016, p. 3), and it has given rise to satires[11] on the credibility of the agents of reform (Pichard and Kissling 2015, p. 34).

In the wake of this, the idea of harmonizing some important aspects of the cantonal education systems has almost become forgotten. The "overeagerness" (Künzli 2016, p. 3) of the reformers to precisely define what exactly should happen in the classrooms rather than to start a public political debate on the aims of Swiss schooling has led to this unfortunate situation, whereby even the most problematic and controversial issue has been excluded from the beginning – namely, the question of the second language taught at school. Should it be, as it was traditionally, another national language (French in German Switzerland, German in French Switzerland) with the promise to increase national cohesion over the language boarders, or should it be English, promising easier access to the international economy? It is no coincidence that the stakeholders of the reform, trapped in the medicalized discourse in education research and policy, were engaged in creating an order of schooling that allows the production of data based on performance and excluded these urgent curricular questions, for the answer to these urgent questions could have only stemmed from political deliberation and not from any kind of high-stakes-test driven expertocracy. Curricula respond to the ideas of sovereignty, the cultural missions, and the overall aims of the social orders in political entities, and it would seem efficient and justified to assign the debate of reforming curricula to the concerned public and the professionals and their preferences and strategies of decision taking rather than to a technocratic expertocracy with its inherent skepticism about democracy.

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[10] In spring 2016 the education minister of Bern, Bernhard Pulver, and the psychologist Kurt Reusser, a collaborator in Curriculum 21, reassured readers in an official bulletin that Curriculum 21 only "seemed" to be new but that in its "underlying structure," it in fact represented a continuation of the older curricula and their educational aims (Pulver and Reusser 2016, p. 5). Given the insulting characterization of traditional education by the minster in 2014 (see above), it is not surprising that this public reassurance of continuity has caused irritation and mistrust.

[11] http://schuleschweiz.blogspot.ch/2015/11/kurt-wir-haben-ein-problem.html

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Part III
Making Kinds of People as the Imperatives of Education: The Practice of Governing the Educational Subjects

Chapter 8
Reform and Making Human Kinds: The Double Gestures of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Practice of Schooling

Thomas S. Popkewitz

Abstract The chapter considers the globalization and transnational through examining reform as embodying standards. My use of standards is not in the publically stated goals of policy. They are in the principles generated in the making of the objects of reflection and administration of children. These standards relate historically to the rules and standards about who the child is and should be and who is "different," abjected, and thus excluded. The chapter begins with interviews of American urban teachers, with urban as a phrase used to talk about teachers of children of the poor, racialized, and ethnic groups that are marginalized in educational settings. This child is called "the child left behind" in American legislation designed to improve schools for a category in education that refers to children considered socially disadvantaged, marginalized, and associated with problems of low achievement in school. The chapter proceeds to historicize how differences and divisions are established to make "the urban" teacher and child as different in American social and education sciences at the turn of the twentieth century. It argues that the sciences of teaching and learning embody cultural theses about kinds of people. These cultural theses involve double gestures: the hope of schooling in making kinds of people whose modes of living embody collective moral values and with this hope of inclusion are simultaneous fears of the dangers and dangerous populations. The thinking about reform is a historical method to study what schools do, how reforms function, and educational research. My concern with the double gestures of reform is to explore the limits of contemporary frameworks that define the subject of school reform and its research programs.

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There is an oddity to this land of mine in talk about globalization and transnational education. One is the worry about the standardization occurring, for example, through international programs of student performance, such as OECD's PISA. The other is the regionalization of educational phenomena. In the historical and political narratives of the American school, it is seen as having no center and no standards. Visiting an elementary or secondary school in the country offers the lulling impression of differences—differences in architectural patterns, rules for teacher certification, organizational policy-making, and the curricula that travel along with unique dialects of speech associated with regional differences. This differentiated, rudderless, and noncentralized and non-state state of education is expressed in educational research, history, and public discussions.

I start with this oddity as a way to think about the standards of schooling, how to reconcile what is globalization and the transnational with what seem as idiosyncratic and the contextual immediacies of everyday life in schooling. The opposition of the global and the local are often talked about through theories about the school's institutions, legal qualities, and organizational features. If I take OECD's international assessment of student performance, PISA, statistics is used to establish categories of equivalence to compare nations. The comparative statistics is not merely descriptive. They embody a desired state of educational practices as standards from which to measure and judge differences. The criteria of school success and failure are made into global and universal categories for all national systems to judge the position of their educational system in the global landscape and then to organize models of change in order to function effectively in relation to that landscape. The representations of the differences in student performance are related to differences in contextual factors among nations, such as teacher qualities (recruitment practices, salaries, and school leadership) and the social and psychological characteristics of the student's family and community (the social, ethnic, and national group that the student belongs). The assumption is there are global criteria for success and that all nations can achieve if they adhere to same processes and intensities.

I want to think about globalization and its relation to the local through a different register in this article. If I take the assessment of student performance, it embodies a particular system of reasoning that makes possible thinking about an abstraction—the school achievement of students—as simultaneously a way to reflect and act in policy, research, and the daily life of schools. Further, it explores how particular kinds of abstractions about people and difference enter into everyday life that have implications to questions about social inclusion and exclusion.

My focus is on the systems of reason that order and classify children in American education. I explore how the principles and categories of schooling inscribe distinctions about what is desired as the normal—the lifelong learner—and the pathological, the child recognized as different yet divided from the normal and placed in the cultural spaces of the socially disadvantaged, and "the child left behind." The left behind child is often called "the urban child," a determinant category about a kind of child whose modes of living embodies fears of the dangers and dangerous populations to the envisioned future.

While the discussions of globalization and the urban child who is "left behind" in American schools would seem very far away from each other, they are not. Embodied in the theories about globalization and the urban child is a comparative style of reasoning. The comparative reasoning entails the production of abstractions about kinds of children (gifted, creative,) that function as universal, global characteristics of what the child should be. These qualities and characteristics appear as "the natural" child in policy, reform research and school programs. Urban education inscribes the comparativeness to inscribe normalcy and pathology, the kind of child abjected and placed in unlivable spaces. The social disadvantaged and urban child embodies differences and divisions from the desired kind of person. Programs to remediate the differences are measured and administrated in school programs.

The first section pursues the making of kinds of people in school and difference. I begin with interviews from an ethnography of US urban and rural teachers (Popkewitz 1998/2015). The teachers' classifications are explored as inscribing divisions about the qualities and characteristics of the child. The second section considers historically on how pedagogical discourses shape and fashion differences through establishing particular representations and identities as global properties of individuals. The third section focuses on the planning of curriculum as generating cultural theses about who the child is and should live. In this section, I return to the discussion of the urban child to examine how particular cultural standards are instantiated in schooling to produce differences that exclude and abject. My examining of teachers in urban schools, then, is to understand the cultural nuances and distinctions that classify and differentiate children in schools but also the family and community (social groups) in which the child lives. While I focus on the US distinctions, different categories are produced in other countries, such as "periphery" children and families in Brazil and "the child left behind" of rural areas of China when their parents seek work in its urban centers.

The strategy of this chapter is to explore this comparative style of reason and its limits in efforts to change contemporary schooling. Issues of globalization and transnational education are viewed through these lenses; that is, how is it possible to think of the self and others through abstractions that universalize properties of kinds of people as global yet particular to everyday life in schooling. The argument challenges the existing frameworks that order research by focusing on the system of reason through which pedagogical abstractions universalize and globalize desired kinds of people, which at the same time produce differences and diversity. I call the method of investigation as "social epistemology," examining the rules and standards of how "we" think, talk, and act as historically and socially produced (see, e.g., Popkewitz 2014). At a different layer, the argument is about change. The analysis is to poke holes in the causalities of the present in order to push its historical boundaries through opening its possibilities different from its contemporary frameworks.

The Practices of Everyday Life: Saying from "Urban" Teachers

A few years ago I went to a European Educational Research Association meeting in Berlin. The meeting's theme was about urban education and the question of inequality. If I think of my native land, the signification of "urban" in the USA since the turn of the twentieth century was a concern with The Social Question. The Social Question gave focus to social science research and the newly minted welfare state reforms. Research and reforms were to change the conditions and styles of life associated with the poor, the immigrant, and working classes of the cities. "Urban" is a phrase that is used to talk about the focus of American government policies and research concerned with populations whose children are not succeeding adequately in schools. In contemporary policy and research, the "urban" child, family, and communities (social groups) are classified in legislation called "No Child Left Behind" to signal the state and professional commitment to provide equal education for all children.

I was surprised a bit at this conference about urban schools as the theme for the European conference. I remembered that only the wealthy lived in Stockholm, Paris, and Madrid. The poor and immigrants lived in the suburbs. I hesitated, then, in thinking about urban education as a geographical concept. The urban child and education are not geographical categories but a cultural category. The category assumes that the urban child talks, thinks, and acts differently from some unspoken norms about children who are not "urban."

Urban, in the context of the USA, signifies historically the salvific theme of the nation to redress social wrongs through the processes of the school. The commitments to correct social wrongs are important and my interest in this chapter is not to challenge them. Rather my interest is to explore the concrete ways the commitments are enacted. In this instance of urban education and the urban child, they are abstractions about kinds of people. That abstraction is both a theory about "the nature" of the child and, simultaneously, a salvation theme about saving "the soul" of those children who are different, and if I use a religious metaphor, fallen out of grace. The fallen out of grace, however, is not tried to religion. "The soul" or the inner qualities, of the child and family, is to be changed as if not, they are in danger of being lost to the moral order.

"Urban" is a fabrication of a cultural thesis about a kind of person. Fabrication suggests different qualities as part of the same phenomenon. Urban is a *fiction*; that is, a category to talk about people in order to address some particular social or cultural issues. The urban child assembles different sets of principles about the "nature" of the child but also poverty, the failure of the city to serve certain populations, and the hope of schooling to correct the social wrongs associated with "urban" conditions. The fabrication of the urban child is also its manufacturing. Theories, stories, narratives, and programs are invented to change the urban child and for the child to think about boundaries of personal experience in everyday life.

To study urban as a fabrication is to treat the classification as a monument. This goes against the grain of contemporary research which focuses on the urban child as the origin of experience and as the object to effect change. To make sense of the monument, like a statue or building, it is important to understand how the monument is made historical, possible as a way to think, talk, and act. This making of the urban child is to understand its emergence as the culmination of a series of events that make it possible to think of urban as both embodying a social history that gives collective meaning in thinking about particular kinds of people. The stories, theories, and programs designed to help the urban, disadvantaged child come together in the school curriculum and its pedagogy to perform as the monument that gives the classification intelligibility. The cultural thesis generated is about who children are and should be and also who these "children" are not—the child who is not an urban child.

If I treat the "urban" child and education as a historical monument that embodies ways of thinking and acting, then its study is like going into an archive, seeing the urban child as an event to be understood. Like a historian, research is to understand the principles through which that event becomes possible to see, talk about, and act on when reforming schools. The intellectual task, then, is not to take the categories of "urban" children and teacher as the starting point about knowing if they learn or not, and why. The object of research is to explore historical its inscriptions of difference. To say this a little differently, "urban" is like looking at a historical monument.

I start with "urban" as a cultural thesis about the child that is made visible through the talk of American teachers about their lived experiences (Popkewitz 1998). The teachers were involved in a national program to bring recent non-teacher education graduates from elite American universities into some of the poorest and poorest served educational systems of the USA. The teachers were to provide instruction in curriculum areas where there was a lack of licensed teachers—such as in science, music, and foreign language instruction. What follows are transcripts from teachers talking about their urban classrooms.

> Teacher #1: The morning lesson was a story about Mayan Indians and Pueblo Indians. The teacher hoped they take it a step future and realize that … people should be treated for who they are inside and their character. I hope that some of them will apply it more broadly. (p. 65)

> Teacher #2: The teacher views her work "to help society." I wanted to hopefully make a change for the future. Now dealing with reality, I'm looking at it more as a responsibility—like I have a moral responsibility. Not just a responsibility to myself to teach these 33 kids, but a moral responsibility—just I feel it's all on my hands. I try to be like almost a policemen for the whole school." The discussion focuses on the lack of student capabilities because they are "not motivated," and "not prepared" that leads teaching into a struggle for the soul of the child so he feels that he wants to behave in the right ways. (p. 50)

> Teacher #3: Ultimately, the most important thing is to learn how to get along with other people. Think. I mean, I think that that's what education can teach you, that's what literature, especially literature, social science, all those things in the end, hopefully, you know, learning can lead to understanding and if you're understanding someone, you know, I don't think you're going to be antagonistic or hateful. (p. 72)

> Teacher #4: The students want explicit directions—the page number, the paragraph to read so they can know exactly where they can find it. (p. 75)
>
> Teacher #5: You explain things. You speak clearly. You chose your vocabulary well. You work through [the curriculum] in a logical fashion. You are imaginative. You maintain eye contact. You demonstrate good model of what you are going to do. You give a rationale. (p. 93)

Before going on, I want to say that the teachers in the study were committed, motivated, intelligent, and well educated. They entered a field-based teacher program because they were concerned about education providing a more equitable and just society. The questions raised, then, are not about their commitments. The analysis is to think about the historically derived rules and standards of "reason" of schooling that give intelligibility to what is done as teachers. This concern with "reason" is about the historical distinctions and principles that exist before the teachers entered the school and flow through the conversations about what is done and who children are as "urban."

If we approach the above quotes as historical ways of speaking and acting, an initial interpretation of the above quotes focuses on the abstractions that teachers use to talk about children and teaching.

- *The distinctions about the child embody principles to join individuality and sociality.* The learning of history, for example, is a study about moral conduct and about the psychology of the child who creates conflict through fighting. Embodied in the distinctions are notions of the community as a moral site of social belonging and collective "home." The concern with moral conduct, using the quote about reading stories, turns the lesson into personal issues and the teacher as providing pastoral care for the children.
- *The narratives about the children embody cultural theses.* The talk about being "a good model," "moral responsibility," and "how to get along with other people" embodies double gestures: the normal and pathological. One gesture is about the child, home, and family that is harmonious and without conflict. It is about "the character" that children should have and the "capabilities" that would prepare children for "the society" in the future. The gesture of the hope that children have the moral dispositions and manners is coupled with another gesture of fear. The second gesture is about dangers, simultaneously engendered with hope, and about children who "lack" motivation and are "hateful" and "antagonistic."
- *The school's task is to correct social wrongs. It does that by changing people.* The teaching of Mayan and Pueblo Indian cultures entails stories directed to change the children's "interior," "character," and "soul." Schooling is to change children and their families to something that they are not now—non-stressful and friendly. The syntax and grammar of the talk embody teachers as having "the moral responsibility" to police the child and create a particular kind of person.
- *Social inequities are translated into psychological characteristics of the child.* To talk about the child who is "antagonistic or hateful" is to place the problem of the child who fails into the interior of the child as the site of failure and to rectify as change.

- *The "reasoning" of the teachers constitutes children's learning as rules and standards of a particular way of ordering the objects of schooling*. The curriculum is analytically to project its contents and processes as gaining access to the realities of society and daily life. This realism is embodied in the breaking of "things"—school curriculum content—into smaller parts so that everything seems to fit into "a logical" and "explicit" order for children to learn. This ordering the things to learn (the curriculum) embodies a realism. That realism assumes that the objects (the knowledge children should know) in the curriculum have an essence and fixed quality. School subjects are things to learn that have a logical and sequential ordering and classification.
- *The different principles generated about children's learning and successes/failures embody a particular kind of "urban" person that the school is to act on*. The teachers were providing an urban education. It is interesting to think that there is no category of teacher that stands in opposition to that of urban teacher. People are not called the "suburban" or the urbane teacher or child. There seems to be no need for another category. The use of urban education and urban teacher tacitly assumes that "everyone" knows who the non- urban teacher is and there is no need for a category to name.

I realize that other interpretations of the teachers are possible. My engaging in this exercise, however, is to begin a process of thinking about the system of reason that makes possible what is said as more than merely the person speaking. It is to think about globalization as a style of reasoning that universalizes through particular abstractions about kinds of people. The teacher speaking is not only about the individual and autobiographic. The discourses circulating are historical derived to give intelligibility to what is seen and acted on as teaching.

The "Reason" of Curriculum and the Principles Governing Schooling

The study of "reason" that makes globalization possible as an object of reflection goes against the grain of much contemporary research. As said early, my concern is historical, how globalization and transnational is possible as a way of thinking and acting (see Popkewitz 2009). This question about the reason of schooling is generally considered as a natural property of the mind (psychology), the method by which humans can interrogate their "selves" and "nature," or as the universal logic through which the truthfulness of statements is determined. Yet, when examined as social and historical phenomena, there is nothing natural about how people "reason" about the events and things of the world—such as "seeing" the child through conceptions of childhood, stages of growth and development, the ordering of teaching through the devices of psychologies, classrooms of "communities of learners," and the valuing of children's participation and collaboration. These objects of thought and action are, in a sense, monuments to and the effects of prior historical practices.

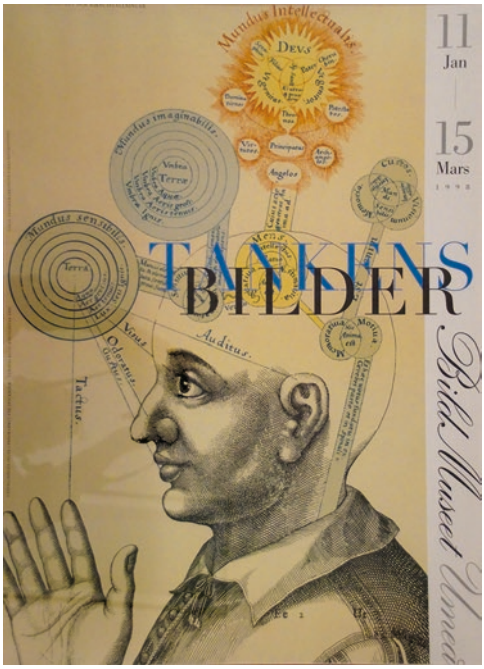

Fig. 8.1 Robert Fludd, (Robertus de Fluctibus). *Vision of the Triple Soul in the Body, of This World and the Other* (1619). Utställningen ingår I Programmet för Stockholm—Europas Kulturhuvudstad 1998. Lokal Programmarrangör Folkuniversitetet

The "seeing" reason as a historical and cultural "fact" can be visually explored through a drawing and painting from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Figs. 8.1 and 8.2). If *Vision of the Triple Soul in the Body*, *of This World and the Other* (Fig. 8.1) is examined as a style of reasoning, it is a representation of the mind drawn by Robert Fludd (Robertus de Fluctibus) in 1619. Its classifications embody the logic of Saint Thomas Aquinas that affirms the relation of faith and reason. The order and rules are the same for all things of this world as God gives them. Time was universal, linked to the cosmologies of the Church and not chronological and human. The diagram shows the interplay and connection between the different psychological faculties and their relation to the perceptible world. Four realms are classified: the sensual, imaginable, intellectual, and sensible. Three pairs of the faculties of the mind perceive the realms: science and imagination, conscience and reflection, and memory and motive. The soul is described as being always present as the intersection between a pair of psychological faculties.

The rules of reason are in the processes of the mind that can attain and expose the truth of things. Truth is viewed as having validity, clarity, orderliness, and consistency for finding the final destiny in God's heaven. Truth is made available through the Holy Scriptures, and the particular order of the mind is divided into precise parts. The logic is deductive and classificatory. There are no ideas of reason tied to emotional appeals, words as merely symbols of thought and conceptions of humanness, and human history as separate domains of knowledge and being. Fludd's reasoning about the world did not have the distinctions or way of thinking

Fig. 8.2 Hieronymus Bosch "The Garden of Delights" (1490 and 1510) oil-on-wood triptych Museo del Prado. (1) God presenting Eve to Adam. (2) Hybrids human/animals. (3) Hellscape: torments of damnation

about human agency, problem solving, and organizing time to explain human growth and development that is present today. To say that humans know more or as much as God in public discussion would probably produce being burned at the stake as heretics!

Hieronymus Bosch's "The Garden of Earthly Delights" (1490 and 1510) triptych (Fig. 8.2) allows entrance into the emergence of a new plateau of "thought" and reason. Bosch's painting was done earlier than Fludd's painting that was ordered through a classificatory logic and universal time; yet "The Garden of Earthly Delights" makes visible fissures that were present. Bosch's painting embodies the universality of time through its movement from the Garden of Eden to Purgatory; yet the assembly of images that interrelated people, animals, and the physical world disrupts that universality. Bosch, in effect, was "seeing" as an individually invented strategy by changing the ways in which people, animals, and God could be represented. This "seeing" was not prescribed by previous given rules to order the world. In fact, contemporary commentaries entailed debates about whether it was appropriate to depict people as Bosch did. For some, the question was whether Bosch violated the rules given by God and thus violated the sacredness of the Church. Or was Bosch embodying the emergent humanist philosophy and individualism of the commercial classes, thus doing something that was original and exercising the creativity and inventiveness of humanness?

Why think about Fludd and Bosch in the context of school reform? They provide a historical entrance into the politics of "reason" as ordering what is seen, thought about, and acted on. The paintings embody modes of "reasoning" that stand as monuments to cultural conditions which made them possible to see, think and act

on. The "reason" that Bosch played with in his art caught the ire of some of his contemporaries, yet with its many transmogrifications has come to be accepted in the conduct of everyday life. The idea of the individual as having a "say" in what was known and what should be done has become captured in today's discussion of empowerment, voice, and agency. The "individuality" and "authorship" that such notions presuppose, however, are not merely of the individual but historically shaped and fashioned cultural theses about kinds of people.

The individual capacity to see "facts" as external to the self, but which passes through the consciousness of the subject to systemize, conceptualize, and administer the self in social relations. This condition of contemporary "reason that is taken as its doxa, was visible in the later Renaissance and given as the cosmopolitanism of the European and North American Enlightenments. Its quality of "the mind" ordered individuality and the social through abstractions that seem to have no historical location, cultural specificity, or geographical boundaries. Ideas of human agency, notions of genius, and inventiveness that begin to appear are abstractions that embodied this particular quality of reason. Abstractions about people and their relations as part of society and culture, for example, embodied a logic for interpreting events that are distant from one immediate environment and with everyday life; yet are brought back to think about the self and one's home and collective belonging. The distancing practices of the abstraction about people made possible thinking about the global in the calculation and codification of everyday experiences. Truth is tied to modes of conceptualizing and analyzing that bring abstractions in the ordering and classifying who people are and should be.

While the changes occurs in nondeterministic ways, the governing of the relation of the global, the distant, and the immediate of everyday life was embodied in the emergence of modern science and what become the education sciences. The emergence of modern science that gains currency in the European enlightenments gave visibility to human history as separate from that of God and nature. If I look at the development of science from the 1600 to 1800s, for example, science entails new modes of thought in which the self engaged in processes of "paying attention" and observing humanity and nature to find the natural laws in each. By mid-1800, for example, scientific observation became a way of reflecting on objects that separated the observer from the object so that the observer is someone "who 'no longer reasons; he registers'" (Daston and Lunbeck 2011, p. 4). The peculiar economy of attention cultivated by Enlightenment naturalists was pointillist, magnifying, and deliberately repetitive, focusing on the observer who pulverized the object into a mosaic of detail, focusing first on one, then another (Daston 2011, p. 99).

The enlightenment's cosmopolitanism carries this way of ordering and classifying—its "reason"—in finding the moral life that is no longer located in God's word (Popkewitz 2008). Cosmopolitanism embodied cultural theses about how individuals are and should live through the applications of "reason" and rationality to affect personal and collective life. Society and individual development were given temporal dimensions that could be calculated and ordered to affect the future. New sets of classifications and distinctions linked, for example, individuality with notions of "society"—a linking that is expressed in the very ideas of the citizen, the worker, the

parent, and cultural and moral processes ascribed in the development of childhood. With some dissent, human "reason" and science were to tame the uncertainty of change so that the future can be contemplated and people act in "the pursuit of happiness," liberty, and freedom.

The school pedagogy of the nineteenth century can be understood as embodying this system of reason. It entails the introduction of the social sciences and psychology to connect abstractions about kinds of people with ordering the thought and acting of children's everyday life. The pedagogy of the new school in Western Europe and North American was to create a cosmopolitan kind of person whose modes of living carried with it the norms, values, and principles of civic value associated with the abstractions about the citizen as embodying the moral idea of the nation (Popkewitz 2008). The work of Dewey, Hall, and Thorndike, among others in American Progressive Education, embodied enlightenment notions of the cosmopolitan citizen that the school was to make. Child studies (Hall), connectionism (Thorndike), and an anthropological psychology (Dewey) in the USA, for example, inscribed sciences of pedagogy and curriculum as ways of planning the processes of the mind to change children in the images and narratives about the adults of the future. The different psychologies of pedagogy embodied the idea of observation, discussed above, as natural in systemizing and conceptualizing distant objects and abstractions that were external to the self, but which could be brought into the human interior. This normalization in the interiorization of the self was taken as the rational, reasonable and cosmopolitan child.

The cosmopolitanism of the new school, however, was not only about secular life, reason, and rationality. It was about planning—planning to change the child who would embody the civic virtues and modes of living. The planning of "the self," if I use American social and education sciences, connects secular and revelatory forms of knowledge. The pedagogy of the school to make the citizen embodied salvation themes. The citizen is a particular kind of person that is "bound" by reason that relates cosmopolitanism with the subject of the new republican government; but that kind of person is responsible for the future. The interior of self was configured in pedagogical practices through different notions of progress to link individuality and social belonging.

The salvation themes embodied in political theories of the citizen inscribed principles of moral order. The citizen was to live the virtuous life through empirical means that would reveal moral imperatives (McKnight 2003; Tröhler 2011; Tröhler et al. 2011). Progressivism, for example, was given direction by Protestant (Calvinist) reformism whose salvation themes were translated into the categorizations and classifications of "adolescence," "youth," "urban" family, and workers—terms that become visible in the social, psychological, and education sciences. If I take a prominent American Progressive teacher educator, there is optimism in the future as the teacher "with an unbounded faith in possibilities; and ready to abandon the useless and to adopt the useful" (Parker 1899/1902, p. 754). The righteousness of the teacher embodied an ecumenical feeling and code of moral conduct that is to enable individual and collective action. Dewey's prophetic vision of democracy, as well, linked the ethics of a generalized Christianity (Calvinism) to the progressive

revelation of truth (Dewey 1892/1967–1990). The "Christian Democracy," as Dewey called it in his early writing, emphasizes the rationality of science, the qualities of the democratic citizen, and a generalized Protestant notion of salvation (see, e.g., Childs 1956; also Westbrook 1991). The narration about the teacher was to combat ignorance and to secure and safeguard the threats of the future.

The reason of schooling, then, is not something naturally there to effect greater effectiveness and, if I use the contemporary language of OECD's international assessments, to measure the scientific knowledge and skills for future participation in society. The reason of schooling can be viewed as a monument to a culture about kinds of people and difference. The pedagogical discourses historically embodied a particular system of reason that linked the self and distant, global abstractions about individuality and social life. The universalizing of particular ways of "seeing" kinds of populations in the performance indicators in the international assessments of PISA, for example, are abstraction about a desired, universal kind of person that research is to actualize. The ordering and classification of kinds of people move back into everyday life, its universalized principles as "actors" in processes of change. The international assessments are thought of as policy instruments that provide rules and standards to enact changes in school systems, teacher education, and the everyday life of classroom. The paradox is the universalizing creates divisions and exclusions in designing the possibilities of change.

The politics of schooling lies here. The politics is the inscription of rules and standards of reason that shapes and fashions borders to differentiate who child is, should be, and who does not "fit" its principles of reflection and action. With this focus on reason as the political of schooling, school reform and the urban child can be revisited.

Reforms of Comparative Systems of Reason: Making Divisions and Differences

With this idea of "reason" as historically produced and governing (what Foucault called "governmentality" and Latour "governing-at-a-distance"), I want to return to the question of urban education and the urban child. "Urban" can be considered as what I earlier referred as a historical monument: an abstraction about kinds of people, a cultural thesis that functions as an object of reflection and action. In contemporary American and some European contexts, the "urban" child and "urban" education are cultural images and narratives of the modes of living of kinds of people who are the objects of school reforms. That object is to rectify social wrongs.

But the issue of concern in this chapter is not the social and political commitments of reforms and research. It is, rather, the purposes and intent inscribed through the principles that order and classify the practices of schooling. The notion of "urban," as I argued earlier, is not a geographical category referring to the city. "Urban" embodies cultural theses about particular kinds of populations that are

different and divided from other children who are instantiated as urbane and not classified as urban. The cultural distinctions are evident at the turn of the twentieth century. The reform movements gave attention to social programs and sciences to study the conditions of poverty and the moral disorder associated with new urban life. That research focused on the poor, immigrants, and racial groups. The reforms and sciences embodied double gestures. There was the redemptive hope of modernity of producing the cosmopolitan citizen. But with the hope were fears of the urban populations that threatened that cosmopolitan future.

The social reforms and sciences grappled with these hopes and fears in what was called "The Social Question." Cross-Atlantic reform movements of American Progressivism, the British Fabian Society, the German Evangelical Social Congress, the French Musée Social, and the Settlement House movements embodied the cosmopolitan hope and fears of the moral disorder of urban life. The focus on changing the social conditions of the city concurrently gave attention to changing the urban trilogy: child, family, and community. When examining the sciences that emerged, the site of change was personal experiences in order to regulate the moral principles that order the subject's actions. The domestic sciences, for example, took up the problems of upbringing and child development in the home. The family, the child, the worker, and the teacher were made into autonomous subjects of research and as sites of identities whose characteristics can be classified, ordered and act on through the rules and standards of reason. Research was to identify the causes of alcoholism, family disintegration, delinquency among youth, and prostitution. The research would enable pathways for changing people.

The University of Chicago's community sociology, intersecting with the Settlement House Movements, Progressive pedagogical theories (such as that of Dewey), and the domestic sciences, was to change urban conditions by producing particular kinds of people.[1] The community sociology, driven by Calvinist reformism and enlightenment notions of cosmopolitanism (re)visioned the Puritan notion of "the city on the hill." The nation embodied the corporate mission to produce the transcendental, spiritual age (see, e.g., McKnight 2003). The community sociology translated German social theory that embodied Lutheran assumptions of pastoral modes of living into a Calvinist (Congregationalist) reforms. The sociologies and social psychologies were cultural theses about how people live and should live as particular human kinds. The concept of "primary groups" of Charles Horton Cooley (1909), one of the founding members of the American Sociological Society (later the American Sociological Association) and the symbolic interactionism of George Herbert Mead (1934) gave expression to human agency that linked interactions and communication patterns to principles of collective belonging. Cooley's concept of "the looking-glass self" instantiated a particular kind of person formed through interpersonal interactions and the perceptions of others. The primary group was to regulate individuality through the relation of primary group values (*love*, *honesty*, *ambition*, *loyalty*, *kindness*, *hope*) with social and institutional values given expression in notions of community associated with American Progressivism and Calvinist

[1] This is discussed in Popkewitz (2011).

reformism. The role of primary groups (family, children's play and childrearing, and so on) was viewed as crucial for the development of the inner sense of the self and the formation of morals, sentiments, and ideals. George Herbert Mead placed the mind and self as formed in social processes of communication and community.

The pastoral image of community was a strategy of changing urban populations to counteract the urban dangers and dangerous populations. The reforms were to undo the moral disorder associated with urban life through redesigning face-to-face relations of the family, child, and community (*Gemeinschaft)*. Sanctity was given to communities as a strategy of forming collective belonging through the intimate and communicative processes of face-to-face interactions. Concepts about primary interactions and interpersonal/symbolic interactionism were to compensate for the abstract and anonymous conditions and qualities of industrial and urban "society" (*Gesellschaft).*

The sciences of the urban child embodied double gestures. G. Stanley Hall, a founder of American child studies at the turn of the twentieth century, argued that psychology was to replace moral philosophy and theology as the method of producing a moral society and principles for ordering the life of the citizen. The adolescence of G. Stanley Hall was a fiction to think about the social issues of new populations coming to the school in the cities. These children were different from the previous elite populations.

G. Stanley Hall's psychology of adolescence expressed the simultaneous hope of Progressivism's cosmopolitan values with fears. Adolescence is an abstraction about a kind of person. Psychology was to develop "reason, true morality, religion, sympathy, love, and aesthetic enjoyment" in the adolescent child (Hall 1904/1928, p. xiii). As part of the hope, Hall spoke of the "danger of loss" in "our urbanized hothouse" that "tends to ripen everything before its time" where "[t]here is not only arrest, but perversion, at every stage, and hoodlumism, juvenile crime, and secret vice seem not only increasing, but develop in earlier years in every civilized land" (Hall 1904/1928, p. xiv). The scientific psychology, Hall argued, would identify patterns of intervention in the child's growth, development and morality of the urban child as the existing modes of life were seen as "no longer sufficient if left alone." He argued further that "The momentum of heredity often seems insufficient to enable the child to achieve this great revolution and come to complete maturity, so that every step is strewn with wreckage of body, mind, and morals" (Hall 1904/1928, p. xiv). The title of Hall's book expressed the double gestures of inclusion and exclusion: *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relation to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education*.

The urban child in today's reform is not the same as Hall's adolescent. Contemporary researchers and policy makers classify the "urban" subject to find out how to expiate "urban youth" from their unlivable spaces. Adolescence and other categories about learners and at-risk children are brought into school to give attention to the physical and moral life of "the human soul." The categories of kind of human are made as a mixture of social forces and psychological constraints—whether lacking of motivation, esteem, and/or efficacy—mobilized to identify what

is lacking and seeking to change the modes of living that produce limits on the urban child.

The making of kinds of people as double gestures is bound historically to the particular style of reasoning that appears as part of the enlightenment and its cosmopolitanism. At one layer is the possibility of human history as separate from that of God's and nature. Looking at the past to understand the present gave human time a new position in organizing people. One was the insertion of a regular, irreversible time in which social ideas of development and growth could be initiated as a source of human intervention and the possibility of agency.

Second was a comparative mode of reason. Human history allowed for differentiations and divisions between "advanced" modern European civilization and the past. The late seventeenth century *Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns,* for example, symbolized a more general debate about whether Europe was the most advanced civilization, one that superseded others of the past and in its contemporary world. The universality given to "reason" and rationality was the force of progress that acknowledged hospitality to "others." That acknowledgement to the "other," however, was continually placed in a globalizing or universalizing set of values that produced hierarchies in relation to the "self." Those outside the universal values of reason and the civilized were placed in a continuum of value.

The normalcy generated principles of pathology within its constructions of kinds of people. The kinds of people were not seen as capable of the "reason" of agency were abjected, cast out into unlivable spaces of backward, savage, and barbaric.[2] Colonialization, for example, was reasoned as governing those who lacked the capacities, habits, and abilities to reason.

The emergence of a comparative style of reason enabled the ordering and classifying of taxonomies of differences in nature but also in human characteristics. The idea of temporal change was formulated in thinking about the interior of the self, such as earlier embodied in Hall's adolescence and scientific concepts about learning. Eugenics was a science to differentiate, divide, and exclude.

To summarize to this point, focusing on the making of kinds of people is a strategy to historicize the subjects of educational reforms and reform-oriented research. It is also to consider the materiality of "the reason" of schooling and undo the distinctions between texts and context along with practical knowledge from that of theory. The knowledge about the family, the child, and the teacher are not merely "ideas" about people but enter into and are part of order, classifying, and acting. The categories of kinds of people assume a materiality! What contemporary adult doesn't believe that growing up entails "being" an adolescent, belonging to a community, and ensuring equity through programs designed for urban children?

[2] I discuss this in Popkewitz (2008).

What Seems Practical and Useful as Impractical

My purpose in this chapter is to explore the style of reasoning that makes possible globalization and transnational as abstractions that loop into everyday life, ordering thinking and reflection. In particular, my concern is how such reasoning embodies comparative systems that distinguish, differentiate and divide. My approach focused on the standards of schooling as not the overt criteria given about what people know. The standards are embodied in the qualities, characteristics, and capacities about kinds of people. I used the American abstraction about "urban child" and urban education to think about how difference is inscribed and intelligibility given to "the child left behind" as different.

