Chapter 11
Europe and the Post Colony: Possibilities for Cosmopolitanism

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11.1 The Limits of Cosmopolitanism? An Educational Example

Cosmopolitanism offers a vision that transcends parochialism and nationalism, embracing all of humanity. It seems to promise a compelling way to frame relationships between citizens of states that are geographically distant but increasingly connected by global flows of goods, communication and people. Yet when reflecting on relationships between Europeans and citizens of developing countries, cosmopolitanism is also vulnerable to the criticism that it is Eurocentric so that it tends, in spite of its declared aims, to an unreflexive universalism that favours European assumptions and interests. In a globalised world system, such dangers are especially relevant to now-popular educational associations between Europeans and the people of former European colonies. If such concerns about cosmopolitanism are well founded, then postcolonial perspectives may offer alternative framings of interactions between Europe and the rest that better serve such educational projects. I propose to explore the relative merits of cosmopolitanism and postcolonialism by discussing the example of educational partnerships between schools in Scotland, a country once active in building and benefitting from the opportunities and wealth afforded by the British Empire by being part of the United Kingdom, and in Malawi, a former British colony.

Schools in Scotland and Malawi are linked together in a network of partnerships and projects, under the aegis of the Scotland Malawi Partnership, an umbrella organisation comprising an alliance of civil society organisations in both countries that was formalised in the Co-operation Agreement of 2005 between the governments

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of Malawi and Scotland (Scottish Government 2005). Alongside initiatives in government, health and sustainable development, educational partnerships have aimed to contribute expertise and skills in the two countries to combat poverty and to support development in Malawi, based on principles of equal respect and mutual benefit. Educational partnerships take the form of letter writing by pupils in twinned schools, teacher exchanges and development initiatives and the inclusion of elements in the curriculum about each others' countries and cultures as well as common projects on themes like the environment. Partner activities can also involve building and repairing classrooms, school feeding schemes and the collection of learning materials for use in Malawian schools. The Partnership describes and encourages school partnerships as primarily an opportunity to learn, '…an ideal way to enhance the global curriculum, by offering pupils an interactive dimension to their study of global issues. By partnership with a Malawian school you will continue to build the historic, cultural, social and political ties between the two countries' (Scotland Malawi Partnership 2009: p. 2).

Cast in these terms, such partnerships are committed to an approach to education that matches some features that Nussbaum (1994) attributes to cosmopolitan education: that global perspectives make international cooperation in solving common problems possible; that cosmopolitan education encourages those in wealthier countries to acknowledge their moral obligations beyond national boundaries; and that learning about others helps us to know more about our own context. The Partnership's Guidance to participating schools in Scotland emphasises benefits to both nations, stressing too the importance of local leadership and civil society's role in defining needs. It is also careful to emphasise the principle of partnership, based on the values of equality, mutuality and reciprocity. 'Partnership is not about simply providing material aid to another school. It is about creating a relationship between schools which enables pupils in both schools to develop a more critical understanding of the lives of their partner pupils' (Scotland Malawi Partnership 2009: p. 6).

But can a cosmopolitan framework for viewing partnerships between Scottish pupils and their Malawian counterparts – descendants of a former colonial power and of the previously colonised – do enough to acknowledge and address their unevenly shared history of colonialism and the postcolonial condition that still prevails? Postcolonialism demands acknowledgement of the history of European conquest, dispossession, exploitation, the 'othering' of indigenous culture and the imposition of schooling practices that denigrated local knowledge and practices. A postcolonial perspective is also a critical response to the lingering effects of colonial conquest after political decolonisation and the achievement of independence for former colonies. Education has been a prominent theme in postcolonial theory, in its critical analyses of education (e.g. Said 1993) as a defining feature of the colonial regimes that marginalised indigenous educational practices and denigrated local knowledge and values, imposing an alienating curriculum poorly matched to local knowledge, values and needs. Schools were instruments of colonial subjugation – even if they also unintentionally produced native leaders in independence struggles – intended largely to school native populations to provide a supply of minor officials and of cheap, docile labour. Since independence the problem of

Europe continues to loom large in the form of continuing European and Western political, economic and cultural domination. Scotland and Malawi are still tied to neocolonial economies in a world system geared to favour the rich countries of the West, including Europe. Disparities between the two countries in wealth, development and education are enormous. In 2012 the United Kingdom was ranked 14th on the Human Development Index, with a population enjoying 12.3 mean years of schooling, while Malawi was ranked 174th on the Human Development Index and recorded 4.2 mean years of schooling for its people (UNDP 2014).