To consider this paradox of what seems universal and global with the particular and historically specific, I focused on schools as making kinds of people. The making of kinds of people is inscribed in research concerned with changing social conditions through, for example, planning to find more effective schools and teaching, planning to erase the achievement gap, planning by finding the valued-added knowledge of teaching, and planning to correct social wrongs. The planning of people circulates in the particular topoi of today about practical and useful knowledge. It is talked about in teacher education research as the practical knowledge that teachers need to be professional. And it is in narratives in international assessments as the practical knowledge that children will need in the future to participate in society.

At this point I would like to return to the quotes taken from the ethnography and read them through the historical discussion. My purpose is now only to point to how what seems biographical or descriptive are cultural inscriptions and effects of power that entails double gestures. The principles make kinds of people embody double gestures: in learning about differences, the prior discussion of the lesson on Mayan cultures embodied divisions and differences. The very category of "urban" to differentiate education embodies double gestures. There is the hope of that recognition of difference enabling inclusion. Yet, the recognition of difference establishes difference. Inscribed in the hope of inclusion are fears of dangerous qualities and characteristics of the child that are threatening the actualization of that hope. Hope and fear are embedded in each other, circulating in the comparative style of thought generated in the everyday life of schooling.

The psychologies of learning, as well, are not merely about standards of skills and cognition. The categories of the mind and dispositions are assembled and connected to particular historical principles in the governing of conduct. As Hall suggested at the turn of the century, scientific psychologies are to remove the "wreckage of body, mind, and morals." Contemporary psychologies of learning and childhood are to make the interior of the urban child. That interior is defined as what is lacking as expressed in the discourses of the classroom discussed earlier: *motivation*, *moral development*, *and accepting of others* (and *not being hateful*).

I realize that this ironic conclusion about pedagogical sciences and curriculum studies will probably produce a lot of head shaking among those nursed on the sciences of planning and idea of practical and useful knowledge. Much of the research

related to standards strives to find practical and useful knowledge. Yet there is a chimera to this belief in practical knowledge generated in contemporary educational research. The sciences of planning actualize the alchemistic philosopher's stone of 400 years earlier. The alchemist's science and contemporary sciences of planning people serve as the elixir of life that is to find the right mixtures for immortality. That immortality is transmogrified into the particular contemporary doxa drawn from particular enlightenment salvation themes about reason, rationality, and progress through the "proper" use of science.

When historicizing the reason of schooling and its making of people, that practical knowledge is instead impractical in relation to its social commitments. It embodies a comparative mode of reasoning that excludes in its impulse to include. It is impractical as it denies the very historicity and complexities of the school. To draw on November et al. (2010), standards assume the fixing of Galilean objects through such notions of modeling in a Euclidian space. The notion of Galilean objects entails displacements that do not imply any transformation as they move as immutable objects that keep their properties as they go. The research, November et al. argue, becomes a spurious reference that has no practical counterpart: "It leads you nowhere except in the equally spurious question of its 'resemblance' with the original model—that is created by the representation itself" (November et al. 2010, p. 9).

This leads me to my final point: the principles generated to create standards are the political of schooling. This concern with "reason" as the political is expressed in the ideas of Rancière that focus on "the partition of the sensible," Foucault's "governmentality," and Deleuze's attention to power as a practice set in social relations. Deleuze argues, for example, that power cannot be explained within institutions, as they are not sources, essences, and mechanism "since they presuppose its relations and are content to 'fix' them, as part of a function that is not productive but reproductive. There is no State, only state control, and the same holds for all other cases" (Deleuze and Guattari 1991/1994, p. 75). The problem of research, then, is to consider the "strategies that transmit or distribute particular features through which forms of knowledge are possible and becoming the integrating factors or agents of stratification that make up institutions: "not just the state but also the family, religion, production, the marketplace, Art itself, Morality, and so on" (p. 75).

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Chapter 9
The Transnational Phenomenon of Individual Planning in Response to Pupil Diversity: A Paradox in Educational Reform

Ines F. Alves

Abstract This chapter presents a critical analysis of the transnational phenomenon of individualised educational planning for pupils 'with special educational needs'. Schools which were once targeted at a relatively homogeneous pupil population are now expected to include all pupils, namely, pupils with special educational needs (SEN). Transnational policies like the Salamanca Statement and the UN Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006) push for the development of inclusive educational systems. However, educational systems sometimes struggle to respond to pupil diversity. This can be partly explained by the minimal changes at the core of the way schools function. Phenomena of individualising planning, including practices of differentiation and personalisation of learning, have become commonly used in schools across Europe. The empirical data was gathered as part of a comparative study about the use of individualised planning in England and Portugal. This study was conducted as a nested case study following a societal approach which took place in primary and lower secondary schools in both countries. Individualised educational planning was used by practitioners in all schools that took part in the study, but it took various shapes and roles depending on the local context. The study showed that individualised planning allows school structures and practices to remain by and large unchanged in the face of a changing population. The analysis suggests that pupils who 'struggle' to learn are, in general, responded to through pre-established add-on solutions in a system that remains unchanged. While individualised planning may be thought as part of an educational reform to create more inclusive educational systems, by and large it is a way to avoid an actual reform to foster better educational responses to pupil diversity.

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Introduction

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the transnational phenomenon of using individualised educational planning when responding to pupils 'with special educational needs' (SEN). It will start by focusing on notions of diversity and on the concept of SEN. The chapter will then briefly present the origins and rationale behind individual educational planning and critically explore its transnational use, not only in the school context but also in research. Other forms of individualisation used in the school context will also be analysed in relation to the various 'types of diversity' and underlying assumptions.

The chapter will then move on to reflect upon the school through an organisational perspective before moving on to present some illustrative examples collected through a comparative case study of the use of individual planning in schools in England and Portugal. The empirical evidence will be discussed using Sliwka's (2010) and Skrtic's (1991a, b) frameworks. Finally, to contribute to the themes and discussions presented in this book, three main conclusions will be presented: (1) 'Special educational needs' is subject to different notions of globalised effectiveness and efficiency to other areas of educational policy, (2) transnational governance relating to 'SEN' is sieved through national contexts, and (3) individual educational planning can be a way to avoid educational reform.

Diversity and Special Educational Needs

The notion of 'SEN' was brought into use in England in 1981 following the Warnock Report (Department for Education and Science (DfES) 1978) as a statutory category of handicap to 'avoid categories of disability into which children could be slotted and in which they would possibly remain indefinitely'. 'Special educational needs' also aimed to encourage teachers 'to concentrate on what they [children] needed in order to make progress' and to 'emphasise the seamless continuum of abilities and needs' (Warnock and Norwich 2010). Warnock defines children who have special needs as 'children who for various reasons have difficulties in learning at school' (2010). Even though the notion of SEN is globally used, 'definitions of SEN vary widely across countries as they are specific to each country's legislation' (OECD 2012). Some countries define SEN as a synonym of disability and/or impairment, whereas others use a wider definition closer to what was initially intended. For example, OECD's definition states that:

> A child is commonly recognised as having special educational needs if he or she is not able to benefit from the school education made generally available for children of the same age without additional support or adaptations in the content of studies. (OECD 2012)

There are certain groups which are traditionally identified as having 'different needs' that call for individual planning. Individual Education Plans (IEPs) are

assumed to be targeted at population of pupils 'with SEN' and disabilities. However, there are many factors that may contribute to a pupil needing 'additional support or adaptations' in order to benefit from the school education made generally available, and not all of them are conceptualised as SEN and disability.

Diversity can be conceptualised through an interactive model that presents two interlinked aspects: contextual factors and personal factors (Bartolo et al. 2007). Examples of pupils' personal factors are personality, character, level of maturity, motivation and interests, learning patterns and multiple intelligences. If a pupil has a 'lower level of maturity' or if what is done in the classroom is not interesting or meaningful for a particular pupil, then this pupil might 'have difficulties' or become disengaged and thus be identified as 'different' from the peers and in need of individualised responses.

The pupils' cultural background is conceptualised by Bartolo et al. (2007) as a contextual factor (e.g. language, ethnicity, religion, gender roles, socio-economic status), and there are also classroom-related contextual factors (e.g. newcomers, good and bad days of individual pupils, whole class characteristics). So, for example, a pupil who has recently arrived to the country and has limited or no knowledge of the language of instruction, might be provided with some individualised responses, even if this pupil's needs are not classified as SEN.

The OECD presents three groups of pupils with particular educational needs, based on its aetiology: pupils with disabilities, difficulties and disadvantages. 'Students with disabilities or impairments' refers to organic disorders attributable to organic pathologies (e.g. in relation to sensory, motor or neurological impairments). 'Students with difficulties' refers to behavioural or emotional disorders or specific difficulties in learning. And 'students with disadvantages' refers primarily to socio-economic, cultural and/or linguistic factors (OECD 2005).

In the school context, the processes of categorisation and responding to pupil diversity are based on a case-by-case decision-making process that is 'neither transparent nor self-evidently rational' (Dyson 2001, p. 100). This type of decision-making is a 'messy process influenced by many individuals and conducted in an environment of rationed resources' (McLaughlin et al. 2006, p. 46). So, the increased number of pupils identified as having SEN and disabilities may be an indication of 'inadequate general education system as well as increasing diversity among children in today's schools' (Florian and McLaughlin 2008). Thus, changes in identification and provision are not exclusively related to changes in children's characteristics, and this is problematic because 'the outcomes for children with apparently similar needs are unacceptably variable' (Dyson 2001). For example, it has been reported that there is a disproportionality of students from certain social groups and ethnic backgrounds being identified as having SEN (Artiles 1998; Dyson and Gallannaugh 2008). The influence of social class and SEN has also been observed in decisions of grouping students by ability (Muijs and Dunne 2010). These situations raise deeper issues of educational and social equity, which are related to wider cultural constructions, to how schools establish who 'the norm' students are and how difference is perceived.

Individual Educational Planning: Origins, Rationale and Transnational Use

The most common and well-known form of individualised planning is what is often referred to as 'IEPs'. IEPs, 'individual educational programmes', were created in the 1970s in the United States, as a way to 'allow' pupils 'with special educational needs' (SEN) to be integrated in school. IEPs were instituted through the Education for All Handicapped Children Act in 1975 (Public Law 94-142) and were a means for improvement on the education of pupils with SEN. This act described how children should be identified, assessed and assigned to a specific type of educational response.

Since this first appearance of IEPs in the United States, individual educational planning has been adapted and adopted in many countries' educational policies. The literature refers to IEPs being used in Europe (Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland), as well as in other parts of the world like the United States, Canada and Australia (Millward et al. 2002; Mitchell et al. 2010; Tennant 2007). Thus, the use of individualised planning became since the 1970s a transnational phenomenon, with authors like Mitchell et al. (2010) claiming that 'IEPs are ubiquitous'.

In fact, in the literature, the acronym IEP is used to refer to a number of types of individualised planning documents and practices. These practices involve different document forms and different uses and have a different status in each context. For example, in the United States, IEPs have a statutory power, whereas in England, and Education, Health and Care plans (EHC) statements play a similar role, and teachers use a variety of forms of individualised planning.

So while the global concept of 'IEP' may allow researchers in different countries to find relevant research on this topic, it creates the flawed idea of a 'standard IEP' being used throughout the world. Individualised educational planning is a situated practice influenced by global trends of inclusion and quality education for all pupils, in which national and local contexts have a very strong impact.

There is a considerable body of literature about 'IEPs' which includes two literature reviews (Millward et al. 2002; Mitchell et al. 2010). In this body of literature, there seem to be two main aspects linked to IEPs: they are portrayed as documents, which are designed, implemented and evaluated in schools. In addition, IEPs are seen as a process, which ideally should involve a team of stakeholders (viz. teachers, specialists, parents or carers and pupils themselves). The evidence presented in the literature appears to be more positive about the second role.

The various roles of individual planning documents have been presented in the literature as conflicting (Andreasson et al. 2013; Shaddock 2010). For example, if IEP documents are used as tools to monitor progress and render teachers and schools accountable, then it is probable that teachers would include targets that were likely

to show progress, hence moving away from 'child-centred' aims and having a narrowing effect on what was proposed to SEN pupils (Millward et al. 2002; Riddell et al. 2002).

In this chapter, I use a general concept of 'individual educational planning', which I have defined as the existence of a formal written plan for provision that is done on a regular basis. This plan does not have to be designed for individuals, but it does have to mention an individual pupil's name, and the provision can be delivered individually or to groups of pupils. The specific type of individual planning I am interested in is one that is considered applicable or necessary only for some pupils. The reason why I am interested in this form of planning is because it is associated with one way of thinking about pupil diversity which implies a perception that some pupils need something additional to or different from what is provided to their peers.

These educational responses can take place within or outside the classroom and individually or in group. So, for example, a differentiated plan for a class that mentions individual pupils' names and specific educational responses will be considered to be an artefact of the phenomenon of IEP. Similarly, a document that consists of three specific targets (e.g. use commas, raise hand when wanting to speak, understand place value) to be achieved by one individual pupil will also be looked at as being part of the IEP phenomenon. A table that lists all available 'interventions' and assigns pupils to responses is also an IEP document in this context.

Other Forms of Individualisation: Differentiation and Personalisation

In the literature, IEPs coexist with other responses to pupil diversity such as differentiation and personalisation. In this section, we will focus on these other forms of individualisation. Differentiation refers to 'all' pupils and has a structuring notion of the concept of ability. Whereas personalisation also mentions 'all' pupils, in some cases, it refers specifically to 'SEN' or 'gifted and talented' pupils and is presented by some authors as an alternative to individualisation:

> Curriculum differentiation, however, is neither as simple nor straightforward as these studies often presume. (Hayes and Deyhle 2000)

Differentiation is commonly associated with responding to pupil diversity. Differentiation differs from the notion of individual planning as, by and large, it targets classes as a whole rather than 'some' individuals. In many cases, this procedure was a response to the implementation of the national curriculum in educational systems. In England, the term 'differentiation' has, since the late 1980s, increasingly entered the everyday usage of teachers and has become a priority issue in many school development plans (Hart 1996). The concept became particularly

important as a response to the introduction of the national curriculum in the context of adapting the curriculum to take individual differences into account. Differentiation was a way of adapting what was taught to the 'needs, abilities and attainments of learners'; it involved 'meeting individual educational needs in the social context of providing education for all' (Norwich 1994, p. 298).

Differentiation is a concept that seems to have several meanings. It includes practices such as having different targets, different activities and different (physical or human) resources for some pupils; it can also involve grouping pupils by their perceived ability. It can be defined broadly as a school practice that includes changes to the quality of the curriculum, teaching strategies and teacher and community expectations (Hayes and Deyhle 2000). Differentiation implies an aim to accommodate differences in children's abilities, aptitudes and needs by performing 'a set of judgements and procedures' which include 'organisational strategies (separating children into groups or classes on the basis of particular criteria) and teaching strategies (matching tasks and approaches to learners' individual characteristics) (Hart 1992, 1996).

Furthermore, educational differentiation mediates the relationship between socio-economic background and student achievement (Marks et al. 2006). In other words, attainment, gender, ethnic background and socio-economic background (material, social, economic resources) are determinants of educational differentiation, in the sense that the pupils' background influences which schools and curriculum they gain access to. Moreover, it has been argued that curricular differentiation may create educational, social and economic inequality, namely, for pupils from minority and low socio-economic backgrounds (Hayes and Deyhle 2000). So, while IEP is linked to SEN, differentiation focuses mainly on ability differences in pupils. Indeed, differentiation has been criticised for its focus on pupil differences, ignoring the importance of context and providing an excuse for 'the routine separation of children', which can have negative effects on the pupils' self-esteem and learner identity (Hart 1996, p. 10). Hart reiterates the need to plan for classes as a whole while taking into account all individuals, rather than using traditional individual planning practices. These entail adapting a pre-existing plan to the needs of some:

> We realise that we may, in fact, perpetuate children's difficulties if we differentiate our teaching on the basis of evidence of their achievements within existing arrangements rather than questioning how those achievements may themselves be limited by the range of learning opportunities provided. (Hart 1996, p. 11)

Furthermore, Rodrigues (2003) considers that although the differentiation of the curriculum has been in schools for a long time, it has not necessarily been used with the aim of creating more inclusive practices, as the curriculum is used as an excuse to 'keep the school as it is'. Curricular differentiation has been claimed to be implicitly associated with 'remedial therapy' for the challenges felt in schools as a result of the diversification of the pupil population (Roldão 2003). Moreover, the literature critiques the rhetorical use of differentiation to hide the actual unchanged practice based on an 'uniformitarian' approach. In this approach, difference is seen as an issue rather than a resource; pupils are organised homogeneously, and those per-

ceived as different need to work separately with the excuse of 'supporting them' (Roldão 2003).

The more positive side of differentiation is linked to the attempt to respond to pupil diversity through flexible teaching, by trying to provide learning experiences for pupils that generate 'interest, understanding, confidence and a sense of success' (Camilletti 1996, p. 39). If we consider it objectively, it is rather similar to the aims of personalising learning. Taking a more 'revolutionary' approach, Roldão (2003) suggests, similarly to Skrtic (1991a), that the way forward implies alternative forms of school organisation, namely, through a different use of teachers, time and space, which should not be based on the class group as a unit, on the teacher as the one-way distributor of knowledge and on time and space that segmented and compartmentalised.

So, similarly to what has been presented regarding IEP practices, differentiation can be seen as a way to avoid actual educational reforms. We will now focus on personalisation, another relevant concept related to IEP and how schools respond to pupil diversity.

Personalisation is a concept that is also relevant when referring to responses to pupil diversity. It is used in a different way to individual planning and IEPs, with other aspects of difference in mind. Personalisation has been used over the past 10 years to refer to the need to create responses which are more flexible and tailored to each individual's learning style, previous knowledge, interests and preference. The OECD has a strong rhetoric that 'personalisation of learning has become imperative' because there is now a growing awareness that 'one-size-fits-all' approaches to school knowledge and organisation are ill-adapted both to individuals' needs and to the knowledge society at large (OECD 2006).

There are three main views of personalisation. Firstly, it is viewed as a synonym of adaptation and individual differentiation (OECD 2006). Secondly, it is considered a new name for the 'individually responsive forms of provision' needed to develop inclusive practices (Ainscow 2007). And thirdly, it has been considered the way forward where individualisation cannot resolve the challenges associated with a diverse school population. A substantial confusion about what 'personalised learning' means is reported in the literature, namely, 'personalised' being interpreted as a synonym of 'individualised' (Sebba 2011; Sebba et al. 2007).

An effective use of personalisation is expected to decrease the needs for individualisation and to 'reduce the need for elaborate IEPs' (Goepel 2009, p. 127). In fact, personalising learning is seen by Sebba as an alternative to individual planning. The author claims that an individualised provision is unlikely to be achievable for all students; it is highly demanding on resources and hence not sustainable in the longer term, and 'individualising' does not necessarily provide effective personalisation:

> Focusing on 'personalised' rather than 'individualised' creates the potential to recognise the 'personal' in teaching, learning and schooling so that all pupils experience and are motivated by a sense of belonging and view the learning as relevant to them. Encouraging participation rather than individualisation provides a more positive way forward. If person-

> alised learning is about maximising participation and involvement in decision-making as co-investors in education, then addressing the needs of all pupils through a rights and justice approach (drawing on capability theory) could provide the means for this to happen. (Sebba 2011, p. 210)

In practical terms, personalisation would either require considerable structural changes in how schools and teachers function; or it is a 'theoretical concept', as it seems indicated in some policy documents, for example:

> We need to provide a personalised education that brings out the best in every child, that builds on their strengths, enables them to develop a love of learning; and helps them to grow into confident and independent citizens, valued for the contribution they make. (DfES 2004)

So, I argue that the phenomenon of IEP, along with those related phenomena of differentiation and personalisation, can, in most cases, be described as ways to avoid significant educational reforms, allowing the status quo to remain unchanged in the face of a changing pupil population.

The Schools as Organisations

Transnational policies like the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO 1994) and the UN Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006) push for the development of more inclusive educational systems for pupils with disabilities. Moreover, other global governance movements such as the UN Sustainable Development Goals aim to ensure inclusive quality education for all. There have been considerable changes in the way pupils, who were once considered 'uneducable', are schooled. However, in the past 50 years, there have been only minimal changes at the core of the way schools function (Roldão 2003; Skrtic 1991a). So, schools have witnessed changes in the student population in the sense of an increase in student diversity, which can be associated with a 'radical change in the social universe' in which schools are based (Roldão 1999). There has been a change in the demographics and in cultural, legal, economic and societal factors (Dyson and Millward 2000; Florian and McLaughlin 2008; Moltó et al. 2010; Roldão 1999; Skrtic 2005).

Schools were once targeted at a relatively homogeneous pupil population and expected to respond to this body of pupils through a one-size-fits-all approach. Nowadays, schools are expected to include all pupils, namely, pupils whose first language is different from the language of instruction and pupils with special educational needs (SEN). So, not only the widespread mobility of the population enhanced the existence of diverse school environments but also it is not transnationally accepted that only some pupils are 'educable'. Teachers are expected to plan classes where all pupils learn and progress regardless of what they 'bring' into the classroom. To varying degrees, mainstream schools must respond to pupils with different languages, religions, socio-economic and disability statuses, genders and sexual orientation.

> The organisation and curriculum of schools remain broadly the same since they are assumed to be appropriate for the great majority of children. (Ainscow 1991, p. 2)

So, the structure of schools as organisations did not change significantly (Roldão 1999). Schools tend to have standard aims and teaching practices for students and complex bureaucracies that make them organisations in which change is extremely difficult to take place. According to Skrtic, school organisations are institutionalised bureaucracies, which do not change on demand. Schools respond to pupils *en masse* and often assume a homogeneous student population. A way of dealing with the demands of change, given this bureaucratic character, is to create separate subunits and subsystems such as 'special education'. In fact, Skrtic claims that reform movements such as the 'integration' of pupils with disabilities in 'mainstream' school, which attempted to make schools more inclusive, made schools more bureaucratic and less adaptable and inclusive (Skrtic 1991b, 2005).

The suggestion that students in a classroom can work towards different aims, and in different ways, creates school responses such as 'setting or separate grouping of children in order to fulfil their responsibility for providing for differences' (Hart 1992). For example, in English schools, there is a range of practices of grouping pupils according to their perceived ability. In Portugal, 'ability' grouping is becoming more common, and there are similar equity concerns involved in the way 'classes' are formed. Barroso explains that what was initially just a way of organising pupils in larger schools (Barroso 2003) became an organisational pattern to departmentalise teachers and spaces. Later it became a 'gauge' of success, that is, being retained in a grade or 'moving up a grade' equates to school failure or success. Moreover, some of the apparently neutral and 'harmless' criteria for organising 'class groups' [turmas] gave rise to the creation of good and bad 'classes' (Cortesão 1998). The criteria for grouping pupils into classes are inequitable in principle, and they often result in the creation of homogenous groups. Schools use criteria to group pupils into the same class like (1) a first-come, first-served basis; (2) pupils' age; (3) living areas, e.g. neighbourhoods; (4) previous class groups; (5) previous academic achievement; and (6) social and ethnic group. Conversely, they could 'deliberately aim to create heterogeneous class groups and invest in learning to gain from the wealth created by pupil diversity' (Cortesão 1998). So, even though each country manages pupil diversity in a different way, there is a transnational trend to organise 'diversity' into homogeneity.

Sliwka (2010) proposes that schools develop through a paradigm shift from homogeneity to heterogeneity and to diversity. Schools of homogeneity do not acknowledge difference and assume that pupils are similar. Schools of heterogeneity see difference as a challenge and make adjustments to respond to pupils' 'different needs'. Finally, schools of diversity see difference as an asset and opportunity and use pupils' differences as a resource for learning and development (Sliwka 2010, p. 214). In fact, and despite numerous educational reforms, the core of the educational systems remains unchanged. Pupils in most schools are placed in a group or class based on their age and are expected to progress through the acquisi-

tion of knowledge in an academic year. Skrtic (1991a) refers to schools as bureaucratic organisations that resist change.

The subsystems, created as a response to demands for change, have an impact on teacher perception of their pupils and of their own ability to teach:

> Unfortunately, special education has been so successful at continuously devising more glossy and more elaborate forms of assessment and pedagogy that teachers have begun to lose confidence in their own ability to assess and teach all children in their charge. Children who are difficult to teach have become by default 'special' children. (Thomas and Loxley 2007, p. 27)

Therefore, some pupils come to be perceived by their teachers and schools as needing 'special' responses. A common assumption is that 'differences among learners normally follow a bell-shaped distribution' (Meijer 2013). The notions of 'bell curve distribution' and 'fixed ability' still underpin the structure of schooling even though they have been considered a challenge to create inclusive practices (Florian and Spratt 2013, p. 124).

To a great extent, 'special education' has been criticised by academics as a response to pupil diversity:

> [The] legacy that 100 years of special education has given to teachers is that they need all sorts of special procedures, qualifications and techniques to help them understand and help 'special' children. (Thomas and Loxley 2007, p. 27)

> Special education is a non-rational and uncoordinated practice that emerged in the 20th century industrialised democracies to contain the inherent contradiction between the democratic goal of universal public education and the bureaucratic school organisations that were used to address it. (Skrtic 1991a, p. 21)

'Special education' is a product of the intrinsic contradictions at the heart of educational systems. For example, the notion of inclusion as meaningful participation and success for all pupils conflicts with the governmental focus on standards (Ainscow et al. 2006; Artiles 2003; Dunne et al. 2011). The focus on standards often implies a narrow view of pupil achievement. These conflicting priorities are played out daily in schools and have been theorised in the literature as dilemmas of difference (Artiles 2003; Dyson 2001; Norwich 2009, 2010, 2013).

The considerable changes in the pupil population, without dramatic changes to the way schools are expected to function, make it difficult for teachers to respond to the needs and interests of all pupils in their classrooms. Skrtic (1991a) proposes that the way forward is to substitute the existing bureaucracy that characterises schools by an adhocratic configuration. An adhocratic organisation implies that schools are geared to problem-solving and premised on the principle of innovation. Skrtic claims that in adhocratic schools, 'educational problems are solved by interdisciplinary teams of professionals and parents who collaborate to invent personalised programmes for students' (Skrtic 1991a, p. 32), and that was the goal behind the Education for All Handicapped Children Act 1975 (PL 94–142), which introduced IEPs.

The Phenomenon of Individualised Planning in English and Portuguese Schools

In this section, I provide some illustrative examples of the use of IEP in Portugal and England. The empirical data in which the analysis is based was gathered as part of a comparative study about the use of individualised planning in England and Portugal which took place between 2009 and 2012. This study was conducted as a nested case study following a societal approach (Hantrais and Mangen 2007). The case study (Yin 2009) was based on a series of linked case studies, nested at various levels: country (national), cycle (primary/secondary) and school, teacher and child. According to Hantrais and Mangen (2007, p. 3), cross-national comparative research generally aims to explore social phenomena across nations, explain similarities and differences and attempt to assess their consequences. Furthermore, contextualisation plays a key role in cross-national comparative research and the researcher must develop an in-depth understanding of the sociocultural, economic and political contexts (Hantrais and Mangen 2007, p. 4). In this case, the study involved documentary evidence and interviews with practitioners in primary and lower secondary schools in both countries and the creation of pupil case vignettes.

In each country, two primary/first cycle schools were selected, and within each school, two year groups (Years 2 and 6 in England and Years 1 and 4 in Portugal) were targeted. The reasons for the choice of these year groups related to two main factors: a similar age and a similar stage in schooling. A maximum of six students was identified by their teachers as needing some form of individual planning and provision. The cases of the selected pupils were then followed during the following academic year (Years 3 and 7 in England and Years 2 and 5 in Portugal). The semi-longitudinal nature of the study was aimed at capturing how the same pupils were described and responded to over a 2-year period. In some cases, this involved a change of school from primary to secondary.

Individualised educational planning was used by practitioners in all schools that took part in the study, but it took various shapes and roles depending on the local context.

Moreover, each school followed one type of individualised planning (or more than one in parallel) consistently across the school.

The table below summarises the types of plans used in schools in the schools that took part in the study in both countries:

England	Portugal
Individual education plans	Individual education plans
Individual behaviour plans	‘Recovery plans’
Individual learning plans	‘Follow-up plans’
Provision maps	Development plans
SEN register	Individual educational curricula (CEI)
Differentiated whole class plans	

When analysing all forms of individualised planning used, it is noticeable that they have different types of information and serve different purposes, mainly across the two countries. It is clear that there is a predominance of plans that are SEN related. However, it is relevant to mention at this point that SEN did not encompass exactly the same group of pupils in Portugal and England. In some cases IEP implied the existence of plans with medical- or health-related information, especially in the case of Portuguese individual education plans and English 'statements'.

IEPs and IBPs in English schools consisted of functional documents, designed by and for teachers and teaching assistants to focus their attention and target specific goals. Conversely, the Portuguese recovery/follow-up/development plans tended to be formulaic plans which seemed to serve a bureaucratic purpose. In most cases, these plans were used to make pupils aware and accountable of their strengths, weaknesses and responsibilities.

Additionally, some schools used plans for management of available resources, by tracking teachers' concerns and assigning individual pupils to interventions. Examples of this were a 'provision map' and a 'special educational needs and disabilities register' used in two English schools. All these forms of planning were based on the idea of a majority of pupils who 'learn without difficulties' and a minority of pupils who 'are problematic' and need an extra 'effort' from the school.

Finally, there were whole class teaching and learning plans which were differentiated, in most cases by 'level groups' but also by planning specifically (activities, support, resources) for individual pupils (e.g. a differentiated short-term plan). Even these forms of individualised planning, which could appear to imply considerable change and educational reform, are based on assumptions that 'differences among learners normally follow a bell-shaped distribution' (Meijer 2013). The phenomenon of individualised planning takes place in schools where the notions of ability and 'average' regulate many practices. For example, in the case of English schools, students are often conceptualised in an ability continuum, and when students are on the 'lower end' of the continuum, there is an attempt to provide extra resources with a view to get those pupils to 'catch up'. There is also an attempt to understand the cause of those difficulties, for example, whether they are related to the pupils 'having special educational needs' or having English as an additional language:

> The last two girls, we chose because they're… they have EAL, Marlee her first language is German, she joined this year, and Nadia's first language is Polish and she joined at the beginning of year four. So what's interesting with the two girls is…You can see that Marlee is perhaps more intelligent…or a faster learner, because she now has overtaken Nadia in terms of speaking in English, writing and her understanding. So it makes you wonder… Why? (Eucalyptus primary, Year 6 teacher)

> …when the children have come and English is new to them, especially those who come from another country straight away, this is their first country so we give them a settling period, and we know now because we've got the experience, we know where they should be up to, we know they should've learnt the colours or they should know this, or they should be doing this by now, and that's when the teacher will come to me and say, hang on a minute, I think this could be more than EAL, I think this is SEN as well. (…) it is very difficult (Eucalyptus primary SENCO)

In the Portuguese case, this process of trying to understand if the difficulties shown by pupils are 'SEN' or related to other reasons is also complex and sometimes creates debates between mainstream and special education teachers. There is a clear policy divide between pupils with SEN and pupils with difficulties in learning, which involves two key policy documents: the DL 3/2008 which regulates SEN eligibility and provision and the DN 50/2005 which concentrates on the use of recovery, follow-up and development plans as part of an intervention strategy to promote the educational achievement of all pupils in Years 1–9, namely, pupils with 'difficulties in learning', pupils who have been retained and are repeating a year and pupils with 'exceptional capacities for learning':

> [the students who are not eligible for SEN support] it's what we consider more difficulties in learning, because there're two things, there are difficulties in learning [dificuldades de aprendizagem] (…), very often the lack of a well-structured family, lack of schedules, the method, the organisation, the responsibility, the attention. And there's learning difficulties, and these are those that involve [comprometimento] something more physical, or psychological (…) but also intellectual (…), but the others [non-SEN] it is also very often lack of work. (Special education teacher, Pelican school)

> In my opinion this boy 'is 3' [referring to the DL 3/2008], in my opinion, but I don't make the assessments. Taking into account the other '50' [referring to the DN 50/2005] that I have, this [pupil] stands out negatively (head of Year 5I at Pelican school)

Individual planning is in most cases associated with the provision of something additional to or different from what is provided to the majority of the pupils. There are a number of interventions which are listed in the formal plans described in the previous section. These interventions involve the use of different or additional resources both human and physical.

Human resources include support provided in or out of the mainstream classroom, with a teaching assistant (in the case of English schools), a teacher, a special education teacher (in the case of Portuguese schools) or other health-related practitioners (e.g. SLT). Support outside the classroom ranges from more structured interventions (in England) to more 'open' support (in Portugal) but focuses mainly on literacy and numeracy and some social/emotional interventions. Physical resources involved in individualised provision comprise tools used in the mainstream classroom (e.g. use of laptop, enlarged font handouts) or out of class resources (e.g. rooms for individual support, quiet place to be used by pupils when needed, home-school diary).

Individual plans often also describe levels of support, extra time, special assessment conditions and other specific strategies to be used in-class, for example, use positive feedback, preferable sitting organisation and work in pairs/group/individually.

We conclude this section with a quote from one of the teachers that reflects an issue regarding individualised planning practices found across schools:

> it's personalising the learning, we take that very very very seriously, so every child is very different and we try, and match what we have to what they need, we don't get it right all the time… (Eel High School)

The quote above illustrates the problematic mismatch between the rhetoric around individualised planning, as a way of tailoring education and schools to individual pupils, and the reality of school practices that function more like a 'prêt-à-porter' shop, where practitioners choose from a limited number of available responses and try to make them fit pupils.

Discussion

The aim of this chapter was to analyse individual planning, as a transnational phenomenon, and the way it is used by schools when responding to pupil diversity. The interviews with practitioners showed that individual planning was, in most cases, an add-on solution to an already established system of planning lessons to a class. In cases like differentiated whole class planning, there was more of a concern of creating a teaching and learning plan that responded to the 'needs' of all the pupils in the class, but the determining factor was the notion of ability. This 'add-on approach' was reinforced especially by the existence of parallel systems of 'special education', in which SENCOs and special education teachers were responsible for planning individualised responses for pupils 'with SEN'. This is consistent to what has been reported in the literature by authors like Thomas and Loxley (2007), who claim that the practices of 'special education' have distanced mainstream teachers from what they call 'pupils who are difficult to teach'.

The core of the phenomenon of individual planning is based on traditional principles of ability, as pupils who do not perform 'as the majority' are perceived to 'have difficulties' and need extra or different provision. Nevertheless, notions of 'bell curve distribution' and 'fixed ability' have been considered a challenge to create inclusive practices (Florian and Spratt 2013, p. 124). This presents a strong paradox since the aim of individualised planning is to better respond to the needs of all pupils, while this phenomenon of IEP is an obstacle to changing the way teachers and schools think about responses that involve inclusive practices.

This type of system encourages processes of trying to understand the 'cause' for the 'difficulties' presented by pupil, given that different difficulty explanations usually entitle pupils to different types of responses. This process fosters deficit thinking as the explanations are found on the pupil's characteristics (e.g. having a disability, having a complex family life, not paying attention) and not on an interaction between the pupil and the school/teacher characteristics. The data is concerning because it also seems to suggest that the resources available at school will have an impact on how the pupil's difficulties are conceptualised and responded to, similarly to what Skrtic described:

> A client cannot just have any need, he or she must have a need that the organisation and its professionals have been standardised to meet. (Skrtic 1991a, p. 29)

Even though schools that took part in this study had pupils who brought a variety of 'diversity' aspects to the classrooms (i.e. ethnicities, gender, languages spoken at

home, socio-economic statuses), the aspect that was decisive when it came to lesson planning was perceived pupil ability. Using Sliwka's framework (2010), we can claim that individual planning, the way it is used for a minority of pupils who are perceived to 'have difficulties', is an artefact of schools of heterogeneity. These 'schools of heterogeneity' acknowledge differences between pupils and use IEPs as an adjustment to pupils' 'different needs', as a way to overcome the challenges posed by diversity. In all schools, pupils were placed in a class or group based on their age, and they were expected to progress, at 'an average' pace, at the same pace as the majority. The exception was pupils perceived to have SEN and disabilities who were often expected to achieve other, in most cases lower-level, targets. The use of IEP in the schools that took part in the study illustrated how schools are indeed bureaucratic organisations that resist fundamental change and create 'subsystems' to respond to 'the clients' with needs different from those standardised to be met which is consistent with Skrtic's (1991b) view of schools.

Although the Portuguese and the English educational systems differ considerably in their view and use of individualised planning, the countries share numerous similarities. For example, the focus on a norm or average can be connected to the impact of a transnational 'standards agenda', with targets to be attained by pupils and national assessment procedures (e.g. SATs in England and 'Provas Globais ou de Aferição' in Portugal).