So on asking what is at stake in weighing up a cosmopolitan reading of partnerships between schools in former colonies and those of their former European colonial masters against the potentially more apposite insights of postcolonialism, it is necessary to consider whether cosmopolitanism and postcolonialism are easy or difficult bedfellows. Is it possible to resolve tensions between them, some of which will be described below, both as theories as such and in reflecting on their usefulness in considering aims and practices in education?

In asking whether cosmopolitanism and postcolonialism could be complementary ideals, at first glance both 'isms' might look like useful if not essential means of understanding and of breaking out of Eurocentrism. Yet cosmopolitanism and postcolonialism differ in several key respects. Firstly, their genealogies are different. Cosmopolitanism is an ancient idea, traceable in its early versions to antiquity, even if it has been contested and refined since its renewed post-Enlightenment expressions. Postcolonial theory, as a more recent 'ism', can be dated mainly to the upsurge of work in comparative literary theory since the 1970s, though its earlier impulses lie in the post-World War II movements for liberation from colonial rule in Asia and Africa. Secondly, cosmopolitanism tends to be a perspective from within the metropolis looking out, and its universalism may sit uneasily beside the particularity and defence of difference and the local that are necessary to the postcolonial stance. On the other hand, while the postcolonial condition pertains across much of the globe in that almost all countries now grapple with migration and domestic diversity as well as an integrated world system, postcolonialism's most urgent expression talks to the experiences and perspectives of those in former colonies and other developing contexts on the receiving end of a global order that favours the rich West, including Europe (I treat the West and Europe as largely interchangeable). Ironically, though, given postcolonialism's critique of imperialism, it too is a theory developed and consumed largely in the Western academy. Thirdly, they are different kinds of theoretical practices, cosmopolitanism being mainly located in philosophy, as a theory about relationships with distant others, ethical obligations beyond the nation state and identity. Postcolonialism has a sharper critical edge, directing justified moral outrage at histories of colonial and neocolonial exploitation and marginalisation, its main impetus being literary theory and cultural studies, but with influences from psychology and forays into historiography. Yet while the discussion that follows does not compare like with like, both theories are contestable and flexible to an extent.

Taking the school partnerships between Scotland in Malawi as an illustrative case, I aim to show how cosmopolitanism can and should be recast in response to

criticisms of its key weaknesses and as already indicated will look to postcolonialism for some direction in doing so. I will begin in Sect. 2 by examining the history of colonialism that forms the backdrop to the Scotland Malawi Partnership, drawing out the symbiotic relationship between colonialism and nationalism. Section 3 examines recent critical perspectives on cosmopolitanism with reference to possibilities for a post-European future. Section 4 takes up the problem of nationalism in postcolonial theory, and Sect. 5 concludes by reflecting on implications for education of the idea of a postcolonial cosmopolitanism.

For the purposes of this discussion, since the terms of postcolonialism are so contested, I deploy the term 'postcolonialism', without suggesting a clear break between colonial history and the subsequent period in which colonialism and its effects have persisted after former colonies achieved independence, to ask what the post colony might be like, as an imagined space in which the legacy of colonialism could be overcome. I treat both Malawi and Scotland as postcolonial contexts, Malawi more obviously so because it is a former colony struggling to overcome its colonial legacy and Scotland because although previously prominent in the British Empire it is consciously trying to address the passing of Empire and its post-imperial, post-industrial economic decline as well as its relationship with its small but diverse immigrant population. Some might wish to regard Scotland itself as having been colonised by England, but this is not a plausible claim. I view educational partnerships like this one as attempts to address postcoloniality, not in the sense of setting the past aside, but of working creatively with the postcolonial condition across space and time. The temporal dimension is as necessary as the more obvious spatial one, as understanding the postcolonial condition requires a historical perspective, to which I now turn. I write about an educational project that in its most reflective expressions and impact is admirable and inspiring, but I do so from within Scotland, whose gains from empire and colonialism prompt closer critical scrutiny of its role as a partner. I do not set out to evaluate the partnership here, but to refer to it in order to test competing ways of framing its intentions and reflecting on their implications, as well as testing the limits of cosmopolitanism.