Conclusion

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the transnational phenomenon of individualised educational planning for pupils 'with special educational needs'. In line with the other contributions presented in this book, the impact of biomedical research and the paradigm of medicalised world are strongly present with regard to individual educational planning, and example of this is how specialist teachers, educational psychologists and doctors are often perceived as responsible for the education of pupils who do not 'fit the norm'. Other contributors in this book refer to discourses of student-centeredness; however, the examples given refer to actual changes in the way schools operate and the way we perceive the concept of learning. The comparison of pupil performance internationally is widely known, discussed by Lindblad in Chap. 4, with the studies like the OECD's PISA and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) TIMSS and PIRLS educational indicators being used not only by governments but also by media in numerous countries. However, pupils identified as having special educational needs are often left out of these international comparison studies, and the education of pupils with disabilities seems to be subject to other global priorities and pressures, such as the movement towards more inclusive and equitable educational opportunities.

Three main conclusions arise from the research and empirical evidence presented in this chapter. The first main contribution is that the broad field of 'special

educational needs' is subject to different notions of globalised effectiveness and efficiency to other areas of educational policy, notions of effectiveness that are connected to the inclusion of all pupils in quality education and to an equitable access to education. Secondly, transnational governance relating to individual educational planning is heavily sieved through national contexts and policies. For example, the definition of SEN population depends on resources available to support pupils, so if governments have reduced resources, then it is likely that eligibility criteria for pupils to benefit from additional support will be designed in a way that reduces the number of pupils eligible. Finally, while individual educational planning can be 'tool' for teachers, parents and other stakeholders to focus on the educational priorities for specific pupils, it is also a way to avoid a more thorough educational reform. Despite research and scholars presenting evidence to back up changes to the way school systems work, the changes made to educational policy in the area of individual educational planning function through an 'add-on' approach. This approach is a way to avoid rethinking the goals of schooling and restructuring educational systems in face of the present contexts. Given the critique of individual educational planning being time consuming to design and generally not very useful in terms of daily planning (Millward et al. 2002), we can consider it an artefact of the school as a bureaucratic organisation (Skrtic 1991a), and we should venture other responses to pupil diversity that would be based on principles of innovation, on building 'schools of diversity' (Sliwka 2010) in which diversity would stop being a 'problem' to solve.

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Chapter 10
Refiguring the European Student: Mixed Transnational Feelings

Maarten Simons

Abstract The transnational independent learner has become the new hero of the European learning space. In order to describe the mode of existence of the independent learner, an analysis in terms of deinstitutionalization falls short. Such analysis focuses on what disappeared but easily loses out of sight what comes instead. Especially in the case of the independent learner, the risk is taking the proclaimed ambition of liberation and emancipation of the learner from institutional settings for real. The person of the learner is not just what simply appears when the student is liberated from national and institutional frames. It is the carefully measured, calculated, monitored and framed architecture of new learning spaces that allow for recognizing oneself as a person, that is, as someone with specific learning needs. The need for authorization and recognition is part of the learner's ontological make-up and means that the learner's mode of existence is susceptible to verification, calculation and tracing. It is argued that this is the present-day manifestation of what Foucault termed as the 'double bind'; what turns someone into an independent learner is subjecting her at once to governmental intervention.

Introduction

For quite some time, it was difficult to imagine the figure of the student outside the institutional form of the university and its national frames of reference. During the past decade, several reforms have been initiated in Europe that seem to succeed in creating a figure of the student that is supposed to live a transnational life independent from an institutional environment. Instead of focusing on the general ideas and rationales underpinning these reforms, the refiguring of the student is probably best understood when taking a close look at the new instruments and techniques being

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used to govern student life. The *European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System* (ECTS) is an obvious point of departure.

ECTS was initiated as part of the Erasmus student exchange programme in Europe (and introduced in 1989) but now has become a central component of creating the *European Higher Education Area* (EHEA) (Berlin Communiqué 2003). The system's objective was to make studying in Europe more transparent and to enable mobility of students across Europe by developing common standards for the transfer of learning outcomes while studying abroad. Meanwhile, the credit system is used by many institutions in several countries as a tool to organize (or reorganize) their degree programmes. ECTS allows an institution to organize or reform programmes as the accumulation of credit points that can be obtained within their own institution or in another institution, through formal learning or based on learning outcomes obtained in non-formal and informal learning. The ECTS credit is defined as a 'quantified means of expressing the volume of learning based on the workload students need in order to achieve the expected outcomes of a learning process at a specified level' (ECTS Users' Guide 2015, p. 35). The workload students need to undertake in order to meet the learning outcomes for one ECTS credit is 25–30 h work. Credits can be 'accumulated' (in view of a qualification granted by the institution) and are 'transferable' (in programmes within or between institutions, if they recognize the credits) (Ibid., p. 1). The basic principle of the European credit system is the quantification of the study process based on amount of time needed to produce specific learning outcomes. Based on that principle, the system is increasingly promoted as a tool for the reorganization or reform of higher education programmes as well as for quality assurance. The guide also explicitly suggests the importance of a particular way of learning, teaching and assessment. What is stressed is the importance of a 'student-centred approached', with sufficient opportunities for stakeholders to have an 'open dialogue' and to give 'reflective feedback' (Ibid., p. 26). Guiding principles are 'transparency', 'reliability' and 'flexibility', with the latter referring for instance to: 'A flexible organization of learning, teaching and assessment activities, including flexibility in the timetable and more opportunities for independent learning is essential for accommodating different learning styles' (Ibid., p. 26). At this point, we have a first glance at the image of the student that the system has in mind.

The student that follows ECTS-based programmes should be regarded as a person having her own learning style and in need of flexible trajectories in order to obtain the predefined learning outcomes. In the ECTS Users' Guide, this student is baptized as the 'independent learner': 'An independent learner may accumulate the credits required for the achievement of a qualification through a variety of learning modes. She/he may acquire the required knowledge, skills and competence in formal, nonformal and informal contexts: this can be the result of an intentional decision or the outcome of different learning activities over time. The learner may select educational components without immediate orientation towards a formal qualification' (Ibid., p. 18). The student is someone whose learning takes place independent from predefined curricula, educational settings, qualifications or even intentions,

but at the same time someone whose learning experiences and outcomes should always be possible objects of verification and recognition.

The image of the independent learner echoes the process of deinstitutionalization or 'dedifferentiation of educational institutions' that accompanies the European discourse and policies on lifelong learning (Young 2010). The point of departure for European reform initiatives is no longer the distinctive educational institutions – organized around and in view of intentional learning and teaching – but the multiple processes of learning taking place everywhere. Educational institutions are considered to represent only one time-space configuration where learning takes place (Edwards 2002). This explains the attempt to disconnect the learning process and context from learning outcomes and qualifications, and this is meanwhile materialized in the *European Qualification Framework* as follows: 'The descriptors [of the European Qualification Framework] have been written to cover the full range of learning outcomes, irrespective of the learning or institutional context from basic education, through school and unskilled worker levels up to doctoral or senior professional levels' (EC 2008, p. 4). Along these lines, the independent learner resembles a kind of 'deinstitutionalized' student, although the ECTS Users' Guide (2015) acknowledges that the notions 'learner' and 'student' are not (yet) synonymous. After defining the term student as 'a learner enrolled on a formal educational programme at a higher education institution', the Guide adds: 'Please note: The question of whether to refer to 'students' or 'learners' in this Guide was discussed in depth in the working group and with stakeholders. Due to the general shift towards more flexible learning provision it was agreed that the term 'learner' is preferable in most contexts. However, it was recognized that since most higher education systems are still organized around provision of formal programmes to a clearly defined student body, the term 'student' would be used to encompass all learners in higher education institutions' (ECTS, p. 76). The concept of the independent learner clearly indicates that the field of application of the ECTS system goes far beyond the organization and design of formal study programmes within higher education institutions. ECTS is an inclusive system that enables the student to move around as an independent learner and, at the same time, allows the lifelong learner to be a possible student cashing in his/her credits for qualifications.

An Analysis of Double Binds

This investigation into the mode of existence of the refigured student is an exercise of thought along the lines of 'regional ontologies' of the (European) present. In line with Arendt (1968/1983), the investigation is an exercise or attempt to think in the 'gap between the past and the future' and to consider carefully what is at stake in the present. In order to do this, the investigation will look more particularly at the current state of affairs by describing in Foucaultian (1982) terms how we are being governed and want to govern ourselves today. Instead of discussing in detail the

epistemological and theoretical assumptions, three short preliminary remarks should give a sufficient indication of the adopted approach.

First, it is important to stress that in addressing the mode of existence of the European student, attention is directed to what is regarded to be fundamental here and now; what is part of our ontology, yet at the same time temporally and spatially contingent, that is, what is experienced as fundamental in our historical and regional conditions (Foucault 1984). Second, the notion of the 'figure of the European student' is not referring to a concrete, empirical individual (to be found and localized in European Higher Education) but is also not an abstract ideal type of the student (derived from observed student behaviour) (Simons et al. 2005). The concept refers to a mode of existence, including particular ways of experiencing and understanding oneself, others and the world, that gradually becomes self-evident, and that is eventually promoted as part of reforms in education. The figure of the European student is not to be found out there but – and this is the objective of the chapter – has to be conceptualized by describing current practices, instruments and discourses. Finally, the presented conceptualization does not depart from theoretical or analytical concepts (imposing underlying factors or general systems on current practices). Aiming at an 'empiricism of the surface' (Rose 1999, p. 57), the description draws to a large extent on the vocabulary that already circulates in today's practices. Departing from what is being said and done, the chapter's objective is to conceptualize the present in such a way that the figure of the student, as it takes shape in and through today's discourses and instruments, becomes visible.

In order to describe the mode of existence of the independent learner, an analysis in terms of deinstitutionalization falls short. Such analysis focuses on what has disappeared but easily loses from sight what comes instead. Especially in the case of the independent learner, the risk is taking the proclaimed ambition of liberation and emancipation of the learner from institutional settings for real, and not paying attention to how this ambition is, or becomes linked with, new arrangements. Exactly the processes of 're-institutionalization' are of interest, and therefore the concern with how the claimed independency of the learner leads at the same time to particular dependencies. In Foucault's (1982, p. 232) terms, the focus is on what he refers to as the 'double bind' of 'individualization' and 'totalization' that is characteristic of past and present modes of governing; governing oneself involves a submission to particular rules, norms or ways of seeing and speaking (in order to be able to act as an individual and to claim one's individuality), which means consequentially that the totality of individuals then becomes susceptible to governmental intervention (by acting upon these rules or norms in view of something (e.g. social order, economic growth, cultural unity) that transcends individual freedom). Although probably many more are to be listed, the next sections are limited to the sketch of three of the dependencies of the independent learner. These sketches should be looked at as stories about the mixed feelings of the independent learner, or the shadow side of her promised, transnational independency. For these sketches, the analysis is not limited to ECTS-related practices. Other European initiatives, as well as specific arrangements in higher education institutions, are also included.

Feeling Framed: The Open Learner Trapped by Standards

The figure of the independent learner is first of all someone who acknowledges that learning is not bound to a specific time and place but is a lifelong multifunctional process that secures, for instance, individual well-being, employment, social inclusion and cultural participation, through the production of competences (EC 2001). The key term in lifelong and life-wide learning is 'openness', which generally means that neither the processes nor the outcomes should be defined, organized and imposed by an external authority. Openness is meanwhile embraced by the European Commission (2013, p. 2), as evidenced in the initiative *Opening up education* that 'proposes actions towards more open learning environments to deliver education of higher quality and efficacy and thus contributing to the Europe 2020 goals of boosting EU competitiveness and growth through better skilled workforce and more employment'. The ambition is to open up access to learning environments by promoting collaboration, communication and openness between formal, informal and non-formal learning contexts and between private and public actors and by stimulating the development of open, flexible infrastructures. In all this, the individual learner, and her open(ed) learning space, is the main target. Instead of externally imposed (teaching) authority, authority in the new learning space should reside in the individual learner; her present (or future) learning needs are regarded as signalling a gap between the available stock of competences and the competencies needed to perform in a particular cultural, economic, social or political environment. Ultimately these are the needs that individualize the learner and are waiting to be fulfilled in view of inclusion and employability.

Essential to this condition of permanent learning is a transparent framework to link the learned outcomes with the input required to perform well in, or have access to, particular environments all over Europe. What is required is a European framework that enables communication between the supply side of learning (produced, or to be produced competences) and the demand side of learning (required competences to perform or to have access to). At this point, an authority is required: an actor or agency that is regarded as competent to validate learning outcomes and to grant qualifications. The ECTS Users' Guide defines a qualification as: 'Any degree, diploma or other certificate issued by a competent authority attesting the successful completion of a recognized programme of study' (2015, p. 74). National qualification frameworks are required to set the reference levels and criteria to attest to the value of regular study programmes but also – and this is crucial for the independent learner – to recognize and validate learning outcomes obtained outside formal education institutions. National frameworks, however, are not sufficient, hence the *European Qualification Framework for Lifelong Learning*: 'The EQF is a common European reference framework which links countries' qualifications systems together, acting as a translation device to make qualifications more readable and understandable across different countries and systems in Europe. It has two principal aims: to promote citizens' mobility between countries and to facilitate their

lifelong learning' (EC 2008, p. 3). Enabling European communication means translation and, more importantly, common standards covering all aspects of learning: standards for defining learning outcomes, standards for level descriptors of learning outcomes or competences, standards for measuring workload, etc. The result is that learning time, quality and output are being standardized, and as a consequence, one's private existence is being framed. It is these frames that turn someone into an independent learner, for whom possible learning opportunities and learning spaces then become intelligible. Standardization and translation are mechanisms for learning to become real and for the life of the independent learner to become something to speak, and be spoken, about.

These and other standards are actually key in establishing the European (Higher) Education Area (Lawn 2011), with standardizing work regarded as crucial to turning a common European framework into an infrastructure for lifelong learning. This standardizing work is materialized in systems like the ECTS but also in publications (the 'course catalogue'), forms ('learning agreements', 'transcript of records), procedures (for grade conversion, for instance) and tools ('European Skills Passport', including 'language passport', 'Europass mobility', 'certificate supplement' and 'diploma Supplement'). For the figure of the independent learner to have her open learning adventures actually recognized and validated, and to therefore be perceived as qualified, European frames are welcomed, resulting in 'voluntary submission' to these frames of standards. This means that together with the coming into existence of the independent learner, there is the birth of her need for recognition. As tools for recognition, the frames are essentially about exchange, measuring and verifying one's accumulated human capital for activities such as self-promotion, buying access, measuring one's exchange value, etc. Through organizing mechanisms for validation and qualification, these frames allow citizens to be recognized as a unique, learning person in the European area of lifelong learning, but they turn every independent learner at the same time into an object of governance. An example is the *Learning and Experience Certificate Database* in Belgium (Flemish Community) that centralizes the learning outcome-related evidence of all citizens. The database is not just a service to the learning citizen (to have quick access to certificates, diplomas. etc.), but the 'data from the Learning and Experience Certificate Database offer valuable information to support educational policy' (LED n.d.). This case illustrates how the strong need for recognition of the independent learner may turn into a mode of existence that can be evidenced, measured, calculated and compared and thus becomes susceptible to targeted governmental intervention.

If governing through standards refers to a mode of governing through the imposition and control of fixed standards, then in the case of the independent learner, one should speak of governing through standardization: the continuous work of framing and reframing, of translation and verification needed in order to match the learner's need for recognition and society's need for learning outputs. A tool with exactly that strategic function is (Mozilla's) 'Open Badges': 'A digital badge is an online representation of a skill you've earned. Open Badges take that concept one step further, and allows you to verify your skills, interests and achievements through credible

organizations. And because the system is based on an open standard, you can combine multiple badges from different issuers to tell the complete story of your achievements – both online and off. Display your badges wherever you want them on the web, and share them for employment, education or lifelong learning' (Open Badges n.d.). The objective is to verify learning outcomes obtained wherever, not just by a public authority or officially recognized institution but through any organization. More precisely, the key mechanism of open standards is to make verification of the learning outcomes possible for any interested party by providing them with evidence, and to make the issuing organization, and issued badges credible.

A 'badge backpack' increases the street and market credibility of the independent learner through opening up the process of standardization and verification itself. As an alternative to official qualification authorities, this system of open credentials actually implies the privatization of qualification or, at least, the open organization of verification and recognition disconnected from official qualification: '(…) open standard permits anyone to issue badges, regardless of their accreditation, authority or experience' (Acclaim 2013, p. 5). These tendencies also match with Europe's concern with the creation of a *European Area of Skills and Qualifications* in order 'to promote a stronger convergence between the EU transparency and recognition tools to ensure that skills and qualifications can be easily recognized across borders' and 'contribute to real European mobility where a person's knowledge, skills and competences can be clearly understood and quickly recognized' (EC 2012, p. 16 and 8). The learner's need for recognition is canalized in a pressing need for evidence, credibility and authority. What is ultimately at stake in (open) standardization work and what keeps it ongoing is, drawing on Virilio (2010, p. 6), the attempt to bring about 'synchronization': between outcomes and qualifications, between the need for recognition and the need for validation, between learning and evidence or between open learning and badges. The risk, for the independent learner, is being 'out of sync'. This means that the independent learner is trapped in a politics of (learning) recognition and credibility and is continuously asked to play the open game of authorization.

Feeling Busy: The Output-Oriented Learner Confronting Calculations

The independent learner is someone who is focused on the outcomes of her learning and, hence, concerned with output. The focus on learning output not only triggers the need for recognition or qualification but also frames in a particular way what leads to output: is the output actually being met (effectiveness), is the output realized in a time or cost-efficient way (efficiency), and also – in line with the criterion of 'performativity' discussed by Lyotard (1979) – is the greatest number of outputs being achieved with as few inputs as possible? The implication for the learner is that her learning – being part of study programmes or not – becomes intelligible as part

of a calculative mode of reasoning. Key in the calculation is 'the credit', defined as 'a quantified means of expressing the volume of learning based on the achievement of learning outcomes and their associated workloads' (Bologna Working Group 2005, p. 29). For instance, '60 ECTS credits are allocated to the learning outcomes and associated workload of a full-time academic year or its equivalent' (ECTS Users' Guide 2015, p. 10). The 'time of equivalence' based on workload per credit allows for calculating the future in terms of years, weeks and 25–30 h units. The calculated time frame requires adequate time management strategies as part of governing one's life as an independent learner. Time management is about planning the future, making calculated choices (for programmes, for credits in view of programmes, for assessment moments, etc.), based on workload, or monitoring one's own time investment for the chosen courses. For the independent learner, the future is always now, meaning that one's present is always already evaluated in view of a particular output, and appears as available resources or potential to be allocated or developed properly.

This output orientation also transforms the present into a 'space of equivalence'; everything is to be approached as part of, and to be evaluated in view of, an output-oriented process (Desrosières 2002; Decuypere et al. 2014). It is a space of workload, with workload referring to: 'a quantitative measure of all learning activities that may feasibly be required for the achievement of the learning outcomes (e.g. lectures, seminars, practical work, private study, information retrieval, research, examinations)' (ECTS User's Guide 2005, p. 46). For the independent learner, this space is filled with time-measured and output-oriented tasks, such as assignments and projects. The resulting division of learning labour in terms of multiple, measured 'learning activities' may cause the feeling of being busy all the time. This feeling, then, is not to be understood as simply a subjective feeling of (too) hard working students. It is the result of learning being actually transformed into labour, or more precisely, into a business (Rushkoff 2013). From the perspective of outputs, everything here and now might, in principle, appear as an output-oriented activity. The focus on 'activity' and 'being active' results in learning being about carrying out carefully designed, planned and programmed activities. The consequence is that not carrying out the planned activities is regarded as 'not learning' and, ultimately, as losing time or as being ineffective and not outcome oriented. In this learning space, the imperative for independent learning becomes for students, 'you should always be busy', and probably the complementary imperative for staff that, 'you should keep learners busy all the time'. Such a condition comes very close to what Crary in his book *24/7. Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* describes as 'a generalized inscription of human life into duration without breaks, defined by a principle of continuous functioning' and 'a time that no longer passes, beyond clock time' (Crary 2014, p. 8). The increased focus on carrying out learning activities not only occupies the time of the learners. It turns their time into a scarce resource and something to be managed. The result is that the busy mode of existence of the independent learner in the ECTS system becomes at once a calculating mode of existence. What is required is permanent time or credit allocation and the coordination of the division of learning labour. One could argue that the cost of the disappearance

of the distinction between formal, non-formal and informal learning is that learning itself becomes a calculation, with the allocation of credits and the efficiency, effectiveness and performativity of learning activities being the essential ingredients of the new learning calculus.

The learning calculus of the independent learner is only one side of story. What emerges – and increasingly becomes necessary – is assuring and enhancing the quality of the entire learning business. The ECTS system is also promoted as offering guidelines for monitoring study programmes. At this point, the system links up with the *Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area* (ESG), first adopted by the ministers responsible for higher education in 2005, and since 2005, this has been elaborated and fine-tuned (ESG 2015). These are standards and guidelines for both internal and external quality assurance and for quality assurance agencies. For internal quality assurance, ten standards are formulated, for instance, that 'institutions should have processes for the design and approval of their programmes. The programmes should be designed so that they meet the objectives set for them, including the intended learning outcomes' (Standard 2, p.8) and that 'institutions should consistently apply pre-defined and published regulations covering all phases of the student "life cycle", e.g. student admission, progression, recognition and certification' (Standard 4, p. 10) and also that 'institutions should ensure that they collect, analyse and use relevant information for the effective management of their programmes and other activities' (Standard 7, p.12). The ultimate requirement is the promotion of a 'quality culture' whereby all course materials, teaching infrastructure and methods, assessment systems, prior learning recognition procedures, etc. are considered to be in need of careful and permanent monitoring and where for all staff the command 'you should' magically transforms into the moral duty 'we have to'.

Monitoring is regarded to be permanent, since every first-order activity may signal space for improvement (or can pose risks) and hence needs to be accompanied by a reflective, second-order activity (and even a third-order activity in terms of external quality assurance). Quality assurance becomes a business as well. What is needed therefore, as mentioned in standard 7, is an adequate system of data collection and information management. The suggested 'key performance indicators' are revealing: 'Profile of the student population, Student progression, success and dropout rates, Students' satisfaction with their programmes, Learning resources and student support available, Career paths of graduates' (p. 12). These are indicators for measuring input, process and outputs/outcomes and make it possible to objectify the study programme in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and performativity. By calculating the patterns and norms in student progression or dropout rate, for instance, the programme and, hence, the student population can be managed; this can include measures to reallocate or reorganize credit allocation, student support and teaching input. Here, the calculating mode of existence of the independent learner becomes at once a calculated mode of existence. The calculating life of the independent learner is permanently measured as part of the business of quality assurance. This has a particular consequence. From the perspective of quality assurance, all programmes and trajectories are always in a state of reform, that is, they are open to

constant improvement or enhancement. As a result, independent learners become dependent on the constant changes in learning spaces and times and on permanent modifications of the grid of calculation. Independent learners are in a condition where they can always be asked, or perhaps more often, be forced, to re-calculate their calculations. Independent learners often cannot benefit themselves from reforms, only those who come after. The risk is that no one benefits from reforms.

Feeling Tracked: The Mobile Learner Included in Trajectories

The independent learner is required to be mobile. Mobility not only refers to international mobility but also free and flexible movement between formal, informal and non-formal learning environments within a particular country as well as mobility within a study programme. ECTS sets this broad type of mobility as one of its objectives. The condition for radical mobility is the so-called switch from teacher-centred learning to student-centred learning, including the shift from a focus on teaching inputs and institutional authority to learning outcomes and learner's autonomy and responsibility (ECTS Guide 2015, p. 14). The implication is that the figure of the independent learner is someone who is set free from predefined, relatively fixed curricula organized in terms of semesters or years, combined with courses as teaching blocks. The independent learner no longer follows a curriculum but moves around in a space of visible learning outcomes, possible credits and measured workload. As far as the learner still experiences years, courses or a curriculum, it is in terms of amount of workload, chosen learning outcomes and available teaching input. The previous sections hopefully clarified that the emerging learning space and time is open, yet at the same time, framed (and being standardized); this space makes output orientation possible, yet at the same time, constant calculation (and being calculated). This section explains how the new learning space makes free mobility possible; however, this freedom may also coincide with being part of trajectories (and being tracked).

The independent learner does not move around in an empty space. Take the example of a university in Belgium. At the start of the academic year, each student has to fill in her 'Individual Study Programme' (ISP); this is 'an application (…) that allows you to register your courses as a student and have them approved according to the regulations of the programme(s) in which you are enrolled. You can also request exemptions through this channel or have an exchange programme approved. A number of coordinators are assigned to each programme to review, adjust, accept or reject your study programme and exemption requests' (ISP n.d.). Apart from being a tool for registration and approval, the ISP functions as a route planning and navigation device. Different routes for credit accumulation are possible, and the student has to calculate a route and construct a learning trajectory that fits optimally with her own needs and preferences. She has to decide on outputs, calculate time, watch over her study efficiency and allocate credits. The ISP can also signal to each independent student, particular opportunities or dead ends based on her past record,

and it can be used to highlight programme-related requirements to students. What this tool does is turn study programmes into unique learning trajectories through the permanent visualization of personal learning pathways.

As well as route planning, the ISP also enables navigation within the time and space of the study programme. The independent student can keep track of her learning and is able to check whether she is still on track. One's learning, or study efficiency, effectiveness and overall performance become key criteria in the checklist. Through this tracking and checking, one actually can start to think of oneself as a true learner but in a particular way. Borrowing terminology from Williamson (2015, p. 137), the independent learner only becomes real through 'self-tracking' devices based on 'self-quantification'. Having an identity as a learner is about the ability to locate oneself – as a 'data-based self' (Simon 2005) – in trajectories. Since the study programme has no longer a single, uniform and pre-paved curriculum, tools such as the Individual Student Program, increasingly, become indispensable to locate oneself and, hence, to be someone at all. Instead of navigation based on map orientation in the curricular space, the new tools allow for positioning oneself in the learning space, and therefore, locating oneself as moving on the planned, projected and always to be replanned learning trajectory (Simons 2014). The condition of the mobile, independent learner is turned into a condition of being constantly on the move, and hence of being nowhere, yet always to be located, through learning positioning systems.

The ability to track oneself, however, is accompanied with being tracked. Most institutions of higher education, and particularly those adopting a credit system as the basic infrastructure for study programmes, have developed very particular monitoring apparatuses. The movements within the learning space can be and are being monitored in order to control and improve the learning space's overall performance. Through strategic performance indicators – like the one's mentioned earlier, on study efficiency, effectiveness and dropout rate – and measures based on the numerous learning trajectories, choices and performances of a population of independent learners, the overall performance of the learning space is measured and visualized. The gathering of data and visualization of this create centres of command that are, or should be, 'in control' of the learning space. This is clearly evidenced in the popular 'education dashboards' that – much like the control panels in cars or airplanes – display in a well-arranged and easily accessible way, the performance levels on someone's monitor. These dashboards or control panels are not only meant to present nicely organized data about the learning space but to inform steering of the learning space and the tracked independent learner. Three implications are worth stressing at this point.

First, the visualized indicators are based on embedded codes and algorithms that actually produce 'automated interpretations' by continuously transforming data into performance measures and telltales and framing the possible actions to be undertaken as 'performance improvement'. An important feature of what has been described as a mode of 'algorithmic governing' (Rouvroy and Berns 2013) is the establishment of direct linkages between data, visualization and governing; what is constituted is the possibility for actual steering, that is, for handling a moving

machine while it is moving and in view of optimized performance or keeping the system on track. These dashboards call for drivers or pilots – and also well-trained mechanics – that keep the learning machines on the road.

Second, measurement and quantification of the learning space based on performance indicators allow comparisons to be made or to benchmark current with past performances or with performances of other study programmes. It thus becomes possible to detect developments, patterns or trends, and to decide on optimal performance levels. The monitoring of the learning spaces also creates the opportunity to construct categories of learners (in terms of effectiveness and efficiency, for instance) and to make profiles of learning trajectories (in terms of dropout risk or popularity, for instance). Drawing on Hacking (1995), what takes place is the 'making up' of the life of the independent learner. These profiles and categories – such as the 'slow progressing learner' – are the result of a combination of variables used in coded inscriptions or algorithmic calculations. The manipulation of these variables makes it possible to model or simulate a slightly modified, or even a completely different, learning space; the performance and efficiency of the modelled space can be measured before actually reforming it. This again allows for improvements or repairs to the system of the learning space to be carried out while it is in operation.

Third, often these visualized performances and constructed categories and profiles are public and actually are accessible by the users of the learning spaces themselves. What is produced, as a consequence, is a 'calculable public', and as Williamson (2015, p.139) continues, 'a public that is presented back to itself through the data organized and coordinated by algorithmic approximations of its traceable' – in the domains discussed in this article – learning activities. The 'looping effect', as Hacking (1995) already explained in another context, is that these categories and profiles become sources for the public of learners to start to speak about themselves, to learn to know themselves and gradually also to claim changes on behalf of the reality created through these categories or profiles. The appearance of a new public of learners actually adopting and using the categories and profiles means that the learners start to change the very conditions of the learning space that these categories and profiles initially were derived from (Simons 2015). In other words, the independent learner lives up (or not) to expectations, while at the same time expectations adapt to one's learning trajectory. The control boards and dashboards capture the free or independent learners, but they are always in movement; they create a space for the construction of 'algorithmic identities' and hence 'allow for a 'free', but constantly conditioned user' (Cheney-Lippold 2011, p. 178). The result is that the mode of existence of the independent learner is mobile but part of planned or modelled trajectories that always can be recalculated and remodelled based on new evidence.

In sum, the mode of governing through tracking means that learning traces are of strategic importance. The traces of the independent learner are not considered to be remainders from past activities that should be archived (and waiting to disappear) but resources and evidence that require constant tracking and recording. To formulate it more timely and probably also more accurately, the independent learner is in need of backup and evidence. As an independent learner, one cannot live a life

without traces, and as a consequence, one is on the move and nowhere but at the same time always somewhere. This mode of appearance as independent learner makes it difficult to disappear.

Concluding Thoughts

The independent learner is an individual, but it is important to make more explicit what kind of individual. The independent learner is increasingly being treated and is asked to consider herself, as a person with unique characteristics. With the risk of making an epochal statement, a shift can be noticed from the individualized student to the personalized learner. Back in the second half of the twentieth century – with May 1968 as the emblematic date – students claimed their individuality towards institutions and related authority (see also Readings 1996). The scene of struggle back then could be summarized as follows, 'we, as students, are not here for the university or the institution, but the university should be there for us'. Individuality and forms of autonomy were mobilized against institutions and the authority they imposed. Facing a common enemy, the individual students shared a common cause and belonged to a group or movement. The scene of struggle is quite different when the slogan becomes: 'As a person, I am different from all others, and I need my own university'. Moreover, as a person, the independent learner is constantly looking out for authority outside herself, in order to ensure that her learning outcomes will be recognized and validated. But the person of the learner is not just what simply appears when the student is liberated from national and institutional frames. It is the carefully measured, calculated, monitored and framed architecture of new learning spaces that allows a learner to come to understand herself as a person, that is, to become intelligible as someone with specific learning needs. The need for authorization and recognition is part of the learner's ontological make-up and means that the learner's mode of existence is susceptible to verification, calculation and tracing. This can be considered as the present-day manifestation of what Foucault termed as a 'double bind'; what turns someone into an independent learner is subjecting her at once to governmental intervention.

This critical ontology of mixed feelings does not aim at debunking or unmasking the mode of existence of the independent learner. The point of departure instead is this: 'People know what they do, they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does' (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, p. 187). This focus on the unknown or indirect consequences of actions comes very close to how Dewey understands the public: 'The public consists of all those who are affected by the indirect consequences of transactions, to such an extent that it is deemed necessary to have those consequences systematically cared for', and he adds, 'the essence of the consequences which call a public into being is the fact that they expand beyond those directly engaged in producing them' (Dewey 1954, pp. 15–16). These ideas give an indication of the public orientation of the project of a critical ontology of the present; an attempt to suspend our

common, self-evident and appropriate modes of reasoning and self-understanding and to interrupt the double binds, in order to turn a given state of affairs into a matter of public concern again. At stake is what Latour (2005) calls the movement of 'making things public'. Critical ontologies of the present are 'invitations or public gestures' (Foucault 2000, p. 245) to turn the mode of existence of the student into a matter of public concern. Perhaps not in order to refigure the student once again but to rethink and reimagine student life. Along these lines, one could think of the difference between a time and space for learning and a time and space for study. This would not be about imagining the student as someone who is completely free and truly independent. In line with Stengers (2013), a creative way of reimagining the student is to point out the student's dependences or attachments to things; things that start to speak, interrupt our ways of speaking and seeing, make people hesitate, gather a public and actually turn people into 'dependent' students. And the university could be imagined as the place where something is given the power to make us hesitate, where objects and subjects actually become things and – in a strong meaning – a cause for study. Such creative thinking and imagination is beyond the scope of this chapter, for it requires – to paraphrase Hacking (2002) – that a critical ontology of the present makes place for a creative ontology of the present.

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Chapter 11
Student Centredness and Learning from a Perspective of History of the Present

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Abstract The overall aim of this chapter is to problematise the contemporary transnational discourse about learning and pupil-centred learning which during recent decades have become givens or, perhaps it could be said, have become established as dogmas in the conversations, writings and thinking about ourselves, others, education, work and society. The purpose of this approach is to shake up what is to a greater or lesser extent taken for granted at the present. We do this by showing that ideas such as student centredness can be seen in other ways than is the case in contemporary narratives. Theoretically, we draw on Foucault's concepts of genealogy and history of the present. This means that we reflect contemporary conceptions, in this case the ideas of student centredness, in relation to how similar phenomena have been practiced within other narratives about education/training. Empirically, we use different types of education texts such as policy documents, investigations, textbooks and scientific reports. We start with contemporary documents from transnational as well as Swedish sources, followed by documents from three different historical periods: (1) the 1940/1950s, (2) the 1970s and (3) the narrative of the French teacher, Joseph Jacotot, from the beginning of the nineteenth century about teaching for intellectual liberation as retold by Jacques Rancière. The genealogical analysis shows that contemporary narrative about learning is neither more nor less pupil or student centred than that of yesteryear. It is rather that this phenomenon is given different meanings within the framework of different historical discourses about education. In the present time, the concepts are given meaning

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in the context of educational policy work and reforms in an era of transnational governance.

Introduction

> Education has been reformed and reformed again – the sense of reaching the limits of educational reform invites a fresh focus on learning itself. (Dumont et al. 2010: 24)

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the ideas about learning and pupil centredness which form the basis for contemporary transnational narratives and reforms in the field of education. This takes place against the background of the concepts of learning which during recent decades have become givens or, perhaps it could be said, have become established as dogma in transnational as well as national conversations, writings and thinking about ourselves, others, education, work and society. Within school and higher education concepts like learning, lifelong learning, learning targets, learning environments and situational learning have largely replaced and superseded concepts of past dominance, such as training, teaching and education. The concepts have furthermore become part of the conversations around a range of other societal activities, such as work, relationships, lifestyle and leisure activities. The talk about learning environments, for instance, does not only concern traditional educational contexts since more or less any context nowadays can be considered environments for learning. Within, for instance, the fields of public health, health-promoting environments are considered to be learning environments, and within the area of crime prevention, members of the local community are expected to take responsibility for crime preventing measures in their area (Petersson et al. 2007). Virtually all areas of life, from the cradle to the grave, are now considered knowledge areas and thereby possible to discuss in terms of learning. Learning is not a condition or state of being, neither does it represent a period of life to pass through, but an activity to be pursued indefinitely and in all of life's contexts. The concept is even inscribed as the way to success for collective subjects such as organisations, regions and cities (Longworth and Osborne 2010):

> We can, we believe, only learn our way into the future and the same is true, in developmental terms, of cities, towns, regions and communities. (Ibid., p. 368)

The learning city as collective understands that lifelong learning will come to be of decisive significance for welfare, social stability and personal development. A learning city, according to Longworth, therefore chooses to mobilise all its resources to support the full potential of its citizens. Similarly, in view of the European Commission, all of the European Union must develop into learning communities:

> It is clear that the new opportunities offered to people require an effort from each one to adapt, particularly in assembling one's own qualifications on the basis of 'building blocks' of knowledge acquired at different times and in various situations. The society of the future will therefore be a learning society. (COM 2006, p. 2)

The learning society and the learning city thus are characterised by their engaging in a process of lifelong learning where each and every one, individuals as well as collective subjects, always make an effort to adapt and develop their competence in a constantly changeable world.