11.2 Scotland and Malawi's Colonial History

Scotland and Malawi's partnership commits both countries to a shared future, but their shared past is a particularly complex one, tied up in the ambiguities of imperial history, some elements of which are much debated by historians, though they agree that Scotland played a significant role in building the British Empire, even if not all go as far Thomson's claim that:

> Of all the people in the United Kingdom, it is the Scots' contribution that stands out as disproportionate. They were the first peoples of the British Isles to take on an imperial mentality, and possibly the longest to sustain one. In the spheres of education, engineering, exploration, medicine, commerce, and shipping, the Scots earned a particularly strong reputation for empire building. (Thomson 2008: p. 51, quoted in MacKenzie and Devine 2011: p. 19)

To these contributions to empire building must be added the roles of Scottish settlers, colonial administrators and, most importantly for the present purposes, the missionaries of the Scottish churches, primarily the Scottish Presbyterian Church. In references to Malawi, the shared history is standardly described as having begun with David Livingstone's missionary work in Malawi, which is sometimes depicted in heroic terms that border on the mythological. A more critical view holds that this relationship can be traced to David Livingstone's role in appropriating Central Africa for the Empire (MacKenzie 1988). Yet while Scottish missionaries' part in bringing the people of what became known as Nyasaland and later Malawi into the British Empire must be acknowledged, so must their role in resisting the worst effects of colonisation, despite early tendencies to paternalism and campaigns against local cultural practices that took the form of cultural imperialism (Breitenbach 2011). As time passed the missionaries stood against the settlers' economic interests and often racist ideology, taking the side of the African population on land, tax and labour issues (Ross 2015) and in opposing federation with Rhodesia in the 1950s. The missionaries who followed Livingstone were frequently at odds with the colonial authorities and with the interests of settlers. Scots missionaries were also prominent in supporting independence for what became the state of Malawi in 1964. Following independence the missionaries were also to oppose the authoritarian rule of Hastings Banda, prior to the end of one-party rule with the restoration of multiparty democracy in the 1990s. Although the missions and their churches were instrumental in the imperial project, it is fair to say that their actions were also egalitarian and humanitarian (Breitenbach 2011).

The network of schools established by the missionary movement, including those of the Scottish Presbyterian missions in Malawi, was their primary legacy (Ross 2015: p. 11). As elsewhere in the Empire, the mission schools facilitated the growth of national consciousness and produced graduates who became leaders of the struggle for independence. Breitenbach (2011) presses this relationship between mission education and decolonisation further by observing that through the provision of Western education, the missionaries created for colonised populations a way of adapting to the changes that took place because of imperialism and colonial rule.

Yet the most intriguing aspect of the imperial and the missionary legacies was their impact at home, in developing Scottish national identity. Missionary figures were well-known to the Scottish public, a source of national pride, initially understood as part of the Scots' 'civilising role' in the Empire, but one that also remained integral to Presbyterian life until well into the decolonisation era. 'The missionary enterprise [and religious life] provided a prism through which Scots at home perceived the empire, colonial territories, and peoples, while at the same time it fostered national pride in the Scots role in Empire' (Breitenbach 2011: p. 223).

Pride in the Empire was to endure until its end, but with the loss of empire this sense of national identity was to change, and its role in the recent flourishing of Scottish nationalism is hotly debated by historians and political analysts. Describing contemporary Scottish nationalism as 'post-imperial nationalism', Glass (2014) argues that as long as it lasted, the Empire both laid the groundwork for the emergence of Scottish nationalism, by encouraging the sense of Scottish national identity

derived from pride in a unique role in building it, and also prevented nationalism's emergence until after the loss of Empire, which no longer provides the benefits of opportunity and wealth. '…[M]any Scots have turned to nationalism in an attempt to seize independence, which could increase Scotland's chances of playing a greater role on the European, if not the global, stage while giving them total control over purely Scottish concerns' (2014: p. 2). For Glass, many Scots viewed nationalism as a means to independence and control over their own affairs and as a way to enhance their role in Europe and globally.

I draw attention to the role of both empire and of Scotland's complex part in the history of Malawi as factors in the shaping of Scottish identity not to conclude that the presence of nationalism could preclude cosmopolitan commitments and actions, but to indicate the ironies that lie in the historical background to today's school partnerships. It would not be far-fetched to interpret the Scots' project of fostering a partnership with Malawi as an element of a strategy to define a distinct geopolitical identity in which its commitments to its geographically distant African partner also complement a post-imperial distance from its proximate English neighbour. But in view of Scotland's imperial past, and also the upsurge of Scottish civic nationalism that has elected a nationalist devolved government in Edinburgh and an overwhelmingly nationalist contingent of Members of Parliament to Westminster, I need to take up the problem of the viability of framing school partnerships like this one as *cosmopolitan*. Is the very idea of a cosmopolitan partnership with a former colony not vulnerable to standard criticisms of cosmopolitanism as inherently European? Might postcolonial theory be a better alternative? Both questions invite further reflection on nationalism, a theme I bear in mind as I now address these questions.

11.3 A Post-European Cosmopolitanism?

A likely objection to my reading of partnerships between schools in Scotland and Malawi as reflecting cosmopolitan assumptions and commitments would hold that cosmopolitanism's appreciation of diversity is easier to sustain from within the confidently hegemonic cultural and material location of the West, including of course the Europe in which it originated. More damningly, criticisms of cosmopolitanism can depict it as a consumer and lifestyle choice, a superficial fascination with difference that fails to extend to inclusion.

Such a critical stance is strongly articulated by Calhoun (2012), who warns that cosmopolitanism is typically based in certain kinds of contexts, like academia and multilateral organisations and businesses that might be cast as neutral and global but which bring with them their own forms of exclusion and inequality. He observes, scathingly: 'As the class-consciousness of frequent travellers, cosmopolitanism provides elites with a self-understanding shaped not so much by a consciousness of privilege as by the illusions of having escaped the biases of particular locations…' (2012: p. 106). Yet while one has to concede that some forms of cosmopolitanism

do exhibit such tendencies, they are not true of all expressions of cosmopolitanism. The Scotland Malawi Partnership is an example, in my view, of a project implicitly rooted in cosmopolitanism and also self-consciously determined to enact principles of equality, mutuality and reciprocity in an inclusive and non-hegemonic fashion.

Contrary to the case example under consideration in this chapter, to his association of cosmopolitanism with elitism, Calhoun adds the observation that cosmopolitanism has a tendency to distrust nationalism and local loyalties. And although cosmopolitanism is about relating sympathetically to strangers, and transcending group interests and local communities, such a cosmopolitan outlook 'is not likely to be an adequate substitute for the more specific solidarities and structures of inclusion' (p. 122). Again, the Scotland Malawi Partnership does appear to offer a counterexample, in two senses. First, there is no evidence in this case of any wish to sweep aside local solidarities in either partner country; it sets out to build local structures of inclusion through small-scale projects that work with local civic structures. Secondly, the Partnership is flourishing in a Scottish context in which nationalism is clearly also thriving. Having said that, however, cosmopolitan theory *is* generally critical of nationalism. Breckenridge et al.'s exploration of *cosmopolitanisms* (2002) regards nationalism as a retrograde ideology and a force for evil, albeit Janus-faced.

By contrast with Calhoun (2012), Delanty (2009) resists depictions of cosmopolitanism as Western or universalist, preferring to put forward a version of cosmopolitanism that is post-universalistic, post-Western, non-Eurocentric, open-ended, reflexive and self-problematising, arguing that it does not only have to pertain to elites. Nor is it exclusively Western, as shown by Breckenridge et al. (2012, also cited by Delanty 2009: p. 5) who look to diverse examples from outside European history that range from Sanskrit literature in precolonial Asia to the diverse architectures of pre-war Shanghai. In detaching cosmopolitanism from its European roots, Delanty proposes a post-Western 'critical cosmopolitanism'. The 'cosmopolitan imagination', Delanty argues, is transformative, able both to recognise difference as a positive ideal and to offer a way of reinventing political community based on a global ethic.

It is apparent that Calhoun and Delanty are doing dissimilar things with cosmopolitan theory, working with this 'ism' to different purposes. Calhoun describes cosmopolitanism's less creditable expressions, while Delanty in his turn sets about the process of conceptual alteration, reconstructing cosmopolitan theory and taking it in a new direction with prominent educational possibilities. This critical cosmopolitanism Delanty casts as offering 'analysis of cultural modes of mediation by which the social world is shaped and where the emphasis is on moments of world openness created out of the encounter of the local with the global'. Cast thus, cosmopolitanism becomes 'a form of world disclosure that arises out of the immanent possibilities of the social world for transformation' (2009: p. 53).

In terms that look likely to appeal to those who express the ethical bases of the Scotland Malawi Partnership (e.g. Ross 2015; Scotland Malawi Partnership 2009), Delanty's rearticulated cosmopolitanism is advanced as a new mode of imagining the world, of being open to strangers, exercising the cosmopolitan imagination by

opening up new ways in which the self develops relations with the other and the wider world. When societies come into contact with one another in such a spirit of openness, their self-understanding is transformed. This kind of learning is a necessary condition of cosmopolitanism and it can reinvigorate cultures and identities.