What we are saying is that a shift has occurred with regard to how learning is viewed, not only within the field of education but also in society as a whole. The shift appears in different ways, for instance, by the concepts of learning having superseded concepts like teaching and by the fact the lifelong learning largely has replaced the concept of adult education (e.g. Biesta 2013; Säfström et al. 2013). In the final analysis, it is not about what should be the focus in different educational contexts. It is rather the expression of a profound political change in the way we should consider society, the life of work, education and training, but also of how we as individuals are and ought to be included in contemporary conceptions about the future (Olsson et al. 2011; Simons and Masschelein 2008). However, our interest is not the shift in the ideas about learning from a traditional perspective of educational policy. Instead we are interested in discussing the political beyond educational policy, that is, in what way the concept of learning becomes a tool in forming contemporary conceptions of education/training, students and the distribution of responsibility between individual, school and society.

The approach to our discussion of learning as political concept is based on Foucault's concepts genealogy and history of the present (Foucault 1998; Gordon 1980). This means that we reflect contemporary conceptions, in this case the ideas of student centring and learning, in relation to how similar phenomena have been practised at different times or within other narratives about education/training. The purpose of this approach is to shake up conceptions that to a greater or lesser extent are taken for granted at the present. We do this by showing that ideas such as student centredness can be seen in other ways than is the case in contemporary conversations. Not that one narrative should be better than any other but because we mean that reflecting today's ideas against the background of other possible narratives would contribute to expanding the freedom of thought in conversations around contemporary questions of education. Our interest is discourse analysis, which means that we examine how different phenomena are constructed in texts rather than what actually happens within the field of education/training as practical activities (Petersson et al. 2007).

The sources for the chapter are different types of education policy texts such as policy documents, investigations, textbooks and scientific reports. The texts are central documents in shaping the narratives treated in the chapter, for instance, through the fact that they are used in the education and training of teachers or form the basis for political decision-making.

We start with a description of contemporary narratives from national as well as transnational sources. This is followed by a reflection on contemporary narratives through looking at documents from three different historical periods: (1) the 1940/1950s, (2) the 1970s and (3) the narrative of the French teacher, Joseph Jacotot, from the beginning of the nineteenth century about teaching for intellectual liberation as retold by Jacques Rancières as a philosophical discussion of society rather

than as a discussion of educational policy (2011). To be clear, we want to emphasise that we consider Rancière's retelling as one possible historical narrative about education alongside other possible stories. Thus, we do not use his conceptual apparatus as an analytical tool.

From Education to Learning

What we chose to call the shift to learning is a phenomenon that appears in most countries independently of level of economic development. According to a report from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Economic Development (OECD), knowledge development and learning are of vital importance for the economic development in the world, which means that success and welfare for individuals, organisations and nations are increasingly dependent on a continual development of intellectual capital (Dumont et al. 2010). Therefore, it states, it is time to turn away from expensive education reforms, which do not necessarily lead to better results for those in education and instead turn the attention to the process of learning itself.

Carlgren and Marton (2002) describe the shift towards learning as a shift from a *how* to a *what* culture which, according to the authors, means a shift from teaching methods to educational targets and pupil results, or in other words, "how teachers do to what students experience" (Ibid., p. 23). According to the authors, the focus of school prior to the shift was how the teacher should plan the teaching rather than on what abilities and attitudes should be developed in the students. Rostvall and Selander (2007) similarly hold that the task for today's teachers is to design good teaching environments that enable students to shape (design) their own learning processes and thereby "take responsibility for their own learning" (Ibid. p 11). Lave and Wenger (1990) who too place learning and learning environments in focus maintain similarly that learning is situational and occurs in learning practices, which means that learning is viewed as a social practice embedded in experiences and activities in relation to other people.

The talk about learning takes place against the background of a conception that we live in a rapidly changeable and unpredictable world that demands continual learning:

> Students should develop into self-directed, lifelong learners, especially when education needs to prepare students "for jobs that do not yet exist, to use technologies that have not yet been invented, and to solve problems that we don't even know are problems yet". (Dumont et al. 2010, pp. 23–24)

Those not adapting to changes are considered risking both their possibilities for lifelong employability and their ability to fully participate in society (Ibid 2010). Students are expected above all to learn in order to learn to enable them to take responsibility for and handle the challenges that the future will hold in store for us all independently of age. Carlgren and Marton (2002) pose the question as to how

school is to be able to prepare people for a future "about which they know less and less and about which they need to know more and more". The authors' answer is that school is "to contribute towards developing the eyes with which to see new situations" (Ibid., p. 25). Corte (2010) maintains similarly that adaptive competence, the ability to use knowledge and experiences flexibly and creatively in new situations, should be the final goal for all education and all learning. He holds that education up to now rather has represented the opposite, namely, to educate and train pupils and students into experts in routine activity without much demand on students to show a deeper understanding and an ability to think in new ways. The future demands instead that individuals develop a desire and an ability to change, widen and deepen their own competence and their own attitudes. To make this possible, all education must shift focus from being teacher centred to being student and pupil centred. Cortes highlights a number of characteristics that he thinks are necessary to enable such a development and that he thinks distinguishes the student or pupil who succeeds well from the one who succeeds less well:

> They manage study time well, set higher immediate learning targets than others which they monitor more frequently and accurately, they set a higher standard before they are satisfied, with more self-efficacy and persistence despite obstacles. (Ibid., 2010, p. 50)

The pupil or student who succeeds is thus described in terms of ability to organise his or her work, to set higher goals, and who is persistent in their studies. Those who are not considered as successful are then perceived as having characteristics opposite to those of the successful student.

Within teacher education and training, the shift towards learning occurred in the context of the introduction of the Bologna Process whose purpose it is to create a common educational structure for higher education within, among others, the European Union (EU). One of the goals is that exams, educational programmes and single courses by 2012 at the latest should be shaped in terms of learning goals in all member countries. By learning goals or targets, it is meant a description of what the students "are expected to know, understand, be able to do, and be able to relate to" once the education or course is completed (Moon 2006). In the enactment document for higher education, the description of the national programme for education and training of teachers details 25 or so different learning goal, as for instance:

> The ability to independently and with others plan, implement, evaluate and develop teaching and the pedagogic work in general with a view to stimulate the learning and development of each pupil in the best way possible. (Utbildningsdepartementet 2011 bil. 2)

To use Carlgren's and Marton's (2002) way of expression, also within teacher education and training, the goals are about the abilities and attitudes that the students are required to demonstrate at the end of their studies. The advantage of learning goals, that are capable of being observed and examined, is considered to be that the students know what is expected of them and that they know that they will be examined in relation to the learning goals thus set. Also within the narrative about higher education, the view is that this means a shift away from teacher to student centring, that is from what the teachers do and more towards the experiences of

students and their learning in terms of knowledge, skills and competencies (Moon 2006).

Notwithstanding that the contemporary narratives about learning also place emphasis on the preconditions for learning, context and the significance of the teacher, the shift towards student learning nevertheless signifies that the responsibility for learning and outcomes increasingly is perceived as being the responsibility of the individual, both within school as well as within teacher education (Biesta 2013; Lawn and Grek 2012; Simons and Masschelein 2008):

> Furthermore, in this narrative it became a lifelong responsibility for each one to build up his or her own qualifications. (Lawn and Grek 2012, p. 84)

The pupils, students and adults included in the contemporary narrative thus are those who are self-governing and goal oriented and who succeed in taking responsibility for their own learning and continual development of their competence. Those who are excluded and considered a risk to their own development and that of society are those who do not have the desire or the ability for self-governing, lifelong learning or for taking responsibility. Rather, they risk facing the consequences as they are not managing to learn in order to learn for the purpose of continual updating of their lifelong employability. Contemporary talk of the responsible, self-directed, lifelong apprentice with an ability to adapt to infinite changes and constant uncertainty paradoxically does not hinder an expectation on students, especially in teacher education and training but also in higher education in general that they direct their learning towards clear, observable and previously defined learning goals over which they have had no any influence. This means that an educational student is expected to take responsibility and to be independent within the framework of an educational world, where taking responsibility is the kernel of the education and its goals, is restricted. Responsibility and self-governing, both formed within teacher education and training, can from this perspective be viewed as a way to learn to follow the prevailing educational order, rather than learning to be flexible and creative in new situations.

A Genealogy of Student-Centred Learning

Though it may appear self-evident that educational programmes should be pupil and student centred, there is good reason to reflect on the givens of the contemporary narrative in relation to conceptions of the same phenomenon in historical narratives.

Our first example is the work of the Swedish Education Commission from 1948 resulting in a recommendation to introduce a 9-year comprehensive education for all (SOU 1948:27, 1952:33). The conceptions of pupil-centred education constructed in the commission's documents take shape in terms of viewing "the child itself" as the starting point, to "place the child at the centre" and that "teaching and upbringing should be guided by the needs and abilities of the child" (SOU 1952:33,

p. 110). Unlike in today's contemporary narrative about learning where pupil- and student-centred education is first and foremost shaped in terms of what abilities are to be demonstrated at the end of an educational programme, in the documents of the 1940/1950s, it is instead about how educational programmes should have as starting point the individuality and personal preconditions of the pupil him or herself. School is therefore expected to be organised in the name of democracy as an "environment for the children's free growth" and promote "a free and harmonic development" of all sides of the pupil's personality and "encourage and develop that which is for him or her that, which is characteristic or special" (SOU 1948:27, p. 4).

These conceptions permeate also the period's narrative about teacher education and training, which should be in line with progressive ideas and "aim to develop personal characteristics important for the teaching profession" (SOU 1948, p. 355). There was an idea, furthermore, that teaching brings a connection between the souls of teacher and pupil and that the influence that the teacher possessed depends "as much on what he is as a human being" as what he knows about his subject (Ibid). The teacher to be must "first and foremost" understand that the basis for all teaching "is love and a feeling of happiness" and that the practice of teaching is a "research journey into the, for adults challenging but never inaccessible world" (Ibid., p. 356).

In the documents from the 1940s, a different form of pupil- and student-centred education is constructed to that in contemporary documents thus. While today's documents are more about external characteristics that in one way or another can be demonstrated and assessed, the texts of the 1940s are rather about the internal characteristics of the pupils. To refer to Dewey (1902), the narrative of the 1940s takes the children or the teacher-to-be as the starting point for all teaching rather than as today where the curriculum and learning targets are the starting point.

Next we alight in some texts from the 1970s. Unlike today's talk of learning and pupil-centred education, the main focus is on societal and economic factors and on organisational questions such as the distribution of teaching time, teacher education and training, the size and composition of the classes (SOU 1978:86; Rostvall and Selander 2007; Carlgren and Marton 2002). One example is the report on teacher education and training (LUT 74) which describes the instruments for governance that society can use to influence teacher education and training:

> The central educational plans however are only one of the means which society can use to influence the content and shape of educational courses. Systems for evaluation, the distribution of resources, staff organisation, staff development, etc are other possible instruments for governance. (…) Evaluation should be used with some care as a means of central method of governance. (SOU 1978: 86, p. 33)

If the emphasis of contemporary education lies on output as measured in terms of the individual student's or pupil's learning outcomes, from the 1970s onwards, the emphasis was placed on economic, structural and human resources. These differences in focus make understandable that the narratives of the 1970s and 1980s downplay the significance of evaluation while contemporary narratives rather emphasise different forms of evaluation. A further example of the significance given to structural factors in the earlier period is the concluding report from the Government

School Executive Council (National Board of Education), 1980, relating to the research project "Skolan och lärarna" (school and the teachers). The starting point for the project was to map the structural factors within school and the education system that "support or hinder the teacher's work" and to investigate "the contradictory demands made on teacher" (Ibid., 1980, p. 5). According to the report, significantly entitled *It is not the teachers' fault*, the problems are neither caused by teachers nor pupils but by the societal, economic and organisational context of education. For instance, the reason that children from a working class background demonstrate a poorer linguistic ability and poorer results in comparison with middle-class children is considered to be that structural and economic factors in society create unequal conditions which have a significant impact on how different groups succeed in education (SOU 1978:86). This, however, does not stop the narrative from engaging in talk of pupils' and the educational student's personal development in terms such as ability to co-operate, social competence, ability to evaluate as well as active engagement in societal and educational questions. Also through this discourse pupils and teacher students are constructed as individuals that take on responsibilities. The teacher students, for instance, should "have influence over content and the way the work is organised" in teacher education and training and thereby "take responsibility for their own studies" (Ibid., p. 216).

The narratives of the 1970s, therefore, can be said to contain a form of pupil and student centredness. But unlike the contemporary case, the idea of placing the pupil in the centre takes place within the framework of a narrative where the structural factors and thereby the educational preconditions, i.e. different forms of input into education, are in focus. In our view it is reasonable to assume that an emphasis on questions of input can be considered an expression for pupil centring, especially if it means, for instance, that the economic and societal conditions thus created enable all pupil and student groups to attain their educational goals. Contemporary debate about placing pupils and students in focus in terms of output relating to a number of skills can thus be considered to be one way of giving meaning to the concept of pupil and student centring, while the debate in the 1970s about input can be viewed as another way. The debate about output and input, respectively, operate as political practices, albeit in different ways since they direct the attention towards different phenomena within the area of education. We maintain, as do Simons and Masschelein (2010), that today's debate about learning and learning targets tends to have the effect of neutralising and depoliticising by directing itself first and foremost to less controversial questions, such as the importance of outcomes in education. The narrative that emerges from the 1970 to 1980s on the other hand is directed to questions that are usually more politically controversial such as the finances, organisation and stakeholders relating to education.

The historical material for the third of the periods studied is supplied by the French teacher, Jacotot, who named his so-called universal teaching method in the early nineteenth century, and related by Rancière (2011). Though this narrative does not explicitly use concepts like pupil centring and learning, there is an implicit conception about these phenomena emerging in the text. In Jacotot's conceptual world, unlike in most narratives about pedagogy, the role of the teacher is not to explain

things for the students as this is not necessary to put right the inability of the learner to understand. It is not the learner who has a need for the "explainer". It is instead the explainer who has a need for the learner as an unable and non-understanding subject and who is in need of explanations:

> It is the explainer who has a need of those lacking ability, not the other way around. It is the explainer who constitute the one lacking in ability as such. (Ibid., p. 13)

The principle of explanation is in itself the basic problem since is creates a feeling of inferiority and oppression rather than freedom and acknowledgement of one's own abilities, which counteracts rather than promotes learning. According to Jacotot, all people are capable of learning for themselves, if they wish so to do. We have learnt our mother tongue without a lot of explanation, through guesses, trials and errors, comparisons, communication and self-correction. Why should we not be able to learn other languages, other subjects and to play instruments in accordance with the same principle?

Unlike today's emphasis on abilities and learning goals predefined by the teacher, it is, according to the narrative (Jacotot's), neither necessary nor desirable that the teacher controls what the student has learnt. Especially if it is about checking that the student has attained that which the teacher or the education system considers that the student should attain. He/she who seeks, namely, always finds something, but not necessarily that which the teacher has determined in advance:

> And s/he who liberates ought not to worry about what the liberated may learn. S/he will learn what s/he will, perhaps nothing. (ibid., pp. 27–28)

Talking again in terms of Dewey (1902), it is thus in Jacotot's narrative in similarity with that of the 1940s the child rather than the curriculum that is in focus. Even though Jacotot does not talk in terms of pupil centring, it is possible in today's language to maintain that a form of pupil centring emerges in his texts that is different from today's conception. According to Jacotot, the teacher's task is to expose the learner to situations where he or she is forced to use their intelligence and find their own, and not the teacher's, method to get him or herself out of the situation. The pupil centring of the narrative is concerned with enabling pupils to find their own method and acknowledge their own intelligence rather than to develop predefined skills and abilities. The role of the teacher thus is not to explain but to try to examine to what extent the pupil engages in work, is searching and attentive, something which could be seen as an expression for a form of pupil centring too:

> He does not check what the student has found, but what he has sought. He assessed whether he has been attentive. (Ibid., p. 44)

What is important thus is that the teacher attends to whether the learner is attentive and keeps to their own way "where he seeks and where does not stop the searching" (Ibid., p. 47). Pupil centring can also be said to be about a focus on the will or volition of the pupils. All people are, namely, seen as being able to learn that which they want to learn. But most people, especially children, need the will of the teacher when their own volition is not sufficient to enable them to choose a specific route and keep to it. Volition in this context does not mean motivation, as is often the case

in traditional pedagogical contexts, but rather self-knowledge and an ability to acknowledge one's own intellectual ability:

> By volition we mean the capacity for self reflection in a rational individual, who is aware of him or herself as agent. (Ibid., p. 76)

Volition understood as the individual's capacity for self-reflection leading to a sense of understanding of their own capacity and acknowledgement of their own ability is what sets the learner's intelligence in motion. This, in turn, leads to the rational individual to not only learn something about something but first and foremost to the learner understanding that he or she, within the so-called order of equal intelligence, can do everything that every other human being can do since it is the same intelligence as in all others and in all human activities:

> He will know that he can learn since the same intelligence is set to work in all productions of human art, since a human being is always able to understand the words of another. (Ibid., p. 28)

To become aware that anyone can learn anything and that intelligences are equal opens "the gateway to all adventures in the world of knowledge" (Ibid., p. 28). In these adventures we will not be able to control what routes the students will want to take, but we do know what is inevitable, namely, the necessity that they make use of their own intelligence. When pupils, students and people in general use their intelligence, they will, according to the narrative, acknowledge that when focusing their attention and will, they are capable of learning anything themselves rather than having everything explained in a relationship that keeps the learner in the state of ignorance that belief in the myth of the hierarchy of intelligences create (Rancière 2011).

Conclusion

In accordance with contemporary transnational givens, the shift towards learning and learning targets means that school as well as teacher education and training have become pupil and student centred rather than teacher centred. Our analysis from a perspective of contemporary history, however, demonstrates that the idea as a given can be questioned. Pupil and student centredness in terms of different abilities that in one way or another can be demonstrated and assessed is but one of all possible way of understanding pupil and student centring. In the texts from 1940 to 1950s, the concept of pupil centring is given a different meaning through the focus on internal, rather than external characteristics with the aim of developing all aspects of the personality. Also the emphasis of the 1970s on input factors such as organisational and economic preconditions can be said to contain pupil centring, in this case in the sense of giving all pupil and student groups equal educational possibilities. In Jacotot's narrative from the early nineteenth century, the concept of pupil centring is given an entirely different meaning. Here the focus of the teacher is not on to what extent the pupil attain preset goals, as is the case today, but rather the extent to

which the pupil is using his or her intelligence. The pupil's attentive search will, in the end, lead to an acknowledgement that his or her intelligence is equal to all other intelligences.

It is worth noting that contemporary narratives as well as those from the 1940–1950s to 1970–1980s, respectively, largely share the enlightenment project's conception that one by society organised education is of decisive significance for the success, development and emancipation of individuals as well as society. The difference is, however, that in the contemporary narrative, progress occurs within a transnational rather than in a national context. Rancière, on the other hand, maintains that the liberation of the intellect, becoming aware of the intellectual capacity of self and others, which is the central point of his philosophical narrative, cannot be organised and promoted through the agency of society or through the institutions of society. Rather, it is an ideal that in his view can only be realised outside of the societal institutions. In Rancière's world even the type of learning targets that European educational programmes are expected to take as their starting point would be considered furthering ignorance among student teachers and those responsible for their education and training.

Contemporary narrative about learning is neither more nor less pupil or student centred than that of yesteryear. It is rather that this phenomenon is given different meanings within the framework of different narratives about education without implying that one is better or worse than any other. By demonstrating that one and the same phenomenon can be assigned different meaning within the framework of different narratives, genealogy and contemporary history aim to question conceptions, in this case pupil centring that is taken more or less as a given in contemporary narratives about education. This is for the purpose of opening up for a deeper, wider and freer conversation about contemporary educational question and about who we as human beings are and can be.

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Chapter 12
Governing the Intermediary Spaces: Reforming School and Subjectivities Through Liminal Motivational Technologies

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Abstract A recent national reform of the Danish public school facilitates a number of ongoing experiments in (re)organizing the school day in an attempt to potentialize the spaces in the shape of what we usually recognize as recess, breaks, and transitions. The reform may indeed be positioned within what have been termed the GERM or Global Educational Reform Movement; however, the Danish reform also has particular traits of its own as "a new, different and more varied school day." Within this lies the reorganization of the everyday rhythm of schooling as well as the addition of a mandatory daily 45 min of physical education and activities. In the chapter, we focus upon the governmentality of "the intermediaries." Reorganizing the school is not only a way of ordering and structuring the day and of disciplining subjectivities but also a way of potentializing subjectivities to promote learning. Hitherto unnoticed spaces of freedom – both in the form of recess and free or spare time and resources and in the form of energies and affects – are the object of intensified management and pedagogy. We analyze this governmental shift by reading our empirical material through the lens of two thinking technologies, "the liminal motivational technology" and "potentializing intermediary spaces." Our analysis shows how certain kinds of leadership for learning can be designated as psy-leadership, which means leadership that draws on (post)psychologies, how educational subjectivities are being reformed through this setup, and finally how the potentialization of the liminal and the intermediary spaces also invites new unmanageability into the school, which may result in non-intended and perhaps unwanted effects and exhaustion.

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The Sound of Power

We recognize the sound of power in church bells, telling us about the course of life: when the day begins and ends and when people are being christened, married, or buried. We know the sound of prayers from the top of the minarets. It is like a song calling us to pray, asking us to take a meditative rest and concentrate on the words of Allah. We know the bell from the school signaling the start of the school day, teaching us to wake up and prepare for another day within the scheduling of the industrial society. We know all these sounds as the sound of a disciplining power, the sound of order, inclusion, and exclusion (Foucault 1977). For ages, we have listened to this sound, while it has penetrated our ways of being and told us how to define and use time and space in our professional as well as in our very private lives. As a vehicle of power, sounds and rhythms have been used as a tool to separate, order, and discipline time, space, development, and human bodies in manageable slots. And the timeliness of school and schooling is an example par excellence of such kind of government.

At a public school in a quiet suburb in Denmark the bell still rings at 8 o'clock initiating the well-known rhythm of the school day marked by clear-cut distinctions between school time and leisure time: between lessons and recess. However, the identifiable acoustic landscape of an empty and quiet schoolyard does not last long. A few minutes after the last toll of the 8 o'clock bell, the sound of children's voices and moving bodies shouting, panting, running, and pushing is swelling into the air. The youngest students start their day in a more or less ecstatic run around the school's red buildings. And if the soundscape were recorded throughout a full school day, it may very well reveal an irregular flow of children running, laughing, and shouting. The sounds themselves do not reveal whether they stem from a soccer game during recess, a well-organized brain break in the form of running around the school in the middle of a lesson, or a group of fifth graders working in the schoolyard with an assignment in math. However, this is not only the soundscape of children in perpetual movement between being inside and outside, between play and learning, and between free movement and organized classes. It is also the soundscape of a recent national school reform in Denmark. A reform which has intensified and institutionalized a number of schools' ongoing experiments in (re) organizing the school day in ways that go beyond reorganization by reconceptualizing teaching and learning in an attempt to potentialize the space in the shape of what we usually recognize as recess, breaks, and transitions.

The aforementioned major national school reform of the Danish public school was implemented in 2014. This reform bears the imprint of transnational educational policies, not least in the form of following up on sustained OECD recommendations for reform, e.g., in terms of implementing standardized assessment and evaluation (Shewbridge et al. 2011). Such imprints can be seen in the formulation of the overall targets for the reform as aiming at lifting the academic standard with the explicit goal that all children must be challenged "to their full potential," that the significance of social background for academic results must be lowered, and that

trust in the public school, as well as social well-being, must be enhanced (DME 2014). National curriculum standards have also been revised adhering to competence-based learning targets, and a national testing system already put in place in 2010 has become more influential in the government, and, thus, there has been an increased accountability of schools on a national and municipal level (Kousholt and Hamre 2015). Moreover, the reform has been implemented hand in hand with policy initiatives supporting the development of evidence-based practices, as well as a range of initiatives to support an increased use of data for accountability and improvement at all levels in the system. As such, the Danish reform may indeed be positioned within what Sahlberg so eloquently termed the GERM or Global Educational Reform Movement (Sahlberg 2011; Sellar and Lingard 2013, 2014). However, as indicated above, the Danish reform also has particular traits of its own which are presented as "a new and different school day" (DME 2014: 3). Within this lies the reorganization of the everyday rhythm of schooling in the form of a not only longer but also "more varied" school day (Ibid.: 7), introducing alternative forms of teaching and learning, called "assisted teaching," as well as the addition of a mandatory daily 45 min of PE and activity on average. As we pointed out above, these particular elements of the reform are gathered from local experiments and individual school development projects which have become institutionalized by the reform and, as such, been "reintroduced" on a large scale in order for every school to find a way of creating a longer and more varied school day.

In this chapter, we focus on conceptualizing what might preliminarily be termed as the governmentality of "the intermediaries." What we do is to take a closer look at how "the intermediaries" – as a previously unnoticed spatiotemporal feature of school – have become conspicuous and thus framed as an object not only in need of but with a potential for government. The overall point is that reorganizing the school is not only a way of ordering and structuring the day and of disciplining subjectivities but also a way of potentializing subjectivities to promote learning. These particular elements of the Danish school reform are on the one hand the offspring of particular local and/or national developments; on the other hand, we shall see how they may be inscribed in an all-encompassing focus, not only on learning but also potentialization. We analyze this governmental shift by reading our empirical material through the lens of two thinking technologies. Firstly, we introduce the concept of *liminal motivational technology* as a basis for investigating the dynamics of these technologies as new kinds of leadership and analyzing how they are expressed. More specifically, we foreground that there is an interest in the phase *before* learning happens which conditions and optimizes the level of being ready to learn. Secondly, we introduce the concept of *potentializing intermediary spaces*, which can be used to analyze the performative acts involved. Management and organizational efforts are thus directed at rethinking and reinventing recesses, breaks, and transitions between activities in order to make them resources in the school's efforts to engender learning. This transforms that which is managed and how it is identified.

We view the two concepts as thinking technologies which may assist researchers as well as practitioners in observing, analyzing, discussing, and acting in regard to

these trends and their effects – intended or otherwise. The two thinking technologies have been invented by following school development projects at two case schools. Here interviews were conducted with the school leadership teams, and with the teachers and social educators involved, and a range of learning laboratories were held in order to scrutinize the empirical material in collaboration with practitioners as well as other researchers. Moreover, we have analyzed relevant ministerial publications and conference observations on reform elements such as reorganizing the school day, the introduction of 45 minutes of physical exercise, and the use of breaks. Finally, we draw upon a series of interviews with children from eight schools concerning the reform. The two concepts are primarily of a diagnostic character in order to analyze how certain kinds of leadership for learning can be designated as psy-leadership, which means leadership that draws on (post)psychologies (Staunæs et al. 2009; Staunæs and Juelskjær 2016; Juelskjær and Stauæs 2016). The question is how we theoretically and empirically capture and understand the recent leadership ambitions and trends in relation to how they work and which assumptions are lodged in such approaches to leadership for learning. First, we present the theoretical concepts we draw upon. Then the concepts are applied in the analysis of three cases concerning how schools reorganize the school day and establish new forms of managing time, space, and learning in more or less detailed "orchestrations of intensities and rhythms" (Juelskjær and Staunæs 2016).

Reading Management on the Border of Potentiality

Managing schools and education, and in particular the forms and practices of leadership directed at increasing student learning outcomes, can be perceived as management of potentiality (Juelskjær et al. 2011; Staunæs 2011). This implies that there is not only management of *what already is*, but of *what eventually could be*, which is particularly relevant to educational leadership as education concerns precisely the unfolding or unveiling of potential in the form of development, general character formation, and learning (Staunæs 2011). By pointing to leadership for learning as a form of management of potentiality, we want to underline how this may not only be seen as directed toward more or less defined goals for (academic) learning (Bjerg 2013). By potentiality we mean a readiness to become something different, something which extends the existing horizon (Massumi 2002). This conceptualization lends itself to unfolding the special features of management technologies that make the intermediary spaces their object of focuses we shall see – the liminal between well-known entities and boundaries. This is management played out on the thresholds with a firm eye on potentializing and concerns boundaries between in/out, both/and, neither/nor, class/recess, and student/child. These are boundaries that indicate a situation, state of transition, or being between, on the way away from something and toward something else. One could say that these leadership technologies work in regard to the *liminal* or what is constituted as a boundary.

Liminality is a concept that captures the boundary as well as the transitions that happen on the way toward something different. The concept of liminality indicates, and this is particularly important from the perspective of leadership and management, that the boundary can be an unmanageable and dangerous place – a location for tense passages (Turner 1974; Kofoed and Stenner 2017; Stenner and Moreno 2013). The concept of liminality stems from anthropology and the sociology of religion (Van Gennep 1908). It concerns the moments in a transition between spaces or in an intermediary phase where one is neither one thing nor the other: neither child nor adult, neither a bachelor nor married, and neither living nor dead. Liminality denotes a particular phase, a special moment, and a transition, i.e., a situation of disintegration and construction, "between the no-longer and the not-yet" (Lather 1993). In other words, one could say that something is dissolved from its usual or actualized form and becomes potentiality, understood as a field of other possible actualizations (Turner 1974). However, the transformation or transition between social positions does not merely happen on its own but must also be ensured through rituals (Kofoed 2004). The ritual not only frames and shapes the transition, but also potential danger, as it invokes temporary dissolution of social categories, positions, and structures and thus allows for transformation and becoming (Turner 1974).

It is this aspect of managing the liminal that the psychologists Paul Stenner and Edouard Moreno take up in their concept of liminal, affective technologies and analysis of how managing a situation becomes a ritualized enactment of certain intense and affective experiences which enter into the momentary suspension of social structures and positions. This results in liminal affectivities being coupled to (experiences of) changes or transitions:

> In short, if we define liminality as the experience of being on, or crossing over, a threshold, then we begin to understand why affects and emotions are liminal phenomena of transition, and why liminal situations are affective and emotional. (Stenner and Moreno 2013: 23)

Affect is thus connected to movement, for instance, as a bodily experience or the feeling of increased or limited capacity (Massumi 2002). An affective event is a particular embodied or intensive experience (Bjerg 2013; Bjerg and Staunæs 2011). It can imply the opening toward something new and different. Although the concepts of liminality and affectivity have been employed in various contexts and research traditions, they both contain a connection to the concept of potentiality as an indeterminate space of opportunity which is embedded in what is present, but can be actualized or realized in many different ways, e.g., through affective or embodied events. Potentiality is, however, indeterminate (Massumi 2002).

Summing up, *liminal motivational technologies* conceptualize ways of managing transitions or intermediary spaces with an eye to affectivity. *Potentializing the intermediary spaces* points toward the managerial attention and forms of leadership that seek to force as much as possible into and maximize returns from the intermediary spaces in terms of creating motivation and a certain "readiness to learn."

From Temporary Digression to Potentializing Break

Our first case is the current transformation of the school recess. Prior to the reform, several Danish schools experimented with abolishing the firm traditional organization of the school day through clear demarcations of class/lessons and recess/breaks. As the school reform has introduced "a longer and more varied school day," the school day has become subject to increased attention as to how it may be organized and, thus, managed or governed in ways deemed most suitable for enhancing not only learning outcomes but also the learning environment and thus the energies and potentials for learning.

Before looking at how the school day has been reorganized, we will focus on what characterizes the "classical recess," as this space between classes has a long history of being carefully meted out. In a historical perspective, a secondary school in the Copenhagen area, established in 1787, was the first to introduce short breaks every 45 min. In most schools of this period, however, classes were only disrupted by a lunch break. Throughout most of the nineteenth and twentieth century, the school day would last from 8 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon, interrupted by a lunch break where the pupils were supposed to go home for lunch. The Danish term for "recess" literally translates as "free quarter of an hour," thus associating recess with a period of time to spend "freely." However, recesses have long been governed by rules, codes, and routines determined outside of the children's realm. Read through Foucault's dispositive on discipline, the recess is subject to the school's disciplinary regime and its overall mechanisms for inclusion and exclusion (Deleuze 2006). This involves teacher surveillance, rules for being allowed to stay in the school building or not, and rules for which games could be played and where. Furthermore, recess has functioned as a break where students and teachers could attend to basic physical needs such as eating or going to the bathroom. However, educational research also shows how children's own rituals have considerably influenced recess (Kofoed 2004). Recess constitutes a space of transition, where student's positions and categories used in class are transformed into children's categories and positions. Even if these are not fully outside the reach of the school's definitional power, the social life of recess involves considerable shifts in power and relations, as well as in intensity and affective registers, where the students' own social games and positioning change the space for maneuvering (Hunter 1994; Eckert 1989; Thorne 1993; Staunæs 2004).

As such, recess has been a carefully defined and planned space of transition between classes for many years. In a leadership perspective, however, we see how recess becomes a new intermediary space for management within the current reorganizations of the school day as it becomes something more and other than free time away from class, an opportunity to take care of basic needs, or a space for the social life of children. Here the fifth grade student Anna reflects upon how recess changes character as it becomes related to another reform element: the daily requirement for 45 min of physical exercise within the school day:

> *We used to go out and then the bell rang, and then you had to go in again. But the thing with 45 minutes of exercise, that's where I feel it [the reform] the most, since we didn't have that before. The longest recess used to be 25 minutes or something and now it is 45 minutes. Or perhaps you can't call it recess anymore.*

Anna points to how the organization and institutionalization of physical exercise has reconfigured recess to a point where it may no longer be recognized as such, at least not from a student's perspective. Why that is may be seen below where a teacher reflects on the governing or leadership ambitions related to a thorough reorganization of the school day:

> *Many use three quarters of an hour to eat and then half an hour for breaks. The point with breaks is of course to eat, but also to have a break. But the break could be attending a music class with music teachers or the gym might be open for you to take part in yoga […] I vaguely recall some French research showing how children need breaks to be ready [for learning] later in the day. What we are talking about is for there to be plenty of time to eat and that they need to move and that they have a greater need for peace and quiet and a break in the middle of the day…so, we need to plan for this.*

Here the teacher reflects on how to organize recess and thus the school day in order to still attend to basic physical need for sustenance, but also to optimize and intensify the time between lessons so that the students become *ready* to learn, which thus increases the efficiency of the subsequent lessons. However, when regular classes are followed by activities that are also governed by adults, the purpose of which is to charge the body and mind, and then "you can't call that recess" as the student Anna notes; instead, recess changes from being a temporary break or suspension of purposive teaching activities to a potentializing and orchestrated break. It becomes a time where the primary aim of management concerns expanding, modulating, adjusting, tweaking, and squeezing rather than delimiting, adapting, including, and excluding. As such, the recess is no longer a "free space at the children's own disposal" – it has been charged and colonized by leadership ambitions in the form of what we have termed liminal motivational technologies. This change may be read as similar to the difference between what Foucault would call the dispositive of discipline (Foucault 1977) and the dispositive of security – or what Deleuze (2006) calls societies of control – and is mapped out as a shift from normalization to optimization and potentialization. The other primary characteristic of this sort of management is that it promotes growth by motivating students, using the organization as well as the pedagogical activities to incentivize the students and their bodies, brains, and thoughts to desire to do what they must. With the abolitions of recess, a potentializing break emerges. Let's explore this a little further.