> The power to name, create meaning, construct personal biographies and narratives by gaining control over the flow of information, goods and cultural processes is an important dimension of citizenship as an active process. In this regard what needs to be stressed is the learning dimension of citizenship as a constructive process. (Delanty 2009: p. 128)

Some proponents of both cosmopolitanism and postcolonial theory might respond that Delanty goes too far. Imagine such situations, moments of cosmopolitan citizenship where participants are encouraged to relativise and evaluate their own culture and identity. These, while intended to create Delanty's 'shared normative culture' (p. 112), are likely to leave participants from former colonies more vulnerable to damage than their European partners (I will return to this point in the next section). Delanty's observation that postcolonial theory is rarely more than a critique of Western modernity (p. 181), while holding that cosmopolitanism makes generative interaction between different perspectives more central, does not entirely reassure on this point. Yet his observation that postcolonial theory has offered significant insights that help to dislodge strictly Western assumptions from cosmopolitanism is also significant. Tempering cosmopolitanism with insights from postcolonial theory appears to offer a solution to criticisms of its tendency to reflect or potentially favour a European consciousness and interests. Yet postcolonialism presents some problems of its own, and these now need to be considered, again taking up the theme of nationalism.

11.4 A Postcolonialism Without Nationalism?

While education enjoys a prominent place in cosmopolitan theory, as noted above with reference to both Nussbaum and Delanty, this is also true of postcolonial theory. Delanty's emphasis on the cosmopolitan imagination as occasioning learning looks not that different from Gandhi's claim that a task of postcolonial theory is a 'political obligation to assist the subjects of postcoloniality to live with the gaps and fissures of their condition, and thereby learn to proceed with self-understanding' (1998: p. 8). In the context of this chapter, I interpret this learning of self-understanding to include subjects of postcoloniality located in both the former colonies and in former colonising countries. And I have already noted in Sect. 1 the additional layer to postcolonialism's interest in education in the form of its powerful critique of the role of education in the history of colonialism. To these can be added a third, the need for critique of the ongoing neocolonialism inherent in global educational policies and systems (Altbach 2006).

Postcolonial education has much work to do in countering historical European hegemony and the uses of education in its service. But what form and what strategies

might postcolonial education adopt? To what extent does it need to be a retrieval of precolonial traditions and practices by independent nation states? As with cosmopolitanism, this raises the underlying issue of postcolonialism's relationship with nationalism, albeit it a different way. Earlier, I noted the symbiotic and ironic relationship between Scotland's colonial and imperial history and the development of Scottish national identity. While imperialism and colonialism are standardly read as drivers and effects of European nationalisms, decolonisation frequently involved creation of independent 'nations' with artificially created borders contrived by the departing colonial powers. An added irony is lent by the observation that the *nationalisms* of the independence struggles and subsequent state building were inventions borrowed from the colonial masters that left a legacy of underdevelopment and instability. So while at first glance a distinguishing feature of cosmopolitanism and postcolonialism might be assumed to be their contrasting orientations to nationalism, a not dissimilar symbiosis is evident in postcolonialism.

In her subtle analysis of the multifaceted and painful symbiosis between colonialism and nationalism, Gandhi considers the idea that there may be 'some grounds for a postcolonial defence of the anti-colonial nation' (1998: p. 102). Gandhi sides plausibly with the view that, in spite of its role in decolonisation, nationalism's crucial place in the archive of the colonial era should be a transitional stage in decolonisation. But in the context of this chapter, and even in association with a defence of cosmopolitanism, for all the limited space that theory can make for nationalism, I find it ultimately difficult to set nationalism's occasionally more progressive impulses aside completely. Just as a place could be made for a form of civic Scottish nationalism that accommodates and even complements cosmopolitan projects like the Scotland Malawi Partnership, so too under conditions of inequality between partner countries and their schools and communities, some form of nationalist defence of the local may be required. I suggest this in relation to my earlier concerns about the possible full scale implementation of cosmopolitanism as described by Delanty.

The extent to which postcolonial education could and ought to retrieve traditional indigenous knowledge and educational practices, returning to precolonial ways of being and modes of education, requires further investigation. And even if postcolonialism is able to divest itself of forms of nationalism likely to undermine possibilities for cosmopolitan education, a postcolonial impulse in education to retreat from modernity and to reach for a retrieval of tradition may be neither feasible nor in the interests of learners in postcolonial countries. But my critical concern about such possibilities is ultimately less about the dangers of nationalism as such than about the wider problem of such strategies being too centred on culture and not enough on critique of the kind that is needed to explain the neocolonial context in which both Scottish and Malawian economies are materially co-located in a global economy that continues to favour the former. It comes as no surprise that postcolonialism's predominant expressions through literature and cultural critique have led to a preoccupation with cultural dispossession and domination, at the expense of making a necessary place for an analysis of global capitalism (see, e.g. Lazarus 2011). Looking beyond culturalist expressions of postcolonialism recognises

the shared predicament of Scots and Malawians as subject to the hegemony of global capital in undermining democracy and limiting opportunity in both countries, albeit in different ways. Neither cosmopolitanism nor postcolonialism yet offers a necessary analysis of the worst effects of neoliberal imperatives on education as a new version of empire, less visible, more globally dispersed and no longer the preserve of Europe or the West. But cosmopolitanism has more to offer than postcolonialism in its recent turn to theories of cosmopolitan justice that argue for obligations of justice beyond the boundaries of the nation state (e.g. Moellendorf 2002) and for a cosmopolitan justification for redistribution of educational goods from rich to poor countries (Enslin and Tjiattas 2004). This could include the distribution of resources, however modest, from schools and organisations involved in educational partnerships between countries like Scotland and Malawi.

11.5 Conclusion: A Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism

Are cosmopolitanism and postcolonialism difficult bedfellows or complementary ideals? My reflection on the Scotland Malawi Partnership as creating a space in which the post colony might be imagined through education suggests that while some tensions remain, they can complement each other. While invoking neither theory explicitly, to achieve its evident cosmopolitan ambitions, the Partnership needs a postcolonial analysis of the historical roots of the relationship between a former colony and a former coloniser. A cosmopolitan educational practice will clearly benefit from postcolonial awareness.

Both theories have been shown to be vulnerable to telling criticisms of their worst tendencies. At its worst, cosmopolitanism can be an indulgence of the prosperous West, though this objection is addressed by Delanty's revised account of a critical post-European cosmopolitanism, and his notion of a mediating cosmopolitan imagination rearticulates cosmopolitanism as an educational project in itself. My example of the Scotland Malawi Partnership has been presented as an expression of cosmopolitanism that matches Delanty's account and could accommodate a benign expression of nationalism. In its turn postcolonialism's own ironic historical association with nationalism could be transitional, but it is limited by its preoccupation with culture at the expense of the material dimensions of colonialism and coloniality.

While both theories might be vulnerable to the criticism that they have been developed and contested mainly in the rich Western countries that are the object of postcolonial critique, this ought not to be a fatal criticism, and they do tend to act as correctives to each others' more problematic tendencies. Like all theories, each has potential for facile expressions and applications, and neither can be expected to stand on its own and do all the work. To imagine otherwise would be to assume that theoretical reflection about education demands the selection of a single doctrine, a disciplinary 'ism' that excludes all others. Nor does it help when weighing up the apparently competing claims of rival isms to rigidly mark one off from the other as

competing and mutually exclusive doctrines, creeds to defend against all others, which could undermine creative and principled educational practice. Instead it is more productive to ask how both theories might best be enacted, in their most critically defensible expressions. Furthermore, such reflection is not merely a matter of selecting the most theoretically viable stance and applying philosophy to education. Analysing educational practices like the example discussed in this chapter is also iterative, in the sense that examples test theories. The Scotland Malawi Partnership is a case that demonstrates the potential of conceptual alteration, even if counter-intuitively in the form of reconciling cosmopolitanism with some more benign expressions of nationalism.

In making these observations, I am not suggesting that this is a debate to be carried further by pupils involved in educational partnerships. But the issues discussed here should be of concern to teacher educators and curriculum developers as well as those engaged in planning and defending partnerships. All need to be alert to the questions raised by this kind of discussion for the ethos that underlies international educational partnerships. This discussion of the competing merits of cosmopolitanism and postcolonialism prompts some obvious conclusions about the curriculum in the post colony, as a space imagined and inhabited in both partner countries. A curriculum that is both cosmopolitan and postcolonial would clearly make a central place for developing understanding of self and other. Elements like colonial and world history as well as indigenous and cosmopolitan languages and literatures look like obvious candidates. But wide discrepancies between the two societies in access to a structured curriculum in adequately funded schooling systems look neither cosmopolitan nor postcolonial.

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