The Intermediary Space as a Brain Break

The potentializing break is not only found in a planned form but can also be used as an ongoing situational tool integrated within teaching activities. As Anna notes:

> *Then there was something about it not being called recess anymore, since the teachers placed it whenever they thought their students needed a break […] Sometimes if our teachers can feel that we are hyperactive, they set things up…for instance, if we have Danish then our Danish teacher knows some language games. […] Or if the teachers sense that we are a bit restless they say: "Right, let's run ten times round the yard" or something. I think it's pretty cool.*

Recess is no longer part of a firm structuring of the school day, but given and thus organized by the individual teacher. The break is determined by the teacher's *sense* of the students' level of energy – whether it is high and restless and therefore needs dampening or should be transformed into some other affective state or level of intensity which the teacher considers more conducive to learning. In line with this, we currently see a huge interest in ideas and methods regarding brain breaks, mindfulness, in order to support teachers in their work with how teaching and learning processes can be strengthened through optimization or potentialization of the learning environment and thus the students:

> *Some schools are concerned with integrating movement and physical activity into teaching. [This involves] activities that function as 'breaks' and which help ensure the energy in the classroom.* (EVA 2014a: 2)

A brain break is described as an efficient break in teaching where the physical motion among the students is expected to restore mental energy, which in return determines how long they can concentrate. Increased attention to managing new spaces in teaching itself points to a change in how teachers relate to the activities of the learning body. In addition, it indicates a renewed confidence toward the teachers' vigilance and sense of energy levels and balances in student bodies, brains, and neurons. Some brain breaks draw on behaviorist psychology about learning and conditioning whereby auditive and visual tools indicate "quietness" and "attention" using, e.g., timing and stopwatches. The brain breaks are a kind of power breaks (like a powernap) supposed to energize and thereby heighten student attention. A number of auditive elements are used to manage affectivity by creating resonance in the body. This is done either through invigorating music, which is supposed to enhance the level of physical activity of the students, or through soothing music, which may be used to retain the feel and vibe of a calm situation.

The reorganization of recess, the brain breaks, as well as ways of potentializing intermediary spaces, can therefore be read as liminal motivation technologies. Such technologies may not have an academic content as such or an educational payoff in and of themselves, but address the physical and mental potential of the students by orchestrating intensities and rhythms so as to modulate their energy and stimulate with the aim of generating learning capacity. This requires the teachers to become affectively sensitive, because it becomes a part of professional judgment to sense when energy levels need to be increased or reduced and how to select the right physical or mental exercises that potentialize the recess or intermediary space by creating the desired atmosphere and change of energy in the learning bodies, brains, and neurons.

The Intermediary Space as a Potentializing Transition

A third site for managing the rediscovered intermediary spaces is the transition between school and leisure time. As part of the reform, school days have not only been extended through including more weekly lessons in Danish and Math; they have also been extended in order to integrate the time, space, and pedagogical professionals from after-school care into the school and thereby into the overall purpose of creating a more stimulating and thus efficient learning environment. As such, the reform may also be seen as a product of organizational fantasies about the potentializing transitions in the school's use of space and time. One of our empirical case-schools worked with managing transitions even before the reform. This involved the transition between recess and class, but also between school and home or leisure time. The managerial focus on transitions occurred as a by-product of school experiments regarding differentiated school hours based upon a categorization of student sleeping patterns (Juelskjær and Staunæs 2016). The aim was to create better learning conditions and thus potentialize student learning by adapting the rhythm of the school day to the students' personal circadian rhythms and energy levels. However, the experiment which allowed students to arrive at and leave school with an hour's difference resulted in too much friction and confusion with regard to the different rhythms and organizations of the children's school activities. This meant that the idea of a staggered start to teaching in the morning was quickly abandoned. Instead the students were still given the opportunity to show up at different times throughout the first hour of the school day, which again produced new managerial, and thus also pedagogical, opportunities as well as challenges. As one social educator notes in regard to how the start of the school day should be organized and orchestrated:

> *It becomes easier to take children that need to sit in a corner and wake up into account (…) It should be organized so you can arrive in peace and quiet…and have a mental surplus.*

The school's reorganization into staggered start times becomes a liminal motivational technology which extends the liminal by prolonging the transition between home and school and between free time and school time. What used to be an instant transition enacted by the school bell's insistent ring and indicating the students' transformation from sleepyheads to students, the break is now turned into an hour-long intermediary space which expands its liminal character by both retaining and carefully governing the students' transition between home and school, between free time and teaching, and between child and student. The quote thus shows how the extended transition both creates and requires management in order to condition the right affective level and the right affective balances on this threshold. As one teacher says:

> *There just isn't room for disco dancing and drama as I have found it difficult to get the children into another classroom after a lesson in the morning where they had been flying about.*

The intermediary space is organized more as a gradual and extended transition than a sudden awakening, because the energies must not only be produced but also directed and managed. In other words, the intermediary space is staged at a balanced affective economy (Ahmed 2004) where the affective energy is not merely released but also produced and conditioned in ways and shapes affective states of mind and beings that the school can recognize as, for instance, students' "motivation" and "readiness to learn." The principals says:

> *We have decided that there must still be an opportunity for those who want to be at school early in the morning, but this should not just be a kind of after-school care where they run out of gas before nine in the morning. We have seen this happen sometimes. Therefore we have established a reading group. The parents can drop their children off at the school between 8 and 9 in the morning, depending on how it suits the children and the family. This can be used not only for reading, but also other stuff, where you join a coordinated activity […] We want to make sure there is some kind of learning activity involved, but in a calm and subdued environment.*

The quote suggests that not only human bodies move liminally between child and student. The activities that are a part of organizing the transitions are included in a state of neither/nor, both/and, or – using a Turner expression – betwixt and between: between free play and adult-governed teaching. The "reading group" is a loosely structured learning activity where students manage their own participation. As a liminal technology, it involves orchestrating the intensity of energies and rhythms in the liminal space – stretching and extending a rhythm, dampening "agitation," and making space and time for children's bodies, brains, and cognitive and perceptual capacities to be gradually and individually tuned into the school's communal(izing) rhythm, when they at 9 o'clock begin what is recognizable as actual class and teaching.

Generating Well-Being in the Intermediary Space

In this final section of the chapter, we must look at how the increased attention toward the intermediary space and its liminal character is not only coupled to the management of learning but also to students' social well-being and relationships. Here a report states:

> *It is a common experience for the two schools that they experience working with exercise and physical activity as being important for student motivation for learning and for school. They see physical movement as a high priority that can contribute to the development of a sense of community and social well-being at school.* (EVA 2014a*: upag*)

Physical activity is vaguely related to motivation, community, and social well-being (see also EVA 2014b). It is interesting in this regard to consider Turner's suggestion of a close connection between concepts such as liminality, communitas, and flow. Previously, we noted how liminality may be seen as a momentary dissolution of structure – as anti-structure. Turner (1974) couples this dissolution with the

momentary, affective experience of being a homogenous, unstructured communitas where social positions and hierarchies may momentarily be transcended:

> *When even two people believe that they experience unity, all people are felt to be one by those two, even if only for a flash. Feeling generalizes more readily than thought, it would seem! The great difficulty is to keep this institution alive. (Ibid.: 78)*

Communitas is therefore the feeling, experience, and therefore the memory of communality rather than a reference to a specific community. Turner relates this affective state to the psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's concept of "flow" as an:

> (…) experience of merging action and awareness (and centering of attention) which characterizes the supreme "pay-off" in ritual, art, sports, games and even gambling (…) 'Flow' may induce communitas, and communitas 'flow' (...). Here it is not teamwork in flow that is quintessential, but 'being' together, with being the operative word not doing. (Ibid.; 79–80).

An experience of flow can therefore generate the experience of a common being – of communitas. This conceptualization of the coupling of flow and community may help us understand how physical activities may be seen as a certain kind of liminal motivational technology. A report on the use of physical exercise in relation to strengthening relations and social well-being among students points out how one school very deliberately works with weekly exercises where the students massage each other with a ball, play a game of tag where they need to hug each other when caught, etc. (EVA 2014b: 36). If we view such collaborative exercises and massages as liminal motivational technologies, we come to understand how management not only concerns "physical contact" (EVA 2014b: 35) or "flow" (EVA 2014a: upag.). What is important here is that physical activity attains a liminal and therefore transformative character by taking up "exercises that require contact" (EVA 2014a: upag.) in order to produce and thus manage the students' experiences of communitas through the potential momentary suspension of particular identity categories, positions, and differentiations in the class – boys and girls, cool and sweet, and strong and weak. As a minimum, this is reverberated in community and collaboration through repetition and the experience of togetherness. Where the previous examples concerned strategic modulation of intensity and creating motivation and readiness for learning, this example concerns a specific feeling which is managed and directed in physical activity as liminality: this is the feeling of togetherness and community and therefore well-being. This is social well-being and social relationships as a component in generating better learning opportunities.

The Intermediary Space: Generating Unmanageability

We know from the studies of liminality that boundaries are indicated by a possible and unmanageable affectivity. From the studies of affectivity, meanwhile, we know that the affective tensions are located on the edge of movement and transformation.

They shudder, ready to burst, creating uncertainty as to the outcome or effect (Massumi 2002). As a break, the intermediary space has many unknown variables and may lead to a level of energy which can be difficult to translate into the subsequent learning activities, just as we saw in the case of the extended start to the school day. This is not least the case if the break includes a shift in location, a change of clothes, or excessive sweating, high pulse, and physical exertion. If the class, for instance, runs two laps in the schoolyard during the lesson to burn off excess energy, it may end up boosting the student bodies and heightening spirits. You cannot be sure whether you gear up or down, as a teacher relates: "Of course, there are some people who think they become tired if they go running with a heightened concentration. But there are also those who say that they gain energy if they go running."

Precisely, because liminal situations are loaded with indeterminate affectivity and intensity, they are also possible agents of change – they have potency. This can be dangerous or risky though. What if the implemented change takes the wrong direction? According to Turner, the transition implies something undefined or even impure. It has not yet been positioned or categorized, and it is the undecided character and impurity of the situation which creates a particularly affective tension, which is difficult to direct and manage: "The state of the ritual subject ("the passenger," "the liminar") becomes ambiguous, neither here nor there, betwixt and between all fixed points of classification" (Turner 1974: 232 from Kofoed 2003: 73). Kofoed continues:

> What characterized liminality is being outside all categories, which is why there are no categories that are given in advance nor as a decisive difference […] liminality is a state where the initiator is placed outside existing classifications, and not just different in regard to a specific otherness. (Kofoed 2003: 73)

In principle, everything is up for negotiation in the borderland (Kofoed 2003: 73) created by, e.g., a brain break, breather, or physical activity. Historically speaking, transitions have therefore also been highly ritualized in order to generate some kind of guidance. However, the contemporary and modern use of liminality also indicates a need for more or less specified ritualization or management:

> *a liminal situation should only be provoked [or enhanced] if one has a proper 'form' in hand to impose on the soul of those whose emotions are stimulated by being put on the 'limit'.* (Szakolczai 2009. Op cit in Stenner and Moreno 2013: 5)

The concept of liminality is therefore coupled with affectivity, transition, and change. However, it also relates to leadership and management, since liminality indicates transitional processes, states, or moments as intensive and forceful enablers of potentiality, movement, and change in the shape of technologies that organizes and generates a didactic relationship in the intermediary space. We therefore see that:

> *The concept of liminality helps us to grasp that the affective event must be staged, not in order to prescribe the end-result, but in order that dead structure might facilitate the living immediacy of becoming. (Ibid: 36)*

For Stenner and Moreno, "dead structure" refers to the form of ritual. It is this dead structure, the repetition in the ritual, which must facilitate the activation of the right affective registers in the potentializing break as well as in the brain break. It is therefore the ritual and its enabling through, for instance, signals for attention, clapping, or running around in figure eights that must result in the transition becoming potentializing rather than unproductive. This "transitory life" is in itself dangerous, since it challenges predictability and elides univocality. One could ask whether there is an exaggeration in drawing parallels between transitory rites, such as clear shifts in social position, and the momentary, perhaps even spontaneous, intermediary space in, e.g., a math lesson. Although the intensified use of liminal motivational techniques in school might not lead to a complete transformation of how teachers and students interact, our data show how the use of these techniques results in an ongoing generation of new questions and a need for new leadership. This is because there is a need to potentialize, but also to master, the intermediary space so it becomes conducive and not oppositional to the subsequent learning activities. The increased attention to managing the intermediary spaces may also be seen as a kind of psy-leadership drawing on the (post)psychologies attendance to relations and distributed subjectivities (Staunæs and Juelskjær 2016). In this case, this is played out in the threshold between daycare and school and in the daily transition between school and after-school care. In our final case, the empirical data stems from a development project at Børnehuset Stjernen, which is an institution integrating daycare, school, and after-school care in one building. Starting from a focus on the transition from preschool to school, the teachers, social educators, and leadership team have become increasingly aware of managing all kinds of transitory spaces which the children or students pass, not only in the institutional transition from preschool to school but also throughout the school day and when leaving the structured school day and passing into the after-school care. One of the social educators from the after-school care reflects on the increased attention and intervention in managing the daily transition of the students from the school and into the after-school care:

> *It used to be such that the children had to walk from the school and the few hundred meters to the other side of the schoolyard to another building where they had to be registered […] Everybody thought this was crazy […] some raced across to get it over with as soon as possible and others loitered and took their time, since they wanted to walk with a friend from a different class […] Now we [the social educators from the after-school care] go to get them in class and we take part in the last part of the lesson there before we follow them across to the after-school care. […] It feels far safer [for the children] when they see an adult from the after-school care, I think.*

This effort is suggestive of the attention directed at the liminal character of transitions and concerns the dangerous and uncertain aspect of ambivalence in the movement between spaces and between adults' and children's positions. Here the rituals support the production of a feeling of safety and guidance within the transitory space. The significance of the feeling of safety is linked both to the social well-being of the kids and, moreover, to their overall motivation for being in school. The management ambition represented in this case is that of a frictionless intermediary

space – by carefully ritualizing or staging the transition from school to leisure time. On the one hand, there is a dissolution and change of identities and positions among teachers and educators whereby educators have to enter the teachers' domain without acting as teachers in order to soothe the transition. Rather than potentialization, we can here talk about de-potentialization since the ritualization is directed at avoiding rather than triggering transformative experiences or affects. Leadership of learning becomes a paradoxical attempt to heighten the students' motivation through a sense of safety and predictability, instead of, e.g., unleashing the potential of the students' own venture through the school premises and experiencing the possible unpredictability, but also independence, of passing through the space and time of a structured school day to the new possible positionings of after-school care. The encouragement toward action or change that could affect the children is captured and usurped by the professionals in their attempt to sense and balance the students.

Governing the Intermediary Spaces

This chapter has shown how the reorganization of the school day in the shape of longer and more activity saturated breaks and transitions, as well as short and spontaneous digressions from lessons, can be seen as an expression of leadership which includes hitherto unnoticed time spans and resources so as to seek out learning. Leadership for learning through liminal motivational techniques attempts to enhance, condense, and extend the intermediary spaces as thresholds or entrances which momentarily dissolve established categories and positions in order to open for potential change and development. The object of leadership is not learning or learning outcomes as such but the potentialization of intermediary spaces so as to generate and condition the optimal circumstances for learning in the shape of motivation, aptness for learning, and social well-being among the students. Here, hitherto unnoticed spaces of freedom – both in the form of recess and free or spare time and resources and in the form of energies and affects – are the object of intensified management and pedagogy. Such leadership technologies and ambitions are not part and parcel of the recent and ongoing Danish school reform in a simple 1:1 relationship. This reform may easily be inscribed into the tendencies of educational reform and transnational governance in the form of an increased focus on learning and learning outcomes and related to increased measurements of standardization and accountability. However, with the elements of reorganizing the school day as well as the demand for 45 min of exercise throughout the day, the increased focus on leadership for learning has been saturated with particular governing ambitions and, to this end, particular liminal motivational technologies already developed and put to use in more localized practices. As such, we may point to the question of how school reform as a phenomenon is performed in localized practices (Cuban 2013). Taking a close look at how the potentialization of the intermediary spaces takes place, we see a new unmanageability is invited into the school, which may in turn result in non-intended effects. When it is made unclear whether something is

structure or anti-structure (is it free time or not; do you need a break or not), everything seems to quiver. It is no longer clear what governs the space: the rules of teaching or the rules of the break? This quivering situation is a new kind of unmanageability in need of management, and this becomes the task of teachers, social educators, and school leaders. When the structure dissolves moment by moment and into continually new and emerging thresholds, new strengths are demanded in order to reestablish the structure. There is a continuous need to conduct new rites, stage the situation, and explain the possible versions of spaces, norms, and expectations. Practicing and reading a changeable structure may be an excellent exercise in an unsettling world; however, it is a métier which is exhausting to follow and manage – not only for the professionals but also for students accustomed to or more capable of navigating already settled structures than continuously negotiated frameworks. The intermediary spaces may in fact be stealing time instead of producing time, because the task of potentializing breaks and transitions forces the teachers and social educators to spend more time and resources on avoiding noise and instead simultaneously creating and organizing facilitating frames that prepare students for learning before the "real" teaching begins.

Finally, the desired anti-structure (the energy, openness, and possibility of change) may paradoxically lose its magic and thus its potential in its transformation into structure. Perhaps this is what happens in the example above, where the transition from school to leisure time became an episode without tension or friction and without helping the students to also sense and cope with exactly tensions and friction between themselves and the outer world and tensions and frictions within themselves. Breaks thereby become frictionless and in that sense not liminal spaces saturated with high intensity and unknown potentials. The breaks promise potentials, unused hours, thresholds, and energies. However, it may be that this promise can only be kept in the "anti-structure." Even though transitions involve rituals, the tensions, intensities, and energies may be solidified or turned into the opposite when micromanaged. Transforming rhythms and unnoticed time into liminal motivation technologies may result in potentialization and new forms of manageability, but, equally, it may also result in unpotentialization and new forms of unmanageability.

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Chapter 13
Digital Technologies in the Classroom: A Global Educational Reform?

Inés Dussel

Abstract In the last decade, one of the most remarkable traits in educational policies in Latin America has been the implementation of programs that produced a massive distribution of digital technologies as a way to promote the digital inclusion of the poorest segments of society. Pushed by transnational technological companies and organizations as well as by national governments with social progressive agendas, these policies have been celebrated as a step forward to the modernization and transformation of school systems. In this article, and grounding on actor-network theory, I analyze the experience of *Conectar Igualdad* in Argentina, a program that distributed one computer per student in public secondary schools and teacher education institutions between 2010 and 2015. I am interested in understanding how these transnational actors and the globalizing rhetoric of educational reform connect with national and local scales of policy design and implementation. Using Jan Nespor's approach to scales in educational policies, I confront top-down or bottom-up visions of educational reform, and instead seek to understand the flows and networks of this program as it moves through a heterogeneous topography, made of forces and actors with their own density.

Introduction

If there is a global talk in educational reform nowadays, it is educational technology. Surrounded by a "rhetoric of inevitability" (Nespor 2011, p. 2), the introduction of digital media in classrooms promises to bridge the digital divide and erase national frontiers and bodily differences. Transnational actors such as technological companies and global rhetorics of twenty-first century digital skills become increasingly present in most countries (Selwyn 2011). The production of the networked self,

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which is defined as cosmopolitan, global, and digitally engaged (Papacharissi 2010), appears as a new imperative for education.

However, as anthropologists and new media scholars are showing, the contemporary "digital experience" is far from being a universal one, and boundaries, territories, and systems of inclusions and exclusions continue operating at different levels (Burrell 2012). Yet the question about how to approach these differences remains a fruitful one. On the one hand, I adhere to the debate with/against the "methodological territorialism" of educational research brought forth by Ball (2012) and to calls for a nonlocal ethnography that traces "discourses that are present in multiple locations but are not of any particular location" (Feldman 2011a, p. 33). The study of educational devices and apparatuses such as reforms has to follow them "through many disparate domains and locations" (p. 32) that are not reduced to tangible, corporeal relations in an enclosed space; reforms are enacted through abstractions (numbers, data, expert language, and categories) that make people traceable and also subjected to government through multiple technologies that traverse territorial boundaries.

On the other hand, I suggest that the notion of the local should also be reclaimed for an intellectual project that seeks to understand transnational educational reforms as something else than "networks and flows moving at a hyper-speed" (Feldman 2011a, p. 47). As Arjun Appadurai argues, "different forms circulate through different trajectories, generate diverse interpretations, and yield different and uneven geographies … so globalization is never a total project capturing all geographies with equal force" (Appadurai 2013, p. 67). Actors and relationships move at a pace and rhythm that is not homogeneous but full of obstacles, bumps, and differentiated processes (Appadurai 2013, p. 69). I will argue that, in the cases I have studied in Latin American countries such as Argentina and Mexico, there are particular trajectories of participation and engagement with digital technologies that have to be taken into account. These trajectories go well beyond the talk of global inequalities denounced by the problematic notion of the "Global South" (Bartlett and Ghaffar-Kucher 2013). Among these differentiated trajectories, I claim that "schools" and "educational policies" emerge as strong translation spaces that mobilize specific strategies and discourses and which act as important nodal points for organizing practices (Winocur and Sánchez Vilela 2016; Dussel 2014). Instead of the notion of the "digital tsunami" (Davidenkoff 2014) or an overwhelming digitalization of the world, I want to stress that the introduction of digital technology in schools has implied particular processes of translations and appropriations that contribute to more complex understanding of the dynamics of the global, the transnational, the national, and the local.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I will discuss the discursive scaffolding (Popkewitz 1991) of the program *Conectar Igualdad* (Connect Equality), the Argentinean version of One Laptop Per Child that started in 2010, trying to unpack the "national container" of the program but also the transnational rhetoric of edu-business (Lingard et al. 2014). Second, grounding on actor-network theory and digital anthropologies, I will look at different scales and actors of this policy. I will analyze the documents, actors, and strategies of the Argentinean program, which

stands out for some traits that were not present elsewhere: state and teacher centeredness, social justice, and curricular and cultural renewal. This particular scaffolding constitutes different sets of associations and mobilizes different actors in and around the program. Another scale, which will be dealt with only marginally in this chapter,[1] is that of classroom pedagogies, which show complex translations of the policies into teaching strategies and into students' writings and assignments.

Digital Technologies as Educational Reform: A Critical Framework for Unpacking the Rhetoric of Global Educational Change

Digital technologies are currently presented as "the" kernel of change and reform in education and are thus surrounded by "hype, hope, and fear" (Selwyn 2014). They promise a new model for education that will undo the wrongs of the educational system and promote its democratization through openness, flexibility, and customized programs (Hartley et al. 2008). These reform programs generally see schools as industrial, Fordist systems ("legacy systems," focused on the offer and not on the demand) that are presumably outdated; in this view, the old institutions of schooling, including universities, will be replaced with technologically rich, user-friendly and economically accessible environments.

There is a certain irony in the fact that digital media vow to end centralized, one-size-fits-all models of education, and yet they have become, in several countries, the nucleus of centralized state programs to promote digital inclusion and transform schools. They have entered a complex set of relations and regulations that, for example, consider the level of schools as that of implementation and that include and rely on traditional agents such as school inspectors and principals; they also operate through the spread of discursive rules about what constitutes good practice in ways that are similar to older reform programs.

I would like to propose a different take on this irony, one that problematizes the opposition between digital media and schooling and instead looks at how they become connected in the reform network that is taking place in these technology-driven reform programs. My approach is grounded on actor-network theory (Latour 2005; Law 2009), a historical and political sociology of educational reform (Popkewitz 1991, 2008) and an anthropological and materialist view of local practices (cf. Das and Poole 2004; Burrell 2012; Fenwick 2012). In this approach, reforms are not bounded strategies but movements or forces that have multiple trajectories of participation (Nespor 2002, p. 366). This means that, contrary to what the global jargon of educational technology says, the links between this particular reform, its enactment in schools, and the global or transnational trends toward digitalizing schools cannot be seen as a one-way, sweeping movement toward digital

[1] For a detailed analysis of classroom practices, I refer to Dussel (in press).

inclusion; on the contrary, these connections have to be studied and "flattened out" in a particular cartography that emerges out of a close study of how this reform is taking place (Latour 2005).

As said before, the analysis of local practices is not set to "capture of the exotic" (Das and Poole 2004, p. 4) or as another example of what is going on in the "Global South" but as an analysis of the specificities of a locality where, until recently, a politically radical agenda for education in schools prevailed (see McGuirk 2014 for a more general view of this process). This radical agenda is not a script in the background but is weaved in the actors and forces that are mobilized in the reform network. In this approach, "local practices" are nodal points in a network that are distinct in their scale and scope. The network might or might not include what is usually perceived as the global or the transnational: the global, in this case technological devices and expert knowledge produced by transnational corporations, becomes important in the network as far as it is brought up and mobilized by some actors.

My take on ANT theory follows John Law's assertion that it is less a coherent set of principles than a "diaspora that overlaps with other intellectual traditions" that share "a sensibility to the messy practices of relationality and materiality of the world" (Law 2009, p. 142). It can also be described as "an empirical version of poststructuralism," with a posthumanist stance on the social and a concern with "the strategic, relational, and productive character of the particular, smaller-scale, heterogeneous actor networks" (p. 145). Broadly speaking, ANT theory is concerned with the connections, the associations, the translations, and the transformations as forces move through space and time.

I find this framework particularly useful for studying educational reforms. School reforms and change are to be understood as "the ways school practices are made mobile, and what and how they connect as they move" (Nespor 2002, p. 368). This has at least two consequences. One is a singular concern with movement and spatiality; it is a framework that does not consider the social as a given or fixed entity but as a continuous becoming, open and unpredictable (Latour 2005). The second is that ANT method calls for a myopic or oligoptic (the opposite of a panoptic) view, a closer look at the how, the when, and the minutiae of the connections that make up social change; it bears a resemblance to what Foucault called the "gray, meticulous and patiently documentary" task of genealogy (2003, p. 351). Once the researcher has traced these connections and "its tracers" (all connections leave a trace, however faint or difficult to see), its modes, and its mediators, then she can move to a different scale but only if the connections show that movement. It is through tracing these actions that the researcher can decide whether a connection was effectively made to another set of practices that can then be called the global or the national level.

Thus, analyzing educational reforms from an ANT perspective does not imply separating the realm of design and practice but understanding the different registers that organize educational practices at different scales. It has close links to anthropology and to history, as these different registers are seen as "mixed formulas, eclectic solutions, imperfect arrangements" (Chartier 2004, p. 120). Reforms produce

effects that might be diffused and felt later on and which might be experienced in other layers of the school system than the ones expected (p. 121).

In the next sections, I would like to take this approach to produce a "flat cartography" (Latour 2005, p. 171ff.) of this educational reform in Argentina and analyze it as a network that mobilized specific artifacts, agents, and forces in order to massively introduce digital media in secondary schools. From an ANT perspective, the program *Conectar Igualdad* can be understood as an important policy vector (Strathern 2004) that disseminates technological artifacts and knowledge through different educational scales, such as national, district, school, and classroom networks (Nespor 2004). A policy vector is a connector that allows knowledge (understood as a set of practices) to travel across different scales or levels. This travel (referred to as "impact" by other theoretical positions) needs particular entanglements and conditions that connect expert knowledge and social opinion (Strathern 2004, pp. 28–29).

Thus, I think of *Conectar Igualdad* as a policy vector that mobilizes some discourses and priorities from the national level and even from the transnational sphere of technological corporations and edu-business rhetoric, in relation to teachers' practices. In my approach, the scale of the classroom is not to be considered as a separate layer—of graduated size—but as a certain arrangement of temporality and spatiality that is defined, among other characteristics, "by the way in which participants 'calibrate' school-based events to events elsewhere" (Nespor 2004, p. 312). The actions of connecting to and contextualizing within outer events are thus part of what defines a particular network such as the school and the classroom. That is why "[n]o description of teaching can be complete without a description of the spatial and temporal orders of the worlds to which it is calibrated by teachers and students" (Nespor 2004, p. 313). While I will not analyze classroom practices in particular in this text, I will point to the many actors (including artifacts and people) that are connected and hold together this reform network, from the transnational and national scale to that of the classroom. This is the trajectory that I would like to trace in the following pages.

Networks of Reform in a Technology-Intensive Program

I will proceed first with a discussion of policy documents and strategies that took place at the central level of the policy, which, as will be shown, was and is far from homogeneous and univocal. The Argentinean government launched *Conectar Igualdad* in 2010 as an extensive program to reduce the digital gap and transform public schooling.[2] It received wide media coverage and was heralded as one of the most ICT ambitious programs in the world, due to its scope and time frame. Focusing on secondary schools, it promised to deliver three million netbooks to every student and teacher in public institutions in a 3-year period (2010–2012), but

[2] See Dussel et al. (2013) for a more detailed discussion of the program.

by 2015 over five million had been distributed.[3] Also, connectivity and electric wiring and plug-ins had to be provided for over 13,000 schools throughout the country.

The presidential decree that created the program framed it as part of the recognition of education as a public good and of the personal and social right to a high-quality education. The language of reform was centered on citizenship and social rights and also on the state's responsibilities, and there was almost no presence of buzzwords like individualism, liberal freedom, and economic competitiveness that are so common elsewhere. Egalitarianism, democratic participation and entitlement, pedagogical innovation, and state-centered policies instead of market-driven strategies were some of the traits that characterized Argentinean social policies in the years that went from 2003 to 2015 and that made them an interesting laboratory for radical politics until very recently.[4]

Whereas other Latin American experiences, notably Uruguay and Peru, focused on primary schools (Pérez Burger et al. 2009; Cristiá et al. 2012), Argentina's ICT educational policy focused on secondary education, targeting all public schools nationwide (over 13,400 secondary schools). This reform strategy is also telling of a particular organization of educational problems and of its solutions. Secondary education was seen by the Argentinean government as the best option to have an impact both on social inclusion and education improvement and was therefore already an educational priority when *Conectar Igualdad* was launched. Consisting of between 5 and 6 years of schooling and including what in other countries is considered lower and upper secondary, secondary schooling was made compulsory only in 2006, after two decades of consistent growth since the end of the military dictatorship in 1983 (Ministerio de Educación 2009). Due to this new regulation but also as a result of a longer process of school expansion, secondary schools have seen a significant and relatively abrupt increase in their enrolment and have received new generations of students who come from urban, marginalized dwellings and who are the first in their families to attend postprimary education. This has put extra pressure in an institutional configuration that was already stressed by a strong rotation of teachers, high absenteeism both of teachers and students, and an academic regime (promotion and retention regulations, curricular organization) that is perceived not only as out of date but also as a hindrance to democratization.[5]

One interesting feature of *Conectar Igualdad* is that it included a loud-and-clear pedagogical call to make public schools stronger and more appealing for young people, renewing its pedagogies and bridging in-school and out-of-school cultures, particularly for the new comers who perceive secondary school as elitist and too academic. If ICT policies in education have generally embraced an anti-school

[3] http://www.conectarigualdad.gob.ar/

[4] I take the notion of 'laboratory for radical politics' from Justin McGuirk's analysis of recent urban policies in Latin American (McGuirk 2014).

[5] I have discussed elsewhere (Dussel 2015) these critiques to secondary schools in terms of their rigidity and their elitist traditions, which permeate both the prevalent pedagogies and the academic régimes that structure their daily lives.

program of reform (Selwyn 2011), Argentina's program was inclined to readjustment and reconstruction: the emphasis was put on making schools perform better in terms of their contribution to public knowledge and social democracy and to increase the engagement and participation of the "new comers" in school activities and knowledge, who were mostly received in the public institutions that were targeted by the reform program. The rhetoric of *Conectar Igualdad*, then, did not endorse an uncritical celebration of new technologies but calibrated them to political priorities of inclusion and participation. As the National Education Minister said in 2011:

> We don't believe that a technological artefact will produce a magic trick in schools or in the classroom […]. We are not overestimating the situation and saying, 'netbooks are here, and the next day Argentinean education changes'. Far from it! We make it clear every time we can. (Sileoni 2012, p. 74)

Conectar Igualdad was presented as another step in a long-term strategy of improving schools, particularly public schools, as significant learning environments within a context of abrupt changes (Ministerio de Educación 2011a). Netbooks were not seen as substitute teachers or books; access to knowledge and literacy practices was a goal that had to be updated but not abandoned. The official discourse of the program therefore was friendly to teachers and asked them to embrace this renewal:

> No [successful] policy can be done against the teachers, nor can it be done without the teachers. […] [Teachers'] positive predisposition is a key issue for the success of this policy, and it obliges the State and it challenges us [to be up to it]. (idem, p. 75)

This kind of rhetoric is different from what is prevalent in the UK and the USA, where ICT programs are brought predominantly by the business sector and are dominated by the goal of producing a competitive global workforce and a digitally literate global citizenship (Selwyn and Facer 2013). They also include the "promise" of a closer surveillance of students' work and activity and the production of data that can be used to increase the accountability of educational systems.[6] In that respect, the Argentinean program stands out as an example of how local forces mobilize global vectors and artifacts in particular ways and connect them to local strategies and fields. The program produced a problematization of secondary schooling that focused on its undemocratic, rigid structure and curriculum; digital media were included in a set of strategies and social relations that promoted inclusion of social groups and knowledge that had hitherto been excluded from secondary schools. The rhetoric was not one of delivering flexible or customized content in liberal terms, but one that focused on the expansion and renewal of curricular and cultural content and on developing a seductive strategy that would ensure that the new students successfully participate in and engage with school activities. It is noteworthy that the notion of "digital natives" was frequently mobilized to legitimize the introduction of the netbooks as devices that were more familiar to the new comers and that would make them more attentive and responsive to teachers' demands.

[6] See "No Child Left Untableted", New York Times Magazine, Sept. 9th 2013.

Mobilizing the Connectors: Transnational Business, Governmental Actors, and Expert Knowledge

The decision to implement a policy with the scale, costs, and dimensions of *Conectar Igualdad* affected many actors and agencies. First of all, the concurrent goals of producing and buying netbooks, establishing connectivity to the schools, providing teacher training for over 400,000 teachers and school principals, and producing educational software implied a massive mobilization of resources and people. To achieve these goals proved in itself an organizational and administrative challenge that was hard to meet, and the strategy was to involve several state agencies in the administration of the initiative, thus distributing tasks and responsibilities. One of the effects was that the program was run by multiple agencies with a complex arrangement of responsibilities and division of labor, i.e., a centralized agency, attached to the president's office, which distributed the netbooks and trained teachers, and the Ministry of Education departments that overlooked content and teacher education. This led to a duplication of responsibilities and a degree of rivalry between these agencies (a phenomenon not new to inter-sectorial policies; see Cunill Grau 2005).[7]

Among the many actors involved in the process, there were transnational corporations that were significant shadow players, somewhat obscured by the prominence of the state and also by the popular-national rhetoric of the administration. The hardware for the netbooks was developed by a pool of ten international companies, based in China and assembled in Argentina. The resulting netbook device was designed to run both on Windows and Linux and other free software programs and applications and included a wide range of educational software and multimedia tools for producing and recording sound and video. Reportedly, Microsoft granted full license of Windows Office at $3 per netbook. Also, Intel was a key partner in outsourcing the production and selecting software and content. As Lingard et al. say, "[i]n the world of network governance, government is understood to be located alongside business and civil society actors in a complex game of public policy formation, decision-making and implementation" (Koppenjan and Klijn 2004, quoted in Lingard et al. 2014 p. 29).

As a sort of side note, it is interesting to observe that the presence of private companies became increasingly uncomfortable in 2013, in the context of a political climate that called upon a nationalistic rhetoric (i.e., nationalization of the oil company, conflicts with hedge funds over foreign debt, resurgence of the Malvinas/Falklands claim). At that time, an open-source and free operating system was launched, Huayra Linux, that took the Quechuan name of wind (Huayra) to signal

[7] The most recent development of this rivalry is that, with the change of government in December 2015, the centralized agency attached to the President's Office has been terminated and the program has been transferred to another State agency, Educ.ar, which was created before the Kirchner administration. The fate of the program is uncertain; over 1000 contracts with trainers and technicians have been terminated (see "El plan Conectar Igualdad sigue", March 4, 2016).

that there were "winds of change" that would promote technological sovereignty and national independence from transnational corporations.[8] Yet, this was the first step in 3 years taken toward open-source politics, an issue that had remained surprisingly silent at the launching of the program (see Venturini in progress). It is helpful to keep in mind that, as Jan Nespor says, "reforms are contingent effects of struggles and negotiations in which groups try to define themselves and their interests by linking up with other relatively durable and extensive networks" (Nespor 2002, p. 366). In this case, internal allies from the government as well as nationalistic constituencies supported this move, but with the recent change of government and its alignment with pro-market policies, future developments on open and free software are uncertain.

In the netbooks themselves, there was a wide offer of software and content. There were over 5000 educational resources for teachers in the netbook's "desktop" space—mostly produced in previous years by the national educational portal, Educ.ar, and also provided by private publishing houses, again showing strong links with the private sector. One of the most successful programs was a free, open software for teaching math, Geogebra, developed by an Austrian university professor who later moved to the USA and back to Austria.[9]

Connectivity was among the top challenges of this program, considering that there had been many years of underinvestment in infrastructure and that a strong flow of resources was needed. The goal of the initiative was to install a "technological floor" (i.e., establishing adequate plug-ins and electric wiring) in each classroom, so that 20–30 netbooks could be connected simultaneously. However, this was extremely expensive and difficult to achieve, and the distribution of netbooks progressed more quickly than the wiring of schools. Despite this failure to get connected, teachers and students found creative ways of dealing with the lack of connectivity, working offline in classrooms and online at home or at Internet cafés. As one teacher reported in an interview in 2012, a side effect of this situation was that students developed considerable knowledge on which networks were open or on how to get access to or hack the closed ones (see Dussel 2014).

Another relevant connector of this reform network was technical support and maintenance of the equipment. Related to repairing and maintenance, in recent research on classrooms, this appears as a weak link: in some classrooms, there are

[8] http://huayra.conectarigualdad.gob.ar/huayra

[9] Geogebra is a interesting case in itself of knowledge travels and mobilization (Fenwick 2012). In 2015, its main leading designer is a secondary math teacher Michael Borcherds, and the Geogebra community has 120 non-profits partners around the world. From Wikipedia: "The GeoGebra Institutes (IGI) are more than 120 (in 2013 March) non-profit organizations around the world. GeoGebra Institutes join teachers, students, software developers and researchers to support, develop, translate and organise the Geogebra related tasks and projects. Local GeoGebra Institutes are groups at schools and universities who support students and teachers in their region. As part of the International GeoGebra Institute network they share free educational materials, organize workshops, and work on projects related to GeoGebra. GeoGebra Institute may certify local GeoGebra users, experts, and trainers according Guidelines."

only three or four netbooks that work, and most of the devices are broken or blocked (Haedo 2015). On the other hand, the policy underestimated the relevance of the human actors that were needed to make the program work at the school level, particularly with teachers. From its inception, *Conectar Igualdad* proposed the creation of a new staff member in schools who would be in charge of equipment and connectivity. This agent was called "Technological Referent at the School" (Referentes Tecnológicos por Escuela, RTE) and was supposed to help teachers with technical problems. However, these profiles proved difficult to fulfill—there was a shortage of technical graduates and, in a time of low unemployment rates, educational salaries were not competitive. Thus, several school districts had to divide the RTEs between several schools at once, and this made them unavailable for everyday troubleshooting. It can be said that the weakness or absence of relays to make travel and connections possible was a significant feature of this reform network, and it is telling of the difficulties it faced to be held together.[10]

Pedagogy and pedagogical content was also an important connector in this network. Given the program's strong pedagogical appeal to transform schools and renew their curriculum and cultural content, teacher training and curriculum policies were privileged strategies. However, these strategies require different time frames than the distribution of devices or the allocation of new staff members: as a Spanish educational historian has said, educational systems move at a slower pace than the anxiety of reformers (Viñao Frago 2002). But teacher training was also slowed down because of the several agencies that were running the programs, and sometimes even competing among them: during 2011, there were as many as five public agencies offering similar training programs in any given district.[11] The centralized program *Conectar Igualdad* promoted regional and national meetings with school principals and inspectors to discuss strategies and steps in the adoption of the new technology. These meetings were supplemented with online courses for teachers and curriculum materials that gave criteria and examples of teaching units. According to different reports, a large amount of teachers received some kind of

[10] Latour provides a telling example of the many connectors and mediators that are needed to produce schools and classrooms as such: "Fathom for one minute all that allows you to interact with your students without being interfered too much by the noise from the street or the crowds outside in the corridor waiting to be let in for another class. If you doubt that transporting power of all those humble mediators in making this a local place, open the doors and the windows and see if you can still teach anything. If you hesitate about this point, try to give your lecture in the middle of some art show with screaming kids and loud speakers spewing out techno music. The result is inescapable: if you are not thoroughly 'framed' by other agencies brought silently on the scene, neither you nor your students can even concentrate for a minute on what is being 'locally' achieved." (Latour 2005, p. 195, his emphasis). In my analysis of *Conectar*, I try to visibilize the agencies and artifacts that silently operate to produce the reform network: plugs, computers, cables, software, platforms, booklets, walls, desks, teacher trainers, teachers, among many others.

[11] These agencies were: National Ministry of Education, Educ.ar, ANSES/Conectar Igualdad, Provincial Ministry of Education, and the Organization of Iberoamerican States (OEI), an intergovernmental agency that has had prominence in this area, training over 60,000 teachers since 2010.

training, although this training includes self-assisted courses (i.e., prepackaged activities) as well as tutored ones.[12]

Overall, the teacher training documents and materials produced by the program promoted the centrality of teachers in educational change, but they provided only general advice, with a strong appeal to teachers' initiative and creativity—a common tenet of Argentinean teacher educational policies in general (see Indarramendi 2015). For instance, the *guidelines for classroom strategies* published by the Ministry (and that were assumed to act as a manual for school principals and teachers for the implementation of the program) proposed as a set of general principles:

> The teacher generates change and gradually incorporates the use of equipment according to her or his goals, training and classroom reality.
>
> The teacher will make a progressive use of equipment when s/he feels more familiar with technology, and will increasingly use it in its classroom practices. (Ministerio de Educación 2011b, p. 13)

The documents took great care to stress that there would be an array of levels of involvement and were careful to include novice and less-trained teachers. Yet the final point of arrival of the training seemed to be defined as an experienced teacher who could move competently across platforms and use different languages; there were scarce references to what can be called "curricular content" (language, history, mathematics) or to curriculum and cultural renewal. Instead, the emphasis was placed on learning how to use these resources and keep students' attention and motivation, in line with what was referred before as the challenges of getting "new" students to engage and participate in school activities. "Social inclusion" seems to have acted as a significant belt through which what happened in classrooms was to be calibrated to outer events, particularly with the emphasis and strategies of educational policies.

In this arrangement, digital media appeared as a resource to make content more appealing to new comers. The guidelines conveyed a somewhat simplistic trust in the affordances of digital technology and made no reference to potential conflicts between new media use and traditional classroom practices. For example, they stated that in order to make the most of the presence of digital technologies in the classroom, teachers could either use digital content (i.e., use the Internet as a set of educational resources), social media, multimedia materials, blogs, or projects or collaborative assignments (Ministerio de Educación 2011b, p. 19). These options were unproblematized and envisioned only positive outcomes.

In relation to social media, and in contrast to the heated debates that are taking place around the world over the difficulties of accommodating social networks in classroom settings (Levinson 2010), the program's guidelines were presented as clear-cut and neutral options:

[12] According to the evaluation report done by 11 national universities for the National Ministry of Education, 472,242 people) including principals, inspectors, teachers, families and students) attended training courses during 2010 and 2011 (Ministerio de Educación 2011b). Ros et al. (2014) also give similar numbers about the large extent of teachers who received training for the Program. The total number of teachers in the country is around 850,000.

> [Teachers should] use informational platforms to create the networks: instant messaging systems (Twitter), shared documents (Google Docs, YouTube, Delicious), social networks systems (Facebook, MySpace). With digital networks it is possible to replace and improve old communication systems, such as phone chains or bulletin boards. Mounting a networked system of efficient and up-to-date institutional communication helps to generate a sense of community in the group. (Ministerio de Educación 2011b, p. 22)

Interestingly, transnational businesses enter the network not only through the devices but also through software and pedagogical content such as the one presented above. Internet companies and particularly social media—which are now "the king" of digital media—are claiming to be open spaces and neutral arenas of participation that make room for people's participation and creativity, fulfilling democratic as well as self-realization ideals. As José van Dijck claims (2013), the corporate ideology promoted by Zuckerberg and others is that everything must be social and that a "truly open and connected space" has to be built. In social media as Facebook and Twitter, the imperative of sharing and annotating all life experiences online so that people become more popular has on its grounds the push to make all data available to all parties.[13] The policy documents and curricular orientations enforce this corporate ideology and mobilize cultural production in the same direction. In a recent research funded by the government, a student said he valued the program because now "we can all have a netbook, we can all have Facebook" (Ministerio de Educación 2013, p. 12). Democratization implies becoming a client and consumer of social media, which now seem to define social and cultural participation (see Papacharissi 2010, for a deeper discussion of this). It is surprising that this went unchallenged in the midst of a radical political rhetoric that denounced imperialism and greedy capitalism.

Concluding Remarks

The trajectory I have tried to describe in this chapter sought to visibilize a "flat cartography" (Latour) of the reform network that was organized by a technology-intensive program in Argentina. *Conectar Igualdad*, launched in 2010 and whose future is uncertain under the recent change of government in December 2015, had the dual goals of digital inclusion and school change. Designed as a one-netbook-per-student program, it tried to bridge the digital gap through distributing devices to secondary school students (among whom a significant portion come from low income families) and to renew and expand curricular and cultural content so as to facilitate the engagement of these students with school activities.

Reforms can be understood as movements or forces that have multiple trajectories of participation and that have their own specificity or historicity. In my analysis of this reform program, this flat cartography provided a kind of mapping that did not

[13] "Apps, like people, are connectors that boost overall data traffic so all companies can benefit from the "massive value" generated by expanded connectivity." (van Dijck 2013, p. 58)

appeal to hidden forces but instead tried to look at the links and transformations inside a given set of practices that, as said before, were not bounded on a singular package. Also, I was interested in highlighting that this reform network in Argentina mobilized somewhat different knowledge, forces, and actors than what can be seen in other cases; for example, the policies and rhetoric of social inclusion and participation show concerns and problematizations that are generally absent in other countries. Yet other agents such as transnational technological corporations, instructional software, social media, and didactic and psychological language that is mobilized through peer networks were also present and produced forces that went in different directions than the ones implied in the radical political rhetoric of the Argentinean government.

I also pointed to the many actors (including artifacts such as hardware and software, plugs and cables, funding, edu-business, technological assistants, teacher trainers, state agencies, curriculum and training materials, among many others) that are connected in, and hold together, this reform network, from the transnational and national scale to that of the classroom. These actors do not "belong" to a single scale or level but move across them and calibrate their actions between different levels, as when teachers attend teacher training meetings on-site or online, read instructional materials or guidelines, and mobilize these ideas and languages in their classroom practices. As said in the introduction, these connections might not necessarily be tangible or corporeal: they can be abstract and produced through knowledge mobilization or through participation in social media.[14] Tracking these mediations enables research to make it visible that there are several processes of translation and adaptation in the reform network and that there is a complex interplay of scales, actors, and strategies that makes it hold together. Beyond the global talk of educational reform and of seemingly transnational devices and languages, then, there are precarious and contingent networks that are much more heterogeneous and unstable than what is presumed.

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[14] Obviously, in these connections there is also some contiguity and mediation through material objects (for example, online courses that are available through particular devices or materials, or expert language and categories that becomes available through materials or the voice and body of an expert). The "non-corporeal" does not mean immaterial.

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Part IV
Migration and Population Flows

Chapter 14
When the *Other* Arrives to the School

Fernando Hernández-Hernández and Juana M. Sancho-Gil

Abstract In the last 40 years, Spain became from a country of emigrants to a destination for immigrants. The 0.46% of immigrants of 1975 (165,000 of 36,012,682 people) went up to 12% (5,598,691 of 46,063,511) in 2009. The sudden demographic, economic, social, cultural, political and educational consequences of this move have been considerable. In this chapter, after offering an impressionist picture of this new scenario, we focus on the implications of this phenomenon in the educational system during two periods of the recent Spanish history, before and after the social and economic crisis. In these two periods, the arrival of immigrants was considered as *a problem* and maybe now could be an opportunity to rethinking schooling and develop a more comprehensive curriculum. Immigrants have arrived to school to remain, and that opens the possibility of promoting a more inclusive education for all in a more open and fair society.

> Parents left me their children, nervous and frightened. I was in charge of teaching them to read and write. In some cases, the alphabet was the same as ours, in other Cyrillic. Further afield were Arabic and Chinese and, out of orbit, a child who came without knowing to say a word, unable to read or write not even his tongue. (Francés Serés 2015: 43)

Spain: From a Country of Emigration to One of Immigration

Since the mid-1980s of the past century, Spain went from being a country of emigrants to one receiving a good number of immigrants. A movement of massive immigration from Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa (mostly from Morocco

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and some sub-Saharan countries) and Asia (China and Pakistan) arrived to Spain. There are several elements that can explain this shift, which made Spain, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the world's second country, after the United States, in receiving immigrants. According with Arjona and Checa (2009), this phenomenon was fuelled by (1) the return of the previously emigrated generations of Spaniards from abroad, particularly from Europe and Latin America, because they have retired and could enjoy their pensions in Spain, and the improving of living conditions in the family country, (2) the arrival of foreigners from other European countries and (3) the entrance of low-income countries inhabitants, especially from Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe, into a flourishing Spanish labour market. The key reasons for Spain becoming an attractive country to immigrations could be also explained by the positive improvement of the living standards derived from its integration in the European Community, in 1986, the development (and benefits derived) of a welfare state, the ageing population and low birth rate and the deficit of labour in growing sectors such as building, food industry, old people caring and agriculture.

Under these circumstances foreign population in Spain has considerably grown and transformed. It is not only the numbers that are changing but also the population's origins and distribution around the country (Arjona and Checa 2009). According to the Ministry of Labour and Immigration, on September 30, 2009, 4,710,757 foreigners were either registered or had valid residence permits. This accounts for around the 10% of the total population of Spain. However, if we also consider municipal census data, where to-be registered people do not require valid legal documents, these figures increase to 5,598,691.

Going into detail about these numbers, 38% of the immigrant population came from the European Union, of which Romania was the most prominent country with 728,580 people; 30% were from Latin America, of which Ecuador was the most relevant with 441,455, followed by Colombia with 288,255; and 20% were from Africa, with the most numerous group of this continent coming from Morocco, with 758,174 residents. Regarding destinations, 67% of immigrants were concentrated in four autonomous regions: Catalonia (21%), Madrid (20 %), Andalusia (13%) and Valencia (13%). The rest of the regions had lower percentages, with the highest one in the Canary Islands (6%), Murcia (5%) and the Balearic Islands (4%). So Spain went from 165,000 foreign residents in 1975 to over five million in 2009. This was a predominantly economic migration, characterized by being a low-skilled workforce resulting essential to maintain current levels of production and development (Alonso and Furio-Blasco 2007).

The arrival of this foreign population had also direct consequences on demographics. For example, this immigration leaded to a change in the composition of age and sex of the population, both in the configuration of the family (mixed marriages) and the birth rate. The Spanish people were older, with 29% over 54 years, compared to the 5% of non-European Union foreigners. However, these differences vanish in groups of people under 20 years. All of this leads to another differentiating aspect, the proportion of active population. Whereas 63% of Spaniards were of working age, in the case of non-European Union foreigners, the percentage was

77%. With regard to sex, the percentage of Spanish women was slightly higher than men (51% and 49%, respectively), while the proportion between the foreign men and women was higher, 54% versus 46% (Arjona and Checa 2009).

These immigration movements also affected to schools population. In 10 years, the number of foreign pupils in compulsory education increased rapidly from 43,481 in the school year 1996–1997 to 432,800 in 2006–2007 (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia 2007). In the case of Catalonia, which was, as mentioned above, the region where more immigrants have arrived, in the 2001–2008 period, witnessed one of the greatest population growth in its history (16.7%) as a consequence of immigration from abroad (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009). The number of immigrants in classrooms increased from 0.58% in 1999 to 12.5% in 2008.

Taking into account this situation, in this chapter we explore the political, social and educational consequences of this massive arriving of immigrants to Spain and, particularly, to Catalonia, as a case where some of the tensions and possibilities derived from this situation are visible. The main data sources used in this text are policy documents, articles and reports, particularly from the 1992 to 2008 period, when more political and educational initiatives took place and more studies were developed in response to the unexpected situation of the arrival of such number of immigrants. We have also conducted interviews with teachers and school advisers and have developed research on young immigrants' professional trajectories (Sancho-Gil et al. 2012) to take a vivid account of people's experiences regarding the arriving of this massive number of children and youth, with different cultural and educational backgrounds, to Spanish and Catalan schools. We try to signify what happens when an unexpected *other* arrives to stable institutions and how policymakers, academics and teachers respond, react and adapt their values, preconceptions and practices to a situation, which puts into question what should be taught and how learning takes place when dealing with people with different cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds.

Immigrants at School in a Context of Educational Tensions

To frame the situation of immigrants at schools, it is necessary to point out some key issues and characteristic of Spanish educational system. The first one is linked to the different kinds of schools shaping the system: public, private and *escuelas concertadas* (similar to charter schools – from now we will use the term 'sponsored schools', taking into account that the sponsor is the government), which are partly financed by the state and partly by their owners (in most cases the Catholic Church). This structure is the result of the political agreement that took place in the democratic transition period after Franco's dictatorship and was fixed by the Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación (LODE) – Organic Law Regulating the Right to Education (BOE 1985) – passed by the Socialist Government in 1985. According to the statistics, immigrant students were concentrated in public schools (80%); only the 20% were enrolled in private and *sponsored* schools):

> This has not only resulted in educational inequalities between Spanish public and private schools, because students from minority backgrounds perform at lower academic levels than their peers, but also led to the politicization of the question of segregation of immigrants. Second, in spite of the decrease of influence of the Church, Catholic religion is a compulsory course in both primary and secondary education, which means that it must be offered by educational establishments, but pupils now may take it on a voluntary basis. The arrival of immigrant alumni with beliefs other than Catholic has given rise to demands for education in other religions. (Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007: 4)

The second issue relates to the recognition of Spain, under the Spanish Constitution approved in 1978, as a country administratively organized in autonomous communities, with their own political institutions (government, parliament and, in some cases, even police) and wide administrative competences. In this context, the Spanish education system is regulated both by the central government and the autonomous communities. Decisions about the school curriculum were regulated by the *Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* (LOGSE) – Organic Act on the General Organisation of the Education System (BOE 1990). The contents of the core curricula cannot take up more than 55% of the school timetable of autonomous communities with an additional official language other than Spanish – like Catalonia, Basque country and Galicia – and not more than 65% for those that do not have another official language (Zapata-Barrero 2010). That means that autonomous communities can decide upon 45–35% of the core curriculum contents.

As an example:

> The Laws of Linguistic Normalization (1983) gave Catalan, Basque and Galician an official status in their respective territories and also provided regional authorities with control over the educational system and the possibility to develop bilingual education programs and distinctive curricula. In regions like Catalonia and Basque country the authorities consequently started a process of "normalization" of Catalan and Euskara [https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1990/10/04/pdfs/A28927-28942.pdf]. In both regions linguistic departments were established to enforce laws that put the national language on an equal status with Spanish, also in compulsory education. The social reality of multi-nationality thus explains some current demands from these Autonomous Communities and ways to manage bilingualism and now (due to immigration) multilingualism in schools. (Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007: 4–5)

Before immigration became a social reality in the 1990s, the cultural diversity factor was introduced by the gypsy minority, on the one hand, and the issue of the local language in Catalonia, Basque country and Galicia, on the other.

> While the gypsies highlighted the differences in academic performance between social groups, the issue of language was an explicit challenge in specific Autonomous Communities with a second official language. After a period of exclusion and segregation of gypsies within so-called "bridge" schools, they were incorporated into ordinary classrooms with the backing of *compensatory programs*. These initiatives were firstly directed at those "disfavoured by economic capacity, social level or place of residence" (Constitutional Law of 19 July 1980 regulating school statutes). While cultural diversity was not regarded as factor of inequality, "the program did […] include "cultural minorities" as specific area of action for orientation to the enrolment of the infant population, the regularization of attendance at class and the avoidance of early drop out" (Garreta 2006: 266). The development of these programs should be understood in the context of Spain adopting the notion of equality of

> opportunity much later and different than in other Western countries. (Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007: 6)

That law (LOGSE) was the first one to mention the need to fight ethnic-cultural (and sexual) discrimination. Following the proposals of the Council of Europe, introduced was the idea of intercultural education programs (Terrén 2001). This law established links between intercultural education and special educational needs, considering with especial needs those pupils that suffer physical, mental or sensory disabilities, serious behavioural disorders or are in unfavourable social or cultural situations. Culture was therefore understood as one of the variables that could lead to disadvantages and inequalities. The idea was setting out an educational system capable of addressing (*compensate*) for inequalities without parallel action, disregarding the difficulties and impossibilities of educational systems to *compensate* by themselves social inequalities (Bernstein 1970). This meant that all students in spite of their sociocultural background, ability levels or physical and mental conditions have the right to be educated in general classrooms (Garreta 2006). However, the implementation of this law at schools, without a robust and determined support, had/is having arduous practical implications (Padilla and Gómez 2007; Verdugo and Rodríguez 2012). As Zapata-Barrero and de Witte (2007) argued, intercultural education was aimed to adopt curricular and structural changes that celebrate the diversity of culture, gender, religion, etc. However, in spite of the attention for cultural diversity, in that 1990 law, the implementation of intercultural education was ambiguous and found multiple difficulties due, in part, to the lack of human and economic resources.

As mentioned above, the *compensatory programs* initiative were developed to *integrate* the gypsy minority in mainstream schools and were later applied to immigrants when they started to arrive to schools in the 1990s. The main aim of these programs was to solve the linguistic difficulties as well as to bridge cultural and ability gaps. As an example, the Autonomous Catalan Government (the *Generalitat*) developed the *Pla per a la Lengua*, *la Interculturalitat i la Cohesió Social* – Plan for Language, Interculturality and Social Cohesion (Generalitat de Catalunya 2004), in order to attend the immigrant population. This *plan* defined the aims and objectives, the areas of operation and the predicted resources. Results of this initiative were the *aules d'acollida* (reception classrooms), understood as places where students who are late in joining the education system learn basically the Catalan language. For the remaining time, they are integrated into the ordinary classroom, following a transition curriculum program starting with those subjects considered as *non-academic* (physical education, music, art, workshops), to later go on to the one requiring a more complex linguistic input (social and natural sciences, mathematics and so on) (Arnau 2010–2011). As a signal of the extension of this compensatory action, in Catalonia, during the academic year 2008–2009, there were a total of 24,505 pupils attending 2236 *aules d'acollida* (Departament d'Educació 2008) in compulsory schooling. The pupils (with or without residence permit) joined the schools at any moment of the academic year, which created serious planning and practical problems in educational terms (Arnau 2010–2011).

Some unions and teachers considered this initiative as discriminatory, because it stigmatizes newcomers by labelling them as *lacking*, especially of the Catalan language. A primary school teacher who acted in one of these *aules d'acollida* told us about the pressure she received to put more emphasis on learning the standard language than on creating favourable inclusive relations. The same teacher told us about the opportunity of transforming the schools into places of *acollida* (welcoming places) not reducing it to a classroom, taking advantage of the potential offered by immigrants to think about a more inclusive school. This program was part of the discourse, which considers the arrival of immigrants as a 'problem' (the problem of immigration) and not as an opportunity for a more inclusive fair schooling. We will develop this idea in the next paragraphs.

In these two compensatory programs, cultural diversity was dealt with from a *deficit approach*. It is thus a form of positive discrimination, including special treatment for special students and performed by specific teachers. While compensatory programs were aimed at marginalized groups in general (the ethnic groups among them), the mentioned *aules d'acollida* were specifically directed at immigrants and consisted of separate classrooms for immigrants to learn the language and forms of behaviour in school. These insertion spaces should be understood, in the context of a political orientation directed at what Spanish and Catalan policymakers called *normalización* (normalization), as a way of incorporating immigrants within the mainstream of society, avoiding direct or indirect segregationist effects. It was also common for secondary school students to be placed in a classroom a year below their actual age, in order for them to learn the language and to cope with standard schoolwork. Some schools also have a specialist teacher, the so-called cultural mediator, that helped immigrant children and their parents with the social integration in the education system, by solving conflicts related to language difficulties or cultural differences. According to the Centre for Educational Research and Documentation (CIDE 2005), some autonomous communities also adopted special education programs, including the modification of the organization of schools and curricula adaptation, which were in line with the idea of the so-called intercultural education.

Zapata-Barbero and de Witte (2007) mentioned a conversation with the subdirector of Language and Social Cohesion (LSC) of the Catalan Government, who explained that the policy to manage cultural diversity developed by the Catalan Department of Education could be understood through the metaphor of a highway. The reception classes (*aules d'acollida*) were the first step of immigrant pupils towards the highway, while the Catalan language was the vehicle. The second step occurred in the schools as institutions, where an 'intercultural approach' needed to be implemented and it should affect all students and teachers. The third step was to be found in the adaptation of the school environment to the cultural diversity and the intercultural approach, which should result in local educational plans. The point of departure was to guarantee equality for all and respect for diversity. The representative of the Interculturality and Social Cohesion Service (ISCS) described this as the following: 'We were mono-cultural and now we have to recognize that we have to exist together with different cultures' (Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007: 58).

Discourses as Narrative to Fix Social Imaginaries on Immigrants at Schools

These actions illustrate two regulatory discourses. Compensatory education programs took place, segregated from the standard curriculum and were performed by specialized teachers, in order to *compensate* students' differences in language, culture and ability levels. The notion of *lacking* was fundamental in this approach, even when many of young immigrants were multilingual when they arrive to Spain or Catalonia (Sancho-Gil et al. 2012). Intercultural education, on the other hand, was aimed at producing tolerance and solidarity necessary for educational equity and social justice for all students. Therefore, it should not be identified with education for immigrant students but for all pupils to coexist and cooperate within a multicultural society (Muñoz 1997).

According to Etxeberria (2002), the historical evolution of the discourse on multiculturalism in Spain – and, we add, in Catalonia – can be summarized by a movement from assimilation to compensation, to multicultural and to intercultural education. While the latter two are often used as interchangeable, intercultural education is different from multicultural education, because it does not focus on cultures as separate groups but aims at communication and dialogue and responds to the terminology of the Council of Europe (Etxeberria 2002). It thereby goes beyond the liberal-assimilationist world view, by demanding both a real change in curriculum contents and strategies and changes in the level of cultural competence (Aguado and Malik 2001). Carbonell (2005), on the other hand, argues that intercultural education should be based on two fundamental pillars: education to foster equality and education to promote the respect for diversity. In so doing, it should include compensatory education within an intercultural approach.

In this regard, one of the problems in Spain was that politicians and policymakers seemed not ready to foresee the increasing immigration movement and its implications for education. In 1982, one of us did her master's thesis at the London Institute of Education on 'Issues on Bilingualism in Urban Catalonia' (Sancho-Gil 1982). During the research process, she was called by the head of the *Servei d'Ensenyament del Català* (SEDEC) (Catalan Teaching Service), as he knew about her research topic. Thinking of her experience in multicultural, multilingual and multi-ethnic schools in England, she asked him what will happen when a greater number of immigrants began arriving at Catalonia. His answer was clear and forceful: 'This never will happen here'. However, 13 years later, in the scholastic year 1995–1996, 12.6% of the pupils attending the infant, primary and secondary schools were foreigners (Carbonell 1998).

Some years later, the impressive arrival of immigrants to a country such as Catalonia – where the *immersion* into the Catalan Language and Culture was considered a priority by the nationalist coalition party *Convergència i Unió* (Convergence and Union), who was running the Catalan Autonomous Government since 1980 – generated a series of tensions reflecting not only the imaginaries about the *other* but also the adopted education policies to cope with this unexpected phenomenon. The

Interdepartmental Immigration Plan – *Pla interdepartamental d'immigració* (Generalitat de Catalunya 1994: 44) – stated:

> […] The perspective of cultural integration is seeking to build, in a dynamic and living manner, a country able to consolidate some shared identity characteristics: language, knowledge of the own reality and history, freedom, equality and justice values, all that respecting and integrating in a group of people and cultures, the set of values and assets of all people living in the same country, from those who were born here to those who came from outside.

This approach to cultural integration is defined by Carbonell (1998) as acculturation, which, according with the anthropologist Teresa San Román (1992: 187), means that:

> […] integration and acculturation are related but different approaches and the school has an acculturated role that is only meaningful if there are, moreover, elements of social acceptance and participation of the minority, positive aspects of integration.

One of the consequences of this praxis of integration is the obligation of the foreigner to adapt (to the values of the 'owners' of the new country), but this adaptation necessarily 'involves submission' (Carbonell 1998: 208). The imaginary represented in this ideology transmitted in schools was that 'the majority group is something compact and unitary, and whether the society is "disintegrated" is precisely due to the presence of minority groups, this is the main reason on why "they must integrate" to ensure that this compactness fosters common good and social peace' (Idem: 210). However, in Catalonia (and Spain), we know (and experience everyday) that the majority group is not homogeneous culturally, socially or economically. Only when 'the majority group is willing to accept minority groups as counterparts, which means being eager to share both the exclusive privileges it enjoys, and the poverty of others, ultimately to share power and making possible genuine equal opportunities between human beings living in a given society', a true integration will be possible (Carbonell 1998: 208).

In 2006, the *Fundació Bofill* published the first report on the situation of Catalan education (Ferrer and Albaigés 2007). In that study, the authors said that Catalonia had a less equitable distribution of immigrant students among public and *sponsored* schools than in the rest of Spain. According to this report, in Catalonia, public schools cater for 84% of immigrant student. This percentage is more than the triple they should have if the distribution was made equitably with *sponsored* schools, also financed by public funds.

The concentration of eight out of ten students in public schools in Catalonia, according to the authors of the study, produces a clear duality in the education system (public versus *sponsored* schools), encourages the *ghettoization* of some schools and favours students' social exclusion. According to the report, the unbalanced distribution of students represents a social polarization with respect to the families' origin regarding the access to public or *sponsored* schools (let alone the totally private schools, even if somehow they also get public funds).

This study also highlighted the fact that 31% of 17-year-old foreigners were neither studying nor working. The authors of the report warned that this situation *encysted* the educational processes and proposed reducing the students' ratio in

schools with greater number of immigrants to ensure a higher quality of education. The data are conclusive, private and sponsored schools graduate the 82.7% of secondary compulsory education students, against the 64.9% in the public schools. At the same time, the arrival of immigrants has significantly increased the demand for public schools in kindergarten and primary levels.

From a comparative perspective, immigration had a greater impact in Catalonian educational system, by being one of the Spanish regions and European countries with greater rates of migratory growth and percentage of foreign students in compulsory education. The comparison also demonstrated that immigration increases the complexity of the educational system and consequently also affects its effectiveness (Albaigés and Ferrer-Esteban 2013).

This could be the picture, in general terms, about how the arrival of immigrants affected the school system over the decade of 1998–2008 and the policies and discourses developed to cope with this situation. During this time governments, policymakers, researchers and schools faced the challenge of receiving and incorporating the other, not only in the society and the labour market but also in the education system. In this process, sometimes, there has been more rhetoric than affective actions. More initiatives that promoted superficial changes (knowing the other through festivals where food and customs are shared) that by incorporating the diversity of views that the others bring to school into the curriculum. There has been more willingness to foster integration through acculturation than celebration of diversity. More multiculturalism (being together but separate) than interculturalism (being part of a common social project) has been promoted. Immigrants have been mostly placed in public schools, sometimes creating ghettos, rather than distributing them, as required by law, also in *sponsored* schools. The immigrants' arrival has been interpreted as a culture and religion issue and not as a social class matter. Nevertheless, after assuming the surprise that supposed to meet to an unexpected other, there has been commitment and multiple initiatives, mostly from schools and civil society to establish effective bridges with the other. It happened during a time when there was budget to take and develop those programs, when Spain behaved like a country rich and affluent, where it was easy to find work and progress. But suddenly the situation changed. This brings us to the present.

And the Crisis of the Economy (and Social Values) Arrived

> Since 2007 the world economy has undergone a phase of marked instability. This has been characterised by successive shocks, feedback effects between the financial and productive sectors, a rapid deterioration in many countries' fiscal position, the difficulties of many of them in creating jobs once more and, lastly, the worsening euro area sovereign debt crisis. Such factors are all undoubtedly making the pace of exit from the recession slower than initially expected and are heightening uncertainty considerably, especially in Europe.
>
> The Spanish economy has been much affected by these developments, as the imbalances accumulated in the boom period made it particularly vulnerable to changes in macroeconomic and financial conditions, and in expectations about the continuity of the upturn.

> The international financial crisis precipitated the correction of the real estate and private-sector debt excesses marking the high-growth phase which preceded the recession. The deterioration of the macroeconomic scenario and, most particularly, in employment bore most adversely on public finances and on the position of financial institutions whose balance sheets showed greater exposure to real estate risk. Spain went into recession in 2008 and remained there until 2010, when a modest recovery ensued that came unstuck in the second half of 2011, as the sovereign debt crisis heightened and spread to an increasingly large number of countries. (Ortega and Peñalosa 2012: 7)

Under this crisis, Spain (as other countries in Europe) suffered the effects of the interventions of the so-called Troika (the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank and the European Commission) in their economies and citizens' lives, having special incidence on the cuts in education and welfare benefits. OECD data relating to the year 2008 indicate that education spending in Spain was 4.6% of GDP, compared with 5.4% on average among all OECD member countries. Now things are even worse, and the stability plan sent to Brussels by the Spanish government, run by the Popular Party's, expects investment in education falling to 3.9% of GDP in 2015 (Navas 2012). In the case of Catalonia, according to the government budget, since 2010, the Department of Education has lost 1076 million Euros (20.6%), while in global, the accounts of the *Generalitat* have fallen by 15.4% (4100 million). Bonal and Verger (2013) criticize that this considerable budget reduction has affected mainly to public education, while barely touched *sponsored* schools, which have increased their weight in public spending on education from 18.5% to 18.7 % in that period. This has resulted in the collapse of investment per student, 27% in the last 4 years in Catalonia. In the same direction, but related to teachers' working conditions, while students in the Catalan educational system grew by 6.3% between 2010 and 2012, the teaching staff has been reduced in the same period by 5.5%.

While the cuts are affecting education in particular and public investment in general, a consequence of these restrictive policies is the increase of unemployment. According to the reports by the National Statistics Institute (INE, available at http://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/en/categoria.htm?c=Estadistica_P&cid=1254735976595), the figures of unemployment move from 13.79% in 2008, at the beginning of the crisis, to 25.77% (more than 5,000,000) in 2012, at the pick of the implementation of the restrictive policies.

The Spanish census of 2015 shows how Spain lost population for the third consecutive year due largely to the fall in the number of foreigners. The latest data by the National Statistics Institute (INE) show that in January 1, 2015, Spain had a population of 46,600,949 people, 170,392 less than in January 2014 (−0.4%). Altogether the number of foreigners has decreased in 1,032,983 people since 2011 (Prats 2015). In Catalonia, in January 1, 2014, according to the Statistical Institute of Catalonia (Idescat), they were 1.09 million the number of residents of foreign nationality. This figure represented 14.5% of the total population of Catalonia, a percentage significantly above the 10.7% of foreign residents on the total of the Spanish population. Compared to January 1, 2013, this means a reduction of 69,258 people, representing a decrease of 5.98% in the number of foreigners, and 0.85 % in

the proportion of foreigners on total the Catalan population. This decline has affected most to residents of Latin American origin, as it is clear from *Idescat* data that recorded a decrease of 36,002 foreign residents from this geographical area, representing more than half of the total decline in the number of foreigners (data available at http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?b=0&res=a&nac=a&lang=es).

To this situation, we need to add the exodus of Spaniards who left the country to look for better job's opportunities. Although in the past 2 years the government talks of economic growth, in the first half of the 2015, 50,844 Spaniards set sail abroad, 30% more than in 2014, according to data by the National Statistics Institute (data available at http://www.ine.es/prensa/np962.pdf). The number of Spaniards who has packed in reverse and returned the country is far from matching those that are abroad. In the first 6 months of this year, 23,078 returned to Spain, less than half of those looking for opportunities outside. In fact, the number of Spaniards who go out of the country maintains an unstoppable upward trend. An example of this is that the number of those who have gone in the first 6 months exceeded the full year 2010, in the first stages of the economic crisis, when 40,157 Spaniards decided to establish their residence outside Spain (Sánchez 2015).

This situation also affected to the decline of the number of immigrant children at schools. According to Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte (2015), between 2011 and 2015, 69,138 children left Spain. In the case of Catalonia, evolutionary data show that children and youth who joined the universal provision in the education system began to decrease from the academic year 2012–2013. While at 3 years old, the number of children decreased for the first time during that course, in first years of compulsory and post-compulsory education, the numbers are still increasing. To cater for this growing demand, the supply of places in secondary schools, predictably, will grow more than 25% to meet the educational needs of future students who are in kindergarten age.

One of consequences of the social and economic crisis has been the displacement of 'the problem of immigration' from the first page of the agenda of politicians, policymakers, schools and researchers to a secondary or marginal place. However, 712,098 of newcomers go every day to the Spanish schools. They with their families represent more than the 10% of the Spanish population (4,718,864). The lives of the majority of the public schools in regions, such as La Rioja, Aragón, Catalonia, Murcia, Madrid, Melilla and Valencia, are full of voices that speak other tunes and children and youth who look at the world through different lenses (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte 2015).

Despite the shift of interest, this situation still constitutes being a challenge, not only for teachers who attend that diversity but also for the supervision and monitoring of the education system. According to the report coordinated by Martínez and Albaigés (2013), two difficulties are generally associated with different groups of immigrant students: a lower socio-economic status than the average of native population and several obstacles linked to social and institutional processes of adaptation to the host society, such as language, religion, cultural references, previous educational experiences and academic discontinuity.

The cases of Spain and Catalonia could be located among those countries that have made, in the period of the explosion of immigrants' arrival, significant progress in political and legal mechanisms for giving attention to student diversity and special needs. However, funding deficits, since 2010, have significantly limited an adequate response of the system to meet real social and educational needs.

Immigrants came to Spain attracted by a flourishing economy in the early 1990s. Some of them have returned to their countries. But the world remains unstable and uncertain. Despite the difficulties, evictions from their homes, the worsening employment situation in Spain, there are some conditions for hope. Immigrants, by the fact of living in Spain, have the right to education, health services and social support. Although the crisis has marginalized especially those with less education, and underemployment and inequality are affecting more to higher layers of the population, expressions of solidarity and demand for more social justice are still in the air.

When we are writing this chapter, we observe in Catalonia a state of effervescence in schools for an education that embraces all students and anables everyone to find their place for learning. Perhaps immigration, after years of efforts, difficulties and cuts, is helping to think another school, more participatory, democratic and inclusive.

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Chapter 15
A Manifestación to Disinvent Mundus' Authoritarian Regimes and the Categorical Imperative of Hospitality

Ligia (Licho) López López

Abstract This chapter engages with the regimes that assemble the European Union's flagship education and training program *Erasmus Mundus.* The analysis focuses on "Europe," "dialogue and understanding," and "third" as regimes of global educational policies and technologies of transnational governance. The chapter is a *manifestación*, a critical expression (not a critique) against these regimes. Erasmus Mundus is an educational program that aims to promote dialogue, understanding, and cooperation with "third countries." The analysis zooms into a specific master's program to see how the authority of the regimes is implicated in delimiting how it is possible to act in and upon the world through disciplining inquiry. Central to Erasmus Mundus is *mobility* (as a desirable construct) of the Erasmus Mundus student. At a crucial time on matters of *migration* (of the undesirables) in Europe, the chapter draws connections to the perversion and perversibility of the hospitality predicated on the positive aspirations of horizontal policies written in programs such as Erasmus Mundus. The larger aspiration of the chapter is to raise questions that are suggestive cues for generating ideas that should refuse to receive and dare invent educational dynamics that disinvent educational regimes such as the ones addressed in the chapter.

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Theatrum Orbis Terrarum
Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), cartographer
Franz Hogenberg (1535-1590),
Philips Galle (1537-1612), or
Marteen de Vos (1532-1603)
Attributed artists
Antwerp: Coppenium Diesth, 1570
Atlas with engraved frontpiece and maps
Wisconsin Historical Society Library Archives

Art historian Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez describes the frontispiece of what is considered to be the first "modern Atlas" "A Christian Europe dominates the world, a richly adorned Asia carries a censer, and Africa, a black woman holding balsam, is crowned with the flames of the African sun. America, in the lower level, is a savage and cannibal native" (taken from the exhibit *Marginalia in cARTography* (Chazen Museum 2014) curated by Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez). Other representations with a similar order can be seen in multiple atlases. See, for example, the frontispiece, Carlos Linnaeus, *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1737) whose "allegorical engraving shows Europe being brought "the most plants, fruits, flowers/ that ASIA, AFRICA and AMERICA can boast" (Daston and Galison 2010). Coming out of the archival closet, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum is a provocation to the field of education. What did and does this Renaissance image want as it meets "us" in the present (Didi-Huberman 2006; Mitchell 2006)? As the image comes out, and gesturing to the times in which it was produced, can this image focus "our" attention to "the order of things" in current educational configurations? Images such as this participated in producing particular ways of seeing and acting in and upon the world that are recognizable today (I am aware of the limits of language at this point in centering the eye and vision at the expense of excluding epistemologies beyond the ocular.). Or are they? Is this image and its configuration too distant to count? Has the configuration of the location of these images (of Europe, Africa, Asia, and America) in the frame shifted in how social relationships are fabricated and performed through education in the present?

This chapter follows the cue of this provocation to address the book's (Critical Analyses of Educational Reform in an Era of Transnational Governance) invitation to engage and challenge global educational policies and technologies of transnational governance. An example of these is the European Union's flagship education and training program Erasmus Mundus. While not exactly a policy or mechanical technology (which is debatable), Erasmus Mundus is ruled by, promotes, and enacts particular regimes that produce and are produced by ways of seeing and acting in and upon the world. Drawing from Erasmus Mundus' language, these regimes are, namely, "Europe," "dialogue and understanding," and "third." From the outset I would like to establish that the focus of the inquiry in this chapter, while informed by Erasmus Mundus, is not just about Erasmus Mundus but rather about the regimes

of its assemblage. While Erasmus Mundus and other similar programs may be transformed, experience changes in outlook, or fade, the principles from which they emerged remain in operation.

The analysis in the paper is a *manifestación* against the authoritarian regimes that are "Europe," "dialogue and understanding," and "third." Instead of putting forth an argument, *manifestación* is an expression of objection or the enactment of what Jacques Rancière (2010) calls dissensus in order to make a curricular impression. As an expression of disagreement, *manifestación* is a critical expression (not a critique) whose desire is to produce a chain reaction that explodes with ideas (Barad 2012), "generating more ideas than we ever received" (Latour 2004, p. 248), ideas we have not yet thought.

The first section of this chapter turns our attention to some of the specific principles that fund Erasmus Mundus as an educational program promoting dialogue, understanding, and cooperation with "third countries." Sections two and three zoom in on a specific master's program (MA in Migration and Intercultural Relations (MIR)); all names have been changed to protect anonymity) and two modules within it in order to amplify how Erasmus Mundus' principles are channeled and enacted in curricular content and assessment. Here we begin to see how the authority of the regimes is implicated in delimiting how it is possible to act in and upon the world through disciplining inquiry. In these sections, I draw from my direct experience as a former Erasmus Mundus graduate student in this program. Section four is the staging of the *manifestación* against the authoritarian regimes. The task of this section is to raise questions that are suggestive cues for generating ideas that should refuse to receive and thus dare invent educational dynamics that disinvent the order in the frontispiece. The chapter concludes with a section on the perversion and perversibility of the hospitality predicated on the positive aspirations of horizontal policies written in programs such as Erasmus Mundus. These aspirations include gestures to disrupt xenophobia and discrimination. The analytics in the section connect the *mobility* (as a desirable construct) of the Erasmus Mundus student to the *migration* (of the undesirables) of, for example, Syrian children and youth who turn up at the doors of educational institutions in "Europe."

Erasmus Mundus

Image taken from the back cover of the 2012 publication
entitled:
ERASMUS
CHANGING LIVES
OPENING MINDS
FOR 25 YEARS
European Union
Luxembourg: Publications Office of the
European Union, 2012

European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) (Beukel 2001) was one of the most important programs during a critical moment in the emergence of the educational *Europeanization* process (1986–1989) (Beukel 2001). ERASMUS is named after the fifteenth-century humanist Desiderius Erasmus Rotterdamus (see http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus_mundus/tools/faq_general_ questions_en.php). The program was founded in 1987. In the words of the former European Commissioner for Education, Culture,

Multilingualism, Youth and Sport, Androulla Vassiliou, "the Erasmus programme is the biggest and *most successful student exchange scheme in the world* … Erasmus has changed the lives of almost three million young people and *opened the minds* of the first genuinely European generation [emphasis added]" ("Erasmus: Changing lives opening minds for 25 years," 2011, p. 3). Currently the program is called "Education, Culture, Youth and Sport." Multilingualism has been subtracted from the title. In the present, Erasmus and other programs are contained within the 2014–2020 Erasmus+ (http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus-plus_en). Five of these programs, including *Erasmus Mundus*, are meant to promote *international cooperation*. Erasmus Mundus aims "to enhance the quality of European higher education and to promote dialogue and understanding between people and cultures through cooperation with *Third-Countries*" [emphasis added] ("Erasmus Mundus 2009–2013 Programme Decision (No 1298/2008/EC)," 2008, p. 83). Between 2009 and 2013 Erasmus Mundus was implemented through the following three actions:

- Action 1: Erasmus Mundus joint programs of outstanding quality at masters (Action 1 A) and doctoral (Action 1 B) levels including scholarships/fellowships to participate in these programs
- Action 2: Erasmus Mundus Partnerships between European and Third Country (in Erasmus Mundus publications, this also appears as Third-Country, third-Country, third country, and third-country) higher education institutions including scholarships and fellowships for mobility at all academic levels
- Action 3: Promotion of European higher education through projects to enhance the attractiveness of Europe as an educational destination and a center of excellence at world level (http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus_mundus/programme/about_erasmus_mundus_en.php#actions)

For 2009–2013, the program had a budget of € 950,000,000, almost half of which was allocated to action 2, thus privileging the promotion of European and third-country partnerships including scholarships and fellowships ("Erasmus Mundus 2009–2013: Program Guide" 2010). The amount of scholarships as stipulated by the Erasmus Mundus 2009–2013 program decision (No 1298/2008/EC) "shall be higher for third-country masters students and doctoral candidates […] than for European masters students and doctoral candidates" (p. 94) in order to make the program more attractive to students from third countries. Even though the allocated budget for Erasmus Mundus is modest compared to the entire European Union's annual budget, the allocation of resources is a significant investment in implementing policies to promote European higher education and importantly "international cooperation" with third countries.

Third countries are non-European countries, and individuals from third countries are nonnationals or nonresidents of European countries. The program aims to "attract the best students" from third countries and is tasked with "ensuring" that the program contributes to "promoting the development of Third countries" ("Erasmus Mundus 2009–2013: Program Guide," 2010, p. 83, 90). Through action 2 (above), the program "provides scholarships of various lengths depending on the priorities defined *for* the Third Country concerned [emphasis added]" (http://eacea.ec.europa.

eu/erasmus_mundus/ programme/action2_en.php). For Erasmus+ in 2016, one of the main action plans is to provide "additional scholarships for the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries" ("2016 Annual Work Program for the Implementation of 'Erasmus+,'" 2005, p. 16).

Erasmus Mundus' efforts have been met mostly with celebration and appreciation by the community involved, including some of the student scholars who have participated in the program (See, e.g., Calabrese 2012; Carlsson et al. 2010; Chícharo 2012; "Erasmus: Changing lives opening minds for 25 years," 2011; Terry 2007; Thiriet et al. 2006, p. 25). See also (Bodycott 2009). Erasmus Mundus is indeed an attractive program. What I have highlighted of Erasmus (in Mundus and plus) in this section are just parts of an expansive program through which particular aspirations and styles of thought are put in motion. Returning to the characteristics of the program that I have outlined here, I will later argue that these aspirations and style of thought operate as authoritarian regimes with "real" implications. The next section begins to zoom in on a specific Erasmus Mundus program. The personal narrative of one of the students in the program, threaded through the section, adds to Erasmus stories already in circulation (see, e.g., "Erasmus: Changing lives opening minds for 25 years," 2011, "Erasmus: I am one of the million who did it!," 2010). The aspiration of personal narrative is to begin to amplify the authoritarian regimes implicated in delimiting possible productive risks in education.

Migration and Intercultural Relations

The Erasmus Mundus actions and aims outlined above are translated by the Masters in Migration and Intercultural Relations (MIR) in the following tasks to be accomplished:

> train young academics that contribute to improved [sic] information about the dynamics of migration […] In order to train for a labour market demanding flexibility, self-motivation and problem-solving skills, the didactics of [this MA program] are built around the idea that young professionals need […] the tools […] to apply, […] to cooperate, administrate and to manage […] The cross-cutting aim is to promote problem solving skills and the ability of knowledge transfer.

Out of 21 students who joined the program in Germany in 2012, 13 were from "third countries," 12 "females" and 1 "male." Twelve students were granted full scholarships including a considerable amount for travel to go to the "old continent" where, from the students' discussions, conversations, and narratives, the images in their heads were a close version of those both in the 1500s frontispiece and the back cover of the 2012 *Erasmus Mundus Changing Lives, Opening Minds* piece (see above). The continent, "Europe," takes a superior position in the frame of the world, erudite in the sciences and the humanities (whose sciences and humanities?), with the globe at its fingertips, map*able*, grasp*able*, totaliz*able*, humaniz*able*, and edu*cable*. A "Europe" that once traveled (when mobility and migration were not available constructs) south, east, and west (all of these "Europe's" constructs) and

continues to travel (in more commonsensical ways) in search of "promoting dialogue and understanding between cultures" while at the same moment promoting "Europe" as a "center of excellence at world level."

Has the 1500s frontispiece image changed? Has the order in the frame been disrupted? Are we still living in the Renaissance era masked by the "twenty-first century" and all its global seductiveness? As students in this MA program, when did we, or I, become—or have I always been?—fabricated as train*able*, as unmotivated, and therefore motivat*able* and unskilled at problem-solving even though in the societies I inherited, problem-solving (to use the same deeply problematic rhetoric) is a matter of everyday survival? Training, motivating, and skilling are the task of "Europe" as the donor of educational "excellence at world level," and my task after receiving training, self-motivation, and skills was to "administer," "manage," and "transfer knowledge." What knowledge? "Manage" and "administer" what? Or who? "The development of third countries?" Is this the reason why we, from "third countries," were funded or paid to come and study in Europe? "Third countries" with individuals, who, like me as a MIR student, needed "to train for a labor market demanding flexibility" and "cooperation?" Was Desiderius Erasmus Rotterdamus flexible and cooperative? Are those the traits by which he, the pinnacle of European knowledge, is taught in Europe's grade schools? If the order of the images in the frontispiece has remained undisrupted, what does "cooperate" demand of that "savage America" at the lower level? How is it possible to promote "dialogue and understanding between cultures" within this configuration?

MIR's curricular content included units of study about "migration, mobility, flight, displacement, and refuge" and their "economic, social, demographic, international, political, theoretical, and cultural" implications. Most of us ("third-country" MIR students from Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Armenia, Georgia, Iran, Tunisia, and Ethiopia) came from colonized lands, wounded places, and shared histories (which does not mean the past) of armed conflicts, atrocities, disaster, repression, persecution, and genocide. We already knew versions of the course content. We brought them with us to the program. We brought stories, histories, sensitivities, suspicion, theories, and aspirations. Because some of us were specifically targeted, as if representatives of particular societies (i.e., Tunisia from which the Arab Spring had just emerged and Colombia, at the time, leading the statistics of highest internal migration in the world), MIR knew we were rich constellations of possibilities. We have lived some of the consequences of a world ruled by "human rights, democratic values, and globality," concepts contained in MIR's curricular content. The richness of the group lay in the multiplicity of historical perspectives, experiences with conflict, political affinities, and styles of thought that challenged the "we" in my own rhetoric. Several of us already had master's degrees from our countries of origin. Some had also studied "abroad." I was a PhD candidate, teaching and doing research in the "Americas." MIR had indeed succeeded in, to use Erasmus Mundus' language, attracting the "best students." In other words, they had succeeded in bringing together important forces, sources, and energies to think and link with migration.

Following the aspiration of Europe as "a center of excellence," MIR was committed to "providing state of the art education in theoretical concepts, empirical

methods and transdisciplinary approaches to migration studies." The program had the intention to study migration and globalization as they "contest concepts of the nation state, including territoriality and citizenship, and direct attention to questions of social justice." There were high learning expectations in thinking that the program was, as Donna Haraway (2003) would say, "for *pleasure* in the confusion of boundaries and *responsibility* in their construction [italics in original]" (p. 8). However humble a recognition that "sustainable answers are yet to be found," the concept and arrogance of the nation state (Kristeva 2008) remained uncontested in the desire "to bridge the interests of nation states (incl. their welfare systems and labour markets) with human rights, democratic values and globality." The state-of-the-art education, methods, and approaches explored throughout the program remained very close to what we know and *how we know it* based on the social sciences and in particular sociology within the tradition of "Western" science and politics. In the following section, I show how this dynamic played out on the ground when the course content included the highly contentious fabrications of multiculturalism/interculturalism. I draw from the energies of resistance several of us expressed in private toward the content, available methods, and approaches in the program. The following section is a performance of that resistance. It is a performance of suspicion and questioning powered by the desire to think ideas we had not yet thought.

Multiculturalism/Interculturalism

Suggestive of Erasmus Mundus' premise of promoting "dialogue and understanding" and remaining loyal to enacting MIR's tasks outlined above, semester II of the program included two modules to address multiculturalism/interculturalism: *MM22-1 Migration and Integration* and *MM22-6 Citizenship, Multiculturalism and Education*. I begin this section with a vignette to illustrate how the authority of a particular way of "promoting dialogue and understanding" limits that very possibility.

As is the convention in much of "Western" academia, the course/module concluded with a final paper. Under the title *Immigration Museum Encounter: A First Intercultural Attempt at Communication*, Agripina, one of MIR's students grappled with the following questions: how is an attempt at intercultural communication from the (im)migration museum (a new invention) possible? The task of this paper was to offer possible lines of inquiry through immigration museums as a trigger to engage and challenge colonial ways of ordering at the intersection with intercultural communication. (Agripina is a pseudonym and the name of a former classmate of mine, an "indigenous" woman from Tuchín-Córdoba, a town in the Caribbean coast of Colombia.) Informed by Tony Bennett's (1995) work, Agripina asked, could the migration museum discontinue, reappropriate, and challenge the histories of colonialism and museums? Or better still, she asked, could the migration museum overcome the colonialism and nineteenth-century origins of museums at all

(Witcomb 2013)? Having taught multicultural education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison with Professor Carl Grant, she had spent some time thinking about multiculturalism in the company of talented students. In her own research, she historically examined the traces of interculturalism related to indigenous matters in education. This MIR paper was an avenue to explore multiculturalism/interculturalism outside of her expertise and launch an inquiry into a lesser-known domain. Agripina's paper emerged out of a sense of indignation at the limits of the literature provided in the course, the multiple silencing moments she experienced when attempting to interrogate the assumptions embedded in multiculturalism/interculturalism as operationalized in the dominant migration literature, and her curiosity in striving to understand how "Western epistemologies" fail us, as Donna Haraway" (2003) asserts, "in the task to build effective affinities" (p. 16).

Below are excerpts of the written feedback she received for the paper:

> [I]n your analysis you have distanced yourself from the content of this module:, i.e. multiculturalism/interculturalism, and rather focused on hegemonic and neo-colonial relations.
>
> [I]ntercultural communication […] is not defined (using relevant literature) or problematised. Your theoretical framework is based almost entirely on literature on museums (exhibitions) and post-colonialism and is therefore insufficient.
>
> We would have liked you to choose an established social science method, such as e.g. critical discourse analysis or content analysis and base your analysis on appropriate methodology (July 2013, Stavanger, Norway).

Agripina is Brown. In Colombia, especially as one turns to the Caribbean and of course the Pacific, racial struggles persist. She was not only aware of that but has experienced it firsthand. Living in Europe, however, she became more racialized than in any other place she had lived in before (Colombia, Jamaica, the United States, and Japan). In Europe, she was under constant scrutiny and surveillance. Here are a few examples of that: the response to her presence, the visible, when she entered mid- and high-end clothing stores, being "randomly" handpicked and interrogated by the police as the only non-white body in the train car while traveling in *Germany's* sleek high-speed ICE trains, and the countless times she was stopped by the police and asked to show her papers in airports, train, and bus stations because "she did not look _____(German, Dutch, etc.)" as the police officers often explained while all the while protesting, "why me?" These experiences are far from a singular story. They are profoundly political and can be powerfully educational. Looks matter! The visual matters! The body and how it is viewed matter in multicultural/intercultural communication.

In the final paper, Agripina's venture into the visual through museums was an exploration of what it may mean to attempt to communicate and to tackle the possibly impossible task of dialoguing cross-culturally. In the paper, she introduces her inquiry with an image of "Syrian refugees" featured (in June 2013) on the Immigration Museum of Melbourne's website. Her encounter with this familiar image, the disturbing and puzzling gaze of "the refugees" upon the onlooker, sends her on a path outside her own skin, beyond the comfort of the methods of inquiry she had already mastered, and back to her deeply racialized experience as an Erasmus Mundus student in an allegedly welcoming "Europe." From her encounter

with the image emerged the final paper, a *manifestación* against the often arrogant stance in the faith that through communication one *can* understand and legislate over what the "other" is experiencing after surviving devastation, suffering the trauma of bombardment, and being made up as a "migrant" and "refugee."

Returning to the feedback Agripina received for the paper, her work was dismissed because she had "distanced herself" from the content of the module. Multiculturalism and interculturalism were already overdetermined by the course content and the instructor's choice of literature. Drawing on evidence from her experiences in Europe to inform her inquiry into the very question of what it may mean to communicate multiculturally and interculturally was paradoxically a *distancing* from the very same content, from what she was supposed to learn that she did not learn. Her only role, as the task of the MIR program, was to learn the established content and later transfer it. Multiculturalism and interculturalism were treated as given, as matters of fact, and were far from deserving interrogation as matters of concern (Latour 2005). Multiculturalism and interculturalism were not to be conflated with "hegemonic and neocolonial relations" (not her language), though arguably they could if one were to archaeologically excavate the styles of thought that produce the multi- and intercultural/communication discourse (Greenblatt 1992; Hale 2006). In fact, the very dismissal of her particular attempt at communicating multiculturally or interculturally about "multicultural and intercultural" communication outside the valid and acceptable canon of knowledge exemplifies the challenge of disrupting the order overdetermining the knowledge that counts and that which is too distant to count.

Traveling outside the border of the camp, which produces the targeted definitions of interculturalism and multiculturalism and their prescribed problematizations, was prohibited. This unstated prohibition eradicated the possibility of a cross-fertilized inquiry informed by too-distant-to-count-and-foreign fields ("museum" and "postcolonial" literatures). Her exploration outside the border of what was deemed a "sufficient" theoretical framework was castigated. She must accept what was given and respect the border. A regime of the "established" social science and its methods patrolled that border. The regime ruled over what was of "relevance." Particular regime methodologies (i.e., specific ways of conducting "critical discourse analysis" or "content analysis") operated as agents policing the borders of the mind and how it was to conduct itself. Any intellectual alterations to the desired conduct were deemed "inappropriate." But is this dogmatism disguised as education the path to "Europe as a center of excellence at world level?" Is the fabrication and imposition of "epistemologic" borders and the containment of inquiry a form of transnational governance and a desired effect of the Erasmus Mundus program? Is this an example of how the lives of young people are changed? Is this a way of promoting dialogue and understanding between people and cultures? Is this how cooperation with third-country individuals is performed and how the priorities for them are put in place? In the next sections, I will expand on the authoritative regimes that authorize the transnational governance of the "educational."

Authoritarian Regimes

Authoritarian regimes is an analytical device partially informed by the dictatorial and/or authoritarian politics in Latin America throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century. Rather than a metaphor to describe the moral and legal supremacy of particular transnational governance, authoritarian regimes is a metonym that creates the impression that commonsensical essences and elements enjoy the right to give an ultimate decision and produces considerable power to influence action, belief, opinion, and the conduct of action over others with practical effects. This section is a *manifestación* that raises questions about the ruling and autocratic control of commonsensical reasons. Three of the most salient regimes influencing important educational initiatives are "Europe," "dialogue and understanding," and "third."

Europe

Following the globe-oriented discourse in operation in the curriculum, "Europe" serves as Erasmus Mundus's orbit. The program's aspirations, found also in other similar programs and projects, would not be possible without "Europe." Erasmus, in its Mundus iteration, is about expansion: the expansion of "Europe" to the mundus, to the world. The exchange with other places, spaces, and individuals is determined by the rules, regulations, and demands of "Europe": the center of excellence, the donor of development, the promoter of understanding, and the opener of minds. "Europe," as the state is to France, is the meta-familial envelope, an absolute (Kristeva 2008). At the same moment, "Europe" is also the seeker of identity, struggling in the scramble for resources that defines what/who it is. In the process, "Europe" continues to make its "other" in order to constitute its "self," to restore its loss of self-esteem which, as Julia Kristeva (2008) warns us, can "lead to depreciating oneself and others" (p. 4).

Instead of engaging with the rich literature on "the idea of Europe" and the possibility of "(a) European culture," let us contemplate the generative risk of a "Europe" deprived of the perks of a "prestigious civilization" and approached through migration studies. Let us send "Europe"—as an absolute political given—into a spin. Let us send it in the opposite direction of fortifying its arrogance as its strategy to recover from severe loss of self-esteem. At the other end of severe loss, "Europe" instead would find itself amidst destruction after bombardment in drone attacks. What would "Europe" lose as it picks up the few remaining belongings, holds the child by the hand, and begins the flight in search for refuge? What would "Europe" refugee learn? How would "Europe" be impacted in a cross Mediterranean journey? Would it join the many bodies forced to die off shore? Or would it be captured by FRONTEX, detained, interrogated, and kept captive? How, as an asylum seeker, would it prove its identity when it shows up at the doors of a possible host? How would "Europe" respond to the "jewelry bill" and the seizure of its cash and

valuables to help cover its expenses as asylum seeker? What energies would "Europe" draw from to withstand the prolonged suffering produced by policies that lengthen its separation from loved ones? How would "Europe" come up to the border and explain being prosecuted for its gender orientation? What thoughts would cross its mind as it was held in trailers at Calais before attempts to enter the Channel Tunnel? How would it show up by the classroom door? Would it be invited in? And if so, under what rules and conditions? Would it be bullied because of the languages it speaks or because it is not "multicultural" enough? How would "Europe" react as it receives the overt and covert assimilating directives that dogmatically send it into the dualistic paradigms of foreigner-national, immigrant-citizen, uncivilized-civilized, illiterate-literate, and other-self? Through all these events of becoming, even as it may cease to exist, may "Europe" gain what Rosi Braidotti (2011) calls a nomadic consciousness? What could "Europe" produce in its journeys as a displaced and deterritorialized object (Deleuze and Guattari 1984)? Would it, as a last resort, beg in street corners for the yet-to-be thought and once and for all put an end to its misery to the point of its own disinvention, the disinvention of its making-up as a kind (Hacking 2006)?

Dialogue and Understanding

"Europe's" astute absolute authority moves underground giving free passes to promote "dialogue and understanding." It is common sense that the world needs "dialogue and understanding." Who would dare refute that? The evil of this banality lurks not in the dark corners and corridors of this Judeo-Christian Europe but in the plain light of the perpetual enlightenment project that Erasmus Mundus articulates through this common sense. Grounded in particular cognitive and cultural styles of thought, "dialogue and understanding" often accompanied by "cooperation" bring with them the dualistic paradigms I referred to earlier. This paradigm produces binaries such as the national-foreigner, citizen-immigrant, civilized-uncivilized, self-other, and us-them. Relations of domination are reproduced on these binaries, disallowing the possibility of "understanding": some will know and some will not know. Some set the rules that the others are expected to follow. Some are more because others are less. Some understand while others do not. And some have the language and the knowledge that the others must acquire and learn to be able to dialogue. When the starting point for "dialogue and understanding" is *inequality* set within dualistic relations, dialogue and the possibility of understanding are an oxymoron. Cooperation becomes the new technique, more palatable, democratic, and even egalitarian for maintaining the authoritarian order that demands assimilation. Cooperation is not only found inscribed into the Erasmus Mundus program but across the Atlantic and in the "Americas" (Central and South) translated into projects to revitalize cultures, save women, children, and the indigenous, etc. Could this regime be dismantled, or rather be disinvented, with *equality* as a starting point? Is equality, which is an assemblage *outside* of dualistic styles of thought, even possible

to enact? That is the enactment of being neither foreigner nor national, neither immigrant nor citizen, neither uncivilized nor civilized, neither self nor other, and neither us nor them. What would educational initiatives look like when multiple constellations (i.e., students from multiple histories, locations, and politics) get together outside of the authority of the dualistic order? What kind of understandings would spark if the "dialogue and understanding" regime were to be disassembled by incommensurable (Tuck and Yang 2012) understandings, which is the overlaps that cannot be figured, that cannot be resolved?

Third

One last authoritarian regime I will discuss is "third," which reproduces a hierarchical template within which objects are sorted and treated. The authority of "third" is not only exerted when "third country" is announced but also in the ways in which action is directed to educate and discipline others through, for example, "cooperation." In a Shakespearean "The lady doth protest too much, methinks" style, Erasmus Mundus stresses that "[third-country] is by no means related to the so-called 'third-world'" (http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus_mundus/tools/faq_general_questions_en.php#9) (Perhaps this is a gesture to not hurt the superiority of other "third countries" (i.e., the United States, Canada, Australia) by euphemistically calling them "third world" and also a gesture not to hurt the sensibilities of those historically made up as "third-world countries" (i.e., Ethiopia, Ecuador, Tunisia) which are presumably working hard to get out of the waiting room of development where they are eagerly expecting to meet European Union member states. That which is "third" is produced through a stagist style of reasoning that also produces that which is not "third." In Erasmus Mundus' terms these are European Union member states and candidates to become member states. European member states and candidate states need a "third," the other, to define the self, a self that in Erasmus Mundus language is neither a first country nor a first-world country but "a center of excellence at world level." The authority of "third" throws "third-country" nationals, individuals, and institutions in front of "Europe" for protection in case of danger and as a projection (Derrida 1993). As protection, "third-_____" is a prosthesis to shelter, dissimulate the self and a way "to hide something unavowable" (p. 11). As projection "third _____" is a project, a task to be accomplished.

This brings us to the possibility of asking the question, one more time: has the 1500s frontispiece image changed? Has the order in the frame been disrupted? Does the authority of the "third" regime reproduce that order in the effects it produces in determining course content and curriculum performance of transnational education programs? If what is problematic here is the language of "third," and if language matters, the authority of "third" could be dismantled by removing or replacing the term "third." Yet, if the style of thought that is produced and produces this language is not shaken, the *manifestación* against this regime would yield little results in fracturing the very configuration that sets some as the task to be accomplished and

those who act upon the task. The duty, without a task, of this *manifestación* against this and the other two regimes draws from Kristeva's invitation to open "Europe," "dialogue and understanding," and "third" to their own critical examination. This *manifestación* is a call to take responsibility for the "European patrimony by rethinking it as an antidote to the tension surrounding identity: ours and everyone's" (Kristeva 2008 p. 2).

So far I have discussed the inhospitable which authoritatively rules educational aspirations under laws of hospitality. In the next and last section, I will engage with the hospitable ("hospitable in as much as inhospitable" (Derrida 2000): Erasmus Mundus' intention to combat discrimination, xenophobia, and racism and promote diversity. The analytics in the next section connect the *mobility* (as a desirable construct) of the (privileged?) Erasmus Mundus student to the *migration* (of the undesirables) of, for example, Syrian children and youth who turn up at the doors of institutions of higher education and early childhood, elementary, and secondary schools in "Europe" (found in the United States, Australia, the UK, Sweden, Denmark, other non-EU member states, etc.).

The Perversion and Pervertibility of Hospitality

Decision 1298/2008/EC which institutes the Erasmus Mundus 2009–2013 action program establishes that it must ensure furthering horizontal policies such as:

> [F]ostering culture, knowledge and skills for peaceful and sustainable development in a Europe of diversity
>
> [P]romoting an awareness of the importance of cultural and linguistic diversity within Europe, as well as of the need to combat racism and xenophobia and promoting intercultural education
>
> [P]romoting equality […] to combat all forms of discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation (p. 90)

These intentions are hospitable. They are hospitable in their attempt to break down the walls of multiple kinds of discrimination and xenophobia to permit the unconditional welcome of "a foreigner," "an immigrant," "an invited guest," "an unexpected visitor," "the new arrival," and "citizen of another country" (Derrida 2000 p. 77). These are not the intentions of Erasmus Mundus alone but also of peace education, social justice education, human rights education, multicultural and intercultural education, multilingual education, and education for diversity initiatives. This hospitability and unconditional welcome are threatened by the *conditions*, *norms*, *rights*, and *duties* imposed by authoritarian regimes which produce and are produced by Erasmus Mundus. These hospitable horizontal policies are valid as long as "Europe's" own hospitality is protected:

> the own home that makes possible one's own hospitality […] I want to be master at home […] to be able to receive whomever I like there. Anyone who encroaches on my "at home," […] on my power of hospitality, on my sovereignty as host, I start to regard as an undesirable

> foreigner, and virtually as an enemy. This other becomes a hostile subject, and I risk becoming their hostage. (Derrida 2000 p. 53)

This is the perversion and perversibility of hospitality, where the one furthering horizontal policies to combat xenophobia can paradoxically become virtually xenophobic (Derrida 2000). Granting Syrian migrants shelter and participation in a "Europe for diversity," in "intercultural education," regardless of their race, origin, religion, age, sex, ethnicity, and abilities is the unconditional welcome. It is the "absolute, unconditional, hyperbolical, […] the categorical imperative of hospitality" which demands that we say "yes" and "welcome" to accept the unfamiliar, the unintelligible, and the foreign. These horizontal policies, as unconditional hospitality, are an idealized welcome, which, in the words of Jen Gilbert (2014), "fails to consider *how difficult it can be to encounter what is not yet known or understood* [emphasis added]" (p. 85). We must recognize and wrestle with that difficulty.

With Derrida and Gilbert, I insist we must resist this abstract idealization in education and of education. We must struggle with the abstract commitment of hospitality inscribed in, for example, Erasmus Mundus' horizontal policies but also in multicultural and intercultural agendas to "include"/"assimilate" Syrian migrants in/through schools in "Europe." The struggle is warranted because hospitality must not remain abstract. We must struggle to interpret this commitment to hospitality into unthought transnational educational initiatives and their actual curricular practices. This struggle requires taking the risk that the "foreigner," the "migrant," poses: putting us in question, putting that which is familiar—and insufficient—into question, and "return[ing] to us our own foreignness" (Gilbert 2014 p. 91). In other words this means, for instance, eradicating the violence inflicted on "migrants" forced to ask for hospitality in the language imposed by the host (i.e., the language of established social science methods), the nation, the state, "Europe," the standard curriculum, and the standardized international comparison that makes of the "migrant's" body a figure in international statistics. The struggle also means to stop sorting who deserves hospitality. Instead, when the "migrant" arrives to the curriculum, the conditions, norms, rights, and duties offered to her in exchange for hospitality are based on the "migrant's" energies in returning to us our own foreignness, putting in question our ways of seeing and acting in and upon the world, putting into question that which is familiar, the authoritative regimes that restrict the curricular imagination. The success of the "migrant's" arrival to the curriculum and our return to the foreign would be measured in the emergence of curricular initiatives and pedagogies inspired by *astonishment*, displacing the already well-rehearsed *solutions* to manage the "migrant crisis" and the problem we make of them. I will conclude with an appeal to invent new conditions, norms, rights, and duties that threaten hospitality as abstract and absolute. These inventions must be engineered outside the unconditionally inhospitable frames that reproduce the 1500s frontispiece of Europe's first "modern Atlas."

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Chapter 16
Migration as a Method: Deterritorializing the "Floating Children" in Contemporary China

Lei Zheng

Abstract This chapter takes up the Chinese "floating children" (or internal migrant children) as both a method and a site to problematize how social science research represents difference, mobility, and change based upon unity, fixity, and stability. I begin with providing a general account of diverse theories and narratives in use by Chinese scholarship, which represents the "floating children" as a distinct type of people. Then, I attempt to unravel the implicit presumptions and consequences of those representations and briefly introduce "performativity" as an approach to denaturalize and de-essentialize those recurring notions and narratives on migrants and their education, such as "rural-urban dichotomy," "individual adaptability," "social integration," "socioeconomic status," and "*suzhi*" (human quality). In the third section, I approach each of those taken-for-granted notions as historically produced, enacted, and retrofitted in the post-Mao China. I am considering these notions' troubled entanglements as systems of reason that organize practices and make possible the "floating children" as both the "subject" and "object" of government. To conclude, I emphasize the paradox of the systems of reason, embodied and enacted by the discourses surrounding the education of "floating children," and propose considering migrants and migration as an alternative method toward rethinking mobility and difference.

Introduction

The education of the internal migrant children, who are also named the "floating children" (*liudong ertong*), has become an increasing concern of social science researchers and policy makers in contemporary China. A majority of literature tend

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to depict these "floating children" as a natural and inevitable product of modernization and urbanization, as stressful students who need to learn to adapt themselves to the city once they leave their home—oftentimes referring to the countryside—where they are rooted, and also as a disadvantaged group of people whose education could not prevent them from repeating their parents' low socioeconomic status and remaining low-quality (*di suzhi*) people. Some researchers who intend to resolve the rural-urban dichotomy suggest that the central government accelerate the reform of urbanization, in which the cities would provide equal education and healthcare for the "floating population" (*liudong renkou*) and respond to the problems they encounter with an appeal to all Chinese nationals to improve their *suzhi* (human quality) for the sake of modernization. They also highlight that research and mass media should avoid stereotyping and stigmatizing the "floating children" from an urban-centric and utilitarian perspective.

It might not be surprising to find these kinds of narratives and arguments about Chinese internal migrants also echo with the studies of migration and education across other countries of the world. The recurring narratives in a mass of literature on transnational and transregional migrants keep me wondering: Must we identify and differentiate people as distinct types based on their essentialized ties with places and cultures? Must transnational "immigrants" only be seen as "disadvantaged non-Westerners" while "Westerners" are considered as "privileged settlers?" Must we subjugate our thinking of multiple transversal relations and movements to the totalizing term "globalization" or simply reduce all kinds of flow into unidirectional movements between fixed and binary "boxes" of south and north, east and west, and even the first and the third? Why, all in all, does it seem so compelling for many scholars to adopt these unitary and stabilized categories and scales to represent, analyze, and even "speak for" migrants, who resist being immobilized and subsumed into one "type"? What would be the danger if we, people who are concerned with differences and mobility both in and beyond the educational field, neglect how these boundaries, directions, and categories are historically invented and naturalized to produce socio-spatial grids of inclusion and exclusion?

Since these questions along with the ways to explore them are not bounded by the geographical, political, and cultural border of China, I wonder if it is possible to use a study of migration that happens within a particular nation-state to inform the studies of transnational migration. Rather than imply or conduct a comparative study between internal and external migration, which to some extent overemphasizes and naturalizes the national border again, I take up migration and migrants as both a method and a site to problematize how those recurring analytical categories and notions represent difference, mobility, and change, paradoxically being based upon the notions of unity, fixity, and stability. What these categories and notions do is more than describing but producing ways of thinking and acting upon the "objects" of social analysis. Therefore, I argue that the Chinese "floating children" are neither a natural product of a preordained social structure nor an intended result of people's pursuit of a better life, as most literature would like to claim. Instead, I suggest considering this as a historical effect, or an "event" in a Foucauldian sense, which is discursive materially enacted by the chain of reiterative and citational

practices, surrounding certain analytical categories and notions. The latter, such as "rural-urban dichotomy," "individual adaptability," "social integration," "socioeconomic status," and "*suzhi*," are oftentimes taken as both the fact and the guarantor of the claims in research and policies on migration and education in China today.

I divide this chapter into three sections. The first section provides a general account of diverse theories and narratives used in Chinese scholarship to represent the "floating children" as a distinct type of people. In the second section, I will attempt to unravel the implicit presumptions and consequences of those representations and then briefly introduce "performativity" as an approach not to "perfect" or "correct" the representation of the "floating children" but, rather, to denaturalize and de-essentialize those recurring notions and categories as related to migration and education. The third section examines how each of those taken-for-granted notions and narratives is historically produced, enacted, and retrofitted by multiple actors in the post-Mao China and how they are entangled as systems of reason that organize practices and make possible the "floating children" as both the "subject" and "object" of government. The policies and official statements that I use as reference points of historical moments should not be read as the origin or essence of an ideology that will be reified by the "dominant" to oppress the "dominated." Instead, they are to be understood in the middle of the chain of citational practices, and, thus, what they mean and do could only be determined, contingently, by the ways actors take them up. A comprehensive genealogy that traces out the production and circulation of the Chinese discourses on, e.g., migrants, children, and human quality is beyond the scope of this chapter. With that being said, I hope my preliminary attempt of making visible the historicity and contingency of the constitution of the "floating children" could provide an adequate approach to problematizing the seemingly stabilized way of thinking about other important and related notions, such as equality, agency/ability, and multiculturalism. In conclusion, I will emphasize the paradox of the systems of reason, embodied and enacted by the discourses surrounding the education of the "floating children," and propose how migrants and migration could be seen as an alternative method to think of differences and mobility that are nonrepresentational.

Representations of the "Floating Children" in Chinese Social Science Research

The "floating population" as a demographic category that carries its current meaning in Chinese research and policies began to appear in the early 1980s, when sojourning between administrative units in China without a political order or sanction (though still with rigid regulation and control) became possible again, due to the reform and opening policy. By official definition (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China 2016), the "floating population" refers to people who have left their place of *hukou* (household) registration—which has been set up

by the PRC state to divide its citizens into rural/agricultural and urban/nonagricultural based on their place and type of registration since 1958—for more than 6 months and have not registered in the place where they reside. That is to say, people who move without a permanent official change of *hukou* registration could only "float" (*liudong*), rather than "migrate" (*qianyi*), with respect to Chinese demographic terminology. The latest *Report of the Development of Chinese Floating Population* released by the National Health and Family Planning Commission (2015) claimed that there were 253 million of "floating population" by the end of 2014, and half of them desired to stay where they were.

The attention to and the use of the "floating children" in research and policy did not appear until the late 1990s, when the majority (71%) of the "floating children" were of compulsory education age (between 7 and 14), and many of them faced difficulty in receiving public, and particularly compulsory, education in the places where they resided due to the restriction of *hukou* system (Lin 2011). Regardless of the variations of its definition, in its actual use, it is oftentimes conflated with another term "children of peasant migrant workers" (*nongmingong zinü/zidi*), which refers to children whose parents are agricultural-hukou holders who were industrial workers in the town. For example, in their widely cited research on the "floating children," demographers Duan and Yang (2008) claimed that there could be 14.03 million children of "peasant migrant workers" (PMW) across the whole country "if we deem the floating children who hold agricultural *hukou* as children of PMW." However, when hundreds of news reports reiterated this figure, "14.03 million children of peasant migrant workers," none of them mentioned it was based upon a presumption. In the same research report, the authors interpret the data in a particular way (e.g., Fujian and Xinjiang are excluded from the major "receiving area" even when their figure is close to Beijing; Anhui, Sichuan, Henan, Chongqing, Hunan, and Jiangxi are inscribed as poor "sending area" while more than 90% of the "floating" children in these provinces migrated intra-provincially) that a default image of the "floating children" with the developmentalist narrative as the frame is reiterated: These children, along with their parents, are economically and culturally poverty-affected peasants, who move from the underdeveloped sending areas—the countryside and the west inland to the developed receiving areas—to the city and the east coastland to seek for a better life. This image also circulates through internationally cooperated reports such as the *Children in China: An Atlas of Social Indicators 2014*, which is copresented by National Working Committee on Children and Women (NWCCW) under the State Council, the National Bureau of Statistics, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Thus, the demographic research and reports provide a standardized narrative of who the "floating children" are, including the demographic features, spatial distribution, education degree, etc. of them, and their parents. And this narrative is soon taken up by many psychologists, sociologists, and educators as the de facto basis for their "closer" examinations of the psychological and cultural problems that the "floating children" will have (see, e.g., Zou et al. 2005; Zhou 2011; Xu 2010).

One prominent problem that is prescribed to the "floating children" is "adaptation"/"accommodation" (*shiying*), the definition of which is based upon

researchers' assumptions of what roles individuals play, what challenges individuals face, and what social tasks individuals have to accomplish in their changing and oftentimes "disadvantaged" situations (Zeng 2012, pp. 12–14). Researchers who adopt ecosystemic theory coined by American psychologist Bronfenbrenner (as cited in Zeng 2012) believe the adaptation of the individual "floating child" to the society is directly affected by both individual factors (e.g., age, personality, intelligence, etc.) and microlevel environmental factors (i.e., family, school, neighborhood/community). Thus, the standard narrative I mentioned earlier is woven into the characterization and comparison between the "floating children" and the "urban children". Ironic is that this literature reverses the category of the urban ("the child left behind" in US reforms; see, e.g., Popkewitz 1998) with that of the "floating children," giving the latter the quality of "otherness." I use Zeng's (2012) study as an example. On the aspect of individual personality, it is said that the "floating children" are self-reported to be more anxious, lonely, canny, sensitive, and cautious, lack of self-esteem and self-acceptance, but at the same time more adamant, self-disciplined, and optimistic (pp. 36–38); the parents of the "floating children" are reported as less affectionate and democratic, less capable of educating children and communicating with school, and more utilitarian toward education, all of which are interpreted as the result of their restrained hometown culture and, more importantly, their low socioeconomic status (SES), indicated by low education level and unstable "dirty," "difficult," and "dangerous" (3D) employment (p. 89, pp. 204–212); the "floating family" is seen as concentrating in the urban-fringe area, which is socioeconomically less developed, more dangerous, and scarce of cultural activities, thus rendering the "floating children" more eager of "excitement" (*ciji*) (p. 32); in terms of schooling, the "floating children" are deemed to be lack of school readiness and *suzhi jiaoyu* (education for quality), since they attend weak schools and, thus, need to be more devoted to learning to counter their deficiencies in physical health, emotional and social development, learning methods, language development, cognition, and the like (p. 120).

In this account, as well as others (see Duan and Yang 2009; Fan et al. 2009), the "adaptation" problem of the "floating children" is thought as an inevitable consequence of the fundamental and unalterable differences of culture including values, behavioral norms, and social rules between the cities and the countryside. These differences are also conceptualized as a universal gap between "modern" and "traditional" and between "advanced" and "backward". It is argued that this gap causes the "floating children" stressful to adapt, i.e., to identify themselves with the urban culture when they selectively maintain their hometown culture to achieve psychological health, good academic performance, and urban requirement. Accordingly, the solution to the psychological and cultural problems of the "floating children" is intervention, by means of first "diagnosing" their risk level and then reducing risk factors, and increasing support factors. Due to ecosystemic theory (as cited in Zeng 2012), individual factors (e.g., age, intelligence, personality, social skill, ability of planning), family factors (e.g., parents' relationship, economic status, parent-child relationship), and school and other social supports are said to account for increasing or reducing risks—the possibility of producing negative effects. Sociologists, who

emphasize interactive process of "social integration" and critique the adaptation model as unidirectional and passive, are also interested in discerning the social agents, who should be responsible for social in-/exclusion and integration (see, e.g., Xu 2015; Feng 2007). For example, Feng (2007) argued that it was urban residents—children and teachers—who were to blame for excluding the "floating family" from the urban society due to their cultural bias.

The narrative about socioeconomic and cultural gap between people from the countryside and people from the city is also approached by sociologists who are engaged with cultural reproduction theory as both the cause and result of the "counter-school culture" of the children (*zidi*) of PMW. Particularly inspired by British cultural sociologist Paul Willis's analysis of counter-school culture of "the lads" in *Learning to Labor* and French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of culture capital and class reproduction, these scholars (e.g., Xiong et al. 2013; Zhou 2011; Xiong 2010) see urban parents as middle-class people who own more economic and cultural capital than *zidi's* parents, who are PMW engaging in 3D jobs, and see the urban children more able to decode the sophisticated urban school language than *zidi* who become "rebels" of schools that reify the social stratification in miniature (e.g., the segregated class(room) located at the bottom of the school building for migrant children as a hidden metaphor of their social status). They argue that the working and living situation of PMW, which is produced by the state and market forces and seen as abject even by their own children, not only marginalizes *zidi* but also stimulates them to challenge the institutionalized knowledge and norms in their own unique ways, such as formulating various interleaving peer groups governed by "*yi*" (brotherhood). *Zidi* challenging the authority in turn leads to their exclusion from "common education," which refers to comprehensive universities rather than vocational schools. Their "counter-school culture" and lack of "common education" are regarded to render *zidi* intellectually and emotionally weak (Zhou 2011) and, thereby, unable to "move upward," which means they could not gain formal and decent jobs and urban *hukou*, but, rather, repeat their parents' socioeconomic status and consolidate class reproduction (Xiong 2010). Moreover, even when parents of the children examined in the cases are not all PMW, these scholars still tend to imply that those children are easier to become slackers and potential criminals due to the 3D jobs of their parents.

Thus, a standardized narrative in demography, systemic theory, and stress-coping model in psychology, social integration model, and cultural reproduction theory in sociology are all intertwined to render an intelligibility to the issue of the "floating children."

Representations of the "Floating Children" as Performative Acts: The Implicit Presumptions and Consequences

These cross-disciplinary representations of the "floating children" are by no means neutral descriptions of a social fact that is lying out there but, rather, citational practices that produce and act upon their "object"—the "floating children." Reiterated and naturalized in these representational practices are particular spatial and social norms that differentiate and divide people, places, and cultures as fixed and stabilized unities. To problematize those implicit presumptions and consequences of those recurring narratives and analytical notions as related to migration and education, I treat them as a set of order-words (Deleuze and Guatarri 1980/1987) or performative act, elaborated on by J. Bulter (1993) to mean a reiteration and enactment of a set of norms, by which discourse produces the effects it names, rather than a singular or deliberate "act" with the present subject as its owner.

What underlies the standard narrative that designates the direction, cause, and subject of "floating" as both a justified reason for and a predictable result of urbanization and modernization is, first of all, a set of naturalized spatial and social hierarchies. Differences are spatially inscribed between, e.g., the "rural" and the "urban" and the "west inland" and the "east coastland," and then it becomes a naturalized way to think of mobility as a hierarchical movement from "underdeveloped" area to "developed" area. In doing so, the social space is segmented into mutually exclusive units. Each of these units is tied to a particular culture and a particular group of people, and all of them are standardized along one linear pattern of development for comparison. As a consequence, people who "float" are epistemologically confined in the "backward" culture of the "poor" place, where they are thought to be rooted while being physically out of that place. This arborescent and sedentarist notion of culture and "identity" (Malkki 1992; Deleuze and Guatarri, 1980/1987) is taken on as an indisputable reason to account for the "adaptation" problem of the "floating children" in the city.

The proposition that the "floating children" have to adapt themselves to the city is problematic in at least three ways. First, by defining their "adaptation" as identifying with urban culture, it works as a means to materialize the spatial and social hierarchy through the mobile bodies since any potential change of the bodies is no longer immanent to the particular movement but prescribed as (dis)conformity to a privileged order. Even though scholars like Zeng explicitly oppose stigmatizing the "floating children" and criticize the urban-centrism of urban teachers, the set of behaviors and verbal expressions (e.g., parents and children saying "I love you" and giving hugs to each other) they regard as universally equivalent indicators for evaluating the "floating family" relationship is ironically what they characterize as "urban lifestyle."

Second, this proposition positions the "floating children" as external to the urban environment and embedded in "multiscale systems." The former attempt is exemplified by scholars' proposal of geographically reterritorializing them in the suburb as the third space beyond the dichotomy of rural/urban (e.g., Shao 2014). By doing so,

it totalizes and abnormalizes the "floating children" as a population who do not have "fit" knowledge, skills, behaviors, and personality to stay in the city. The latter effort creates a web that not only attempts to capture those children's family, school, and community (microsystem) but also the relationship between them (mesosystem), surrounding them (exosystem), and above them (macrosystem). It works as a governmental technology (Foucault 2000) to inspect and suture the "crevice" between scales where the individual child is predicted to flee away (e.g., Zeng 2012, p. 32). As Sobe (2013) has insightfully pointed out, "Once objects become thought of as discrete spaces…administration and systems of coordination and control become possible" (p. 98). By dividing the "floating children" into different risk levels and designing corresponding needs assessment and corrective measures for their families and schools, researches not only render legitimate their own order of diagnosis and prediction but also create a cultural space where the "floating children" can never be "healthy" and "fit" enough without therapeutic interventions in the name of protection. Thereby, they subject the individual child to the sociocultural norms and at the same time justify the control of social circulation.

Moreover, since researchers assume the individual "floating child" is impossible to directly change the "high-risk" environment where she/he is "trapped," they suggest the child along with his/her parents, schools, and peers assume responsibility to change themselves so as to reduce risks. The risks here are by no means merely the psychological stress that the "floating children" are asked to cope with but, rather, the burdens and dangers that these "stressful" children are thought to bring to the society. That is to say, the "floating children" are *enabled* to respond to the "hidden trouble" (*yinhuan*) that not they face but the nation and society face (Zhang 2005), which, ironically, are themselves. By designating the "floating children" as lack of *suzhi* and even associating them with crime (Duan and Yang 2009; Xiong 2010), the researchers stabilize their "problems" as the fact and subjectivise (Foucault 1982, 1975/1995) them—render them the object of regulation and endow them with agency of self-government to guarantee that *suzhi* and security of the whole nation would not be at risk.

What works as no less a means of normalization than the notion of "adaptation" is the term "socioeconomic status" (SES), which is sometimes interchangeably used with "class" in sociological studies. First, the use of SES naturalizes and standardizes the hierarchies between different kinds of education and employment (e.g., receiving vocational education becomes an indicator of lower class) for evaluation of *suzhi* and thus justifies the differential population policy to maintain socio-spatial hierarchy, which is epitomized by the latest *hukou* credit system implemented in Shanghai and Beijing—for those applicants of *hukou* of these two cities, education degree, employed companies' scale, and profession's pertinence with high-tech mostly determine the "credit base" one could have (State Council 2014). Second, the tautology embodied by SES—education and employment are said to be both the cause and effect of SES—along with the sedentarist image of the "floaters," which I discussed in the beginning of this section, projects the "disadvantaged" and "unaccommodated" "floating children" as a natural and normal consequence of their

parents' so-called 3D jobs, low educational level, rare learning resources, and inappropriate upbringing methods.

More ironically, when researchers lament that the "floating children" do not have *suzhi* education and their parents often invest their children's education only for money not for *suzhi*, the analytical model of SES nonetheless capitalizes *suzhi* education as a cultural means of increasing adaptability of the "floating children" to urban value and lifestyles (Zou et al. 2005; Fan et al. 2009) and finally improving their *ability* to earn urban *hukou* (Feng 2007). Thus, the idealized *suzhi* education that these scholars propose is not any less utilitarian and disciplinary than what they oppose—test-oriented education—regarding how both instrumentalize education for competition and conformity to social norms.

As part of the language of social stratification and class ideology, "moving upward" and "counter-school culture," when taken up, render the top-bottom power structure an a priori condition that predefines the possibilities of social mobility and locates the individual "floating child" as inevitably subaltern and "out of place." Those behaviors that are regarded by researchers as indicators of "counter-school culture," such as talking in the class, fighting between peer groups, and mocking teachers, are nonetheless common to see among the "non-floating children." To empower the "floating children" as active agents who consciously resist the repressive power, researchers make "counter-school culture" an exclusive emblem of the "floating children" (or other "disadvantaged" children) and thus predetermine the possible effects of their activities for the analysis's sake.

The spatializing and naturalizing of difference is evident when looking at university students. Many college students and even graduate students who should also be counted as the "floating population" by official definition are seldom included in the characterization of the "floating population" because researchers tend to assume they could easily acquire *hukou* in the urban place where they work after graduation even though the decentralization of *hukou* policy never makes the case so easy (see Pong 2014). The "oblivion" of these "floating" graduates not only tend to create a unity of the "floating population" with common characteristics of abject conditions of working, education, and living but also a unity of urban children who are obedient supporters of the mainstream value (*zhuliu jiazhiguan*) due to the good public education they and their parents receive (e.g., Xiong 2010).

It is quite ironic to see that some researchers criticize social and cultural exclusions of the "floating population" by stigmatizing the urban population and simultaneously legitimatizing them as the real "host" of the city who should accept "others" to enter. When proposing "multicultural integration education" as an ideal strategy to promote social inclusion of the "floating children" and thus to achieve social equality (see, e.g., Xu, p. 169; Zeng, p. 174), they nonetheless produce "multi-meta-cultures" (*duo yuan wenhua*), which paradoxically dismiss multiplicities of people, places, and cultures. Concomitantly, they also produce an average "floating"/urban/rural child as a meta-figure by extracting him/her from specific relationships and throwing him/her into mutually exclusive units of culture and society as object of knowledge and management.

What is shared by these analytical models is the separation of the "floating children" from the cultural norms that are given as "society" or, particularly, the "urban society." Neither "improving the self" in terms of system theory nor "empowering the self" in terms of cultural reproduction theory is aimed at liberating the self per se but making the "self" either for the integrity of the society that excludes them or for the unity that excludes the less "salient" mobile people. Thus, this effort to include based on "identities" embodies exclusion and inscribes differences in relations to the unspoken norms (Popkewitz 2013). As I put earlier, this inclusive/exclusive act of representations of "identities"—the "floating children" in this case—is approached as performative and thus an effect that is historically produced through reiterations of a set of norms. However, repetition never produces the same effect, and the stabilization of the norms is also never fully accomplished since each repetition is historically situated and thus simultaneously singular and collective. My intellectual goal here is not to blame those researchers as the subjects who impose ideology upon the "floating children" but to understand how their ways of representing and analyzing the "floating children" are historically constituted as citational practices.

Historicizing the Discourse of the "Floating Children" as a Collective Assemblage

In this section, I will schematically explore the historicity of the entangled discursive practices surrounding the "floating children" by asking the set of following questions: What makes it possible (1) to think of "urban" as more developed space than rural; (2) to regard rural and migrant population, particularly youth, as a "problem"; (3) to take up *suzhi* including "adaptability" as one of the main concerns of migration and education, as well as a given way to evaluate both an individual and a whole population in the post-Mao China? Drawing upon the existing ethnohistoriographic studies of the Chinese discourses on population, development, and *suzhi*, I will briefly answer these questions with the recognition that not only are they intertwined but also each of them has its own historicity that deserves further examination.

The Making of Spatial Hierarchy in the Development Discourse

The *hukou* (household registration) system was set up by the PRC state in 1958, which created a rigid demarcation between the city and the countryside and a full control of mobility. In doing so, the party-state attempted to tie peasants onto the land permanently to solve the problem of urban unemployment, guarantee

agricultural goods for industry and, thus, maintain socialist production and stability (Solinger 1999; Zhang 2001). However, that dual system of working and living never privileged cities, especially large coastal cities in the Mao era, as the only focal space of production and industrialization (Yan 2008, p. 37). By contrast, during the late 1970s to the early 1990s, a set of discursive practices of "*fazhan*" (development) and "*xiandaihua*"(modernization) performatively enacted a spatial hierarchy between the rural and the urban, the west inland and the east coastland, and even China and the West, which was altogether highlighted by the political agenda of "rectifying the disorder" (*bo luan fan zheng*) and the politico-economical agenda of "reform and opening" (*gaige kaifang*).

The idea of "opening" in policy and scholarship as of that time seemed to free mobility of people, goods, capital, and ideas through decenturalization and decomunization. But actually it channeled mobility in particular direction through an anticipatory strategy that was embodied in the 1992 "Inspection Tour of the South" (*Nan Xun*) of Deng Xiaoping (2016), the second leader of the PRC. Deng not only set up "*gongtong fuyu*" (common prosperity) as the means and goals of socialist development but also (re)introduced a way to think of development as both the indisputable truth from the facts and a quantitative unity that could subsume each individual place along a temporal axis. Apparently, this development paradigm was not invented by Deng himself. For example, Rist and Camiller (2014) once traced the history of the "development age" back to the "Point Four" of the Inaugural Address that the then US President Truman delivered in 1949.

However, the spatial and temporal gap of development that Deng inscribed was not yet a social "fact," until people performatively acted it out through the implementation of multiple economical projects, including but not limited to the "household contract system" (*jiating lianchan chengbao zerenzhi*) reform in the countryside. The latter annulled the communal system and decreased state capital investment in agriculture, inviting the establishment of special economic zones along the coast to attract foreign investment, initiating the emergence of the so-called key cities with more access to resources and more autonomy in decision-making, inducing the requisition and marketization of the agricultural land, etc.

However, the discourses of development and modernization do not merely engage with the economic project but, rather, conflate it with a cultural and moral one. With the "recovery" of the social status of intellectuals, who were derogated as the "class enemy" during the Cultural Revolution, cultural development, or "spiritual civilization" (*jingshen wenming*), has been emphasized as the basis of rebuilding the social and moral order, as well as promoting the economic growth, or "material civilization" (*wuzhi wenming*), since the late 1970s. This spiritual-material civilization was promised to be achieved through education as the main instrument of fabricating a future citizen and through scientific and technological advances as the tools for effective management. Consequently, the economic hierarchy between the city and the countryside is reframed as a result of a naturalized cultural hierarchy—the urban as civilized and modern and the rural as its "other"—and poverty is envisioned as first of all cultural poverty that could only be relieved through the improvement of "human quality" (Yan 2008, p. 122; Bakken 2000, pp. 57–60). As

Yan argued, "Development is now conceived as something that should not come from the top down, but should be internally generated. This shift is expressed as requiring rural people to change themselves: from being the objects of poverty-relief actions to being subjects who act on their own desire to leave poverty." (p. 123) It is made intelligible and natural through the discursive practices of development and modernity that migration from rural to urban could not only help make money but, more importantly, transform the human subjectivity from traditional to modern and to live a life that is no longer inert (*meijin*) and boring (*meiyisi*) (p. 46). At the same time, a modern urban resident (*shimin*) is also designed and produced as part of modernizing the urban space, which is crystalized by the country-wide urban beautification and civilization campaigns, which are not only concerned with the appearance and hygiene of the cities but also people's behaviors as the indicators of their moral *suzhi* and civility. Thus, both space and human bodies become the means of (dis)qualifying each other as modern and civilized and the urban space is reserved and secured for the high-quality urban residents only.

Articulating Economic Problem as Population and Pedagogical Problem within Techno-scientific Language

Although planning as the means of government is maintained in the transition from the Mao to the post-Mao era (Sigley 2009), the technologies that are employed to actualize it are quite different. The implementation and realization of planning no longer depend on mass enthusiasm of overcoming obstacles of production, but on scientific knowledge provided by intellectuals (Greenhalgh 2010). However, this scientific discourse is by no means invented by the post-Mao regime. According to Wang's (2006) examination on the genealogy of Chinese scientific discourse, Chinese science workers in the early twentieth century undertook their activities in a spirit of promoting people's knowledge, social progress, moral development, and, finally, national civilization. The community of scientific discourse that was formulated during the May Fourth Movement made possible a basic understanding and acceptance of the sciences as the foundation for a new mode of ethics and behavior and as a key aspect shaping everyday life. The "scientific view of life," proposed by that community to save China from crisis, is reiterated in the current official expression of the "scientific view of development," which highlights sciences as the only effective and universal tool to achieve the goal of development.

However, the particular science that is taken up to crackdown crises has changed. The highly influential science in the early post-Mao planning regime was military defense science, since it was almost the only "survivor" of the Cultural Revolution. "Social engineering," which took up the language of system theory and cybernetics to recruit technocratic organizations and techniques to perfect the society (Bakken 2000; Greenhalgh 2010), was first favored by Qian Xuesen, the most important and respected missile scientist in China, and later adopted by his disciple Song Jian to

solve social problems. Drawing heavily on the research of the Club of Rome, especially the book *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al. 1972), which computed the exponential growth of the human consumption of limited resources and reiterated the Malthusian and Spencerian notion of the relation between population and poverty (Lock and Nguyen 2010), Song and a handful of colleagues made the Chinese population account for China's economy-qua-environment crisis in the past and future: Too many people of too backward a type (Greenhalgh 2010, pp. 31–32). However, it was not the first time that a Malthusian idea of population was introduced into China. Economist Ma Yinchu (Ma 1957) had proposed a similar perspective on the relationship between poverty and population quantity-and-quality in the early Mao era but was denunciated at that time as capitalist thinking. In the late 1970s, Ma's population theory was "rectified" as correct and mutually verified with cybernetic equations and, thus, the only "scientific" and "effective" way to crackdown this crisis of development was said to be "controlling the quantity and improving the quality of the population" (*kongzhi renkou shuliang*, *tigao renkou zhiliang/suzhi*), which later became the goal of national birth planning policy.

Thus, the economic-qua-national-security problem was turned into a population and pedagogical problem, and the solutions promoted by scholars as of that time were both eugenics—preventing defective births through medical and legal means—and euthenics, the rearing of "superior" youngsters who would grow into a high-*suzhi* labor force for strengthening the power of the nation. As Bakken (2000) observed, "The eugenic narrative of inferiority and that of productivity and prosperity are often combined in such discourse of human quality," which could be partly shown by the definition of "defective" or "inferior" births as "no quality" (*ling suzhi*) and making no social contribution in the *1995 Eugenics Law* (p. 68). The biomedical term *suzhi* was not (re)introduced in a pedagogical sense until Qian proposed to incorporate culture, or "spiritual civilization," into the socialist engineering and use education and knowledge to gain "spiritual wealth" as well as "material wealth." Qian's language was soon adopted by the party's *Resolution on Socialist Spiritual Civilization* in 1986. In the same year, the new compulsory education law stated that education's quality (*jiaoyu zhiliang*) must be bettered in order to improve the quality of the nationals (*guomin suzhi*); the translation of the *Human Quality* by Aurelio Peccei (1988), the Chair of the Club of Rome, was also published and began to be widely cited by scholars as one of the foundation for the *suzhi* studies (*suzhi xue*), which brings different sciences together to set up a model of a modern Chinese.

In the late 1990s, the Fifteenth Party Congress report on promoting market economy along with the national policy of education for quality (*suzhi jiaoyu*) associated the term *suzhi* more comprehensively with the discourses of national humiliation (*guochi*) and backwardness (*luohou*). Science and technology were taken as the "primary productive force" to make up for the nationals' "lack" of *suzhi* and modernity and to rejuvenate the civilization and power that the nation lost. Thus, "productivity" is no longer thought as related to people's hands as in the Mao era (see, e.g., Jiang 1960), but to their "quality" that could be improved through education and science. And if people do not have "quality," which includes cultural, ideological,

moral, behavioral, and other aspects, they would only consume resources and thus become a burden, and even danger, for the society. In this way, *suzhi*, which conflates nature and nurture, collective and individual, becomes a differential term to evaluate cultural-qua-economic poverty and security of people and places (Yan 2008; Sun 2009; Bakken 2000), while education is instrumentalized as a means of accumulating *suzhi* to resolve economic, social, and political crisis and threat.

Thus, it is not surprising to find that research and policy on the control of population quality and quantity mainly target specific groups that are defined as low-quality-high-quantity rather than the whole population. Peasants are one of them and based on the predominant economic theory, they are "surplus labor" that needs to be deterritorialized from their farming land and transferred to the cities as "floaters" to take advantage of their labor, improve their *suzhi*, and, finally, relieve their economic and cultural poverty. By defining peasants as "surplus" and "lack," the discourse makes the countryside an abject living space outside modernity and development and renders migration to cities as means of *suzhi* education and self-development (Yan 2008, pp. 124–128). The "floating population" became the mirrored "other" of the cosmopolitan travelers or overseas students. Whereas the latter are celebrated as wealthy and well-educated, the former are stigmatized as low-*suzhi* vagrants, who are deviant, hard to control, thus, representing a "hidden danger" to modernity that will bring chaos (Sun 2009; Zhang 2001; Bakken 2000).

Youth as "Hidden Danger" and Adaptability as Solution

For many social scientists in the late 1980s and early 1990s, another "hidden danger" is Chinese youth, who is seen as uncontrollable and in a state of cultural anomie due to the chaos and destructions of norms during the Cultural Revolution and the value vacuum after. The young people are said to contribute to an unorthodox campus culture or "campus upheaval" (*xuechao*), which began in 1986 and reached its climax in the 1989 student movement (Bakken 2000, pp. 325–328). Thus, the youth is positioned as both the product and the producer of the cultural environment, which might threaten the society's stability. Since the youth is also seen as the hope of production and social stability in the future, their behaviors become the object of observation and intervention of youth studies and criminology promoted by the Research Institute for Youth and Juvenile Affairs and the Department of Sociology within the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Bakken 2000, p. 342; Yan 2008, p. 50).

As Bakken (2000) observed in the 1990s, the chain narrative of danger made possible the "wrongdoers" in school to be registered as future criminals who suffered from the "nonadapting sickness" (p. 344). "Adaptability" is treated as one of the key competences of the idealized national figure by scholars in the field of education policy, psychology, and sociology (see, e.g., Wang et al. 1990; Xing and Zhang 1990; Wu 1994; Peng 1992; Zhang 1999). It is defined as consciously changing oneself to adapt to changes in the natural and social surroundings. According to

these scholars, adaptability is not only necessary for individuals to win out competition in a rapidly changing and stressful environment but also to help secure social stability and unity. Through scholarship as well as corresponding administration, "family" and "neighborhood" are rendered the units of pedagogical environment to protect children and society by controlling those who are evaluated as at risk and preventing them from developing bad habits and involving in illegal activities.

Related to what previous sections have shown, the "floating children," who are depicted as "floating" in the city with their dangling "roots" in the countryside, are not a "present" subject without history. Rather, it is an effect that is historically assembled by constructed notions of, at least but not limited to, "rural-urban dichotomy" in development and modernity discourse, "population quality" as a national crisis in techno-scientific language, and "adaptability" and function of "family and community" in youth studies.

Conclusion

This chapter examines the act of exclusion and abjection as an implicit presumption and effect produced in the effort of social integration and inclusion. When researchers, policy makers, and NGOs look for ways to promote equality and multiculturalism with regard to the education issue of the "floating children," they oftentimes start with identifying and characterizing the rural/urban "floating" as self-sufficient and homogenous units. Based on the "traits" of each type, they create a checklist either for the "disadvantaged" to gain "ability" to achieve the universalized standard of living or for the "society" to integrate those categorical differences as a natural result of modernization. By depicting and naturalizing the "floating children" as spatially moving "upward" but culturally and economically confined in their "backward" native home, these literatures invent a subjectivity for the "floating children": They are constantly trapped in the mismatching of mind and body and desiring the suture exercised by either themselves or the society that is external to them. As H. Stiker (1999) once asks, what kind of integration are we talking about (p. 132)? An integration of normalization based on separation and differentiation?

Although researchers criticize the unequal distribution of resources led by *hukou* system and call for the equal education rights of the "floating children," they nonetheless reserve their critique on the developmentalist narrative and the differential function of *suzhi* that order the spatial and social hierarchy in the first place and thus, paradoxically, justify the exclusion of the "floating children" from full rights of urban residence (*shimin*). Social scientists and policy makers tend to see utilitarianism as a result of low educational level and criticize how the market commodifies education and imposes more burdens upon the "floating family." However, their treatment of education as a means of accumulating *suzhi* to gain urban "root" and as a cultural "credit" for qualifying both people and places renders education more susceptible to commodification. By doing so, they also naturalize and stabilize the spatial and social hierarchy that they want to change.

The critique I made here is neither to deny the relationship between people and place nor to devalorize the attention to the unequal rights to education. Rather, I attempt to unveil how the arborescent and sedentarist representations of movement reduce the complexity of the issue at hand. I argue that it is their limitations to capture the unfixed mobility and the un-unified differences that make the migrants "fail," "insufficient," and even "dangerous." Thus, migration, in its broader sense, across time and space, regardless of its speed and range, could be taken up as a method. It is not a method that could be used to solve problems (e.g., of development), but one—like a blade to cut to create edges and tensions—that could deterritorialize people from boundaries, categories, and divisions and, at the same time, produce the potentiality and fluidity of the relationship between people, places, and cultures. As Deleuze (1983/1986, 1980/1987) has suggested, movement forces the world as a whole and the discrete units, which the world is reduced albeit related to, open to duration and changing. It is "floating" that continues to open up the *striated space*, be it urban or rural or whatever, and makes it *becoming imperceptible*. Thinking of migrants as a figure thereby produces thinking of a constant and instant splitting of the subject, a splitting that never seeks for a suture to be united and stabilized but turns into multiplicities that continue to split and repeat.

